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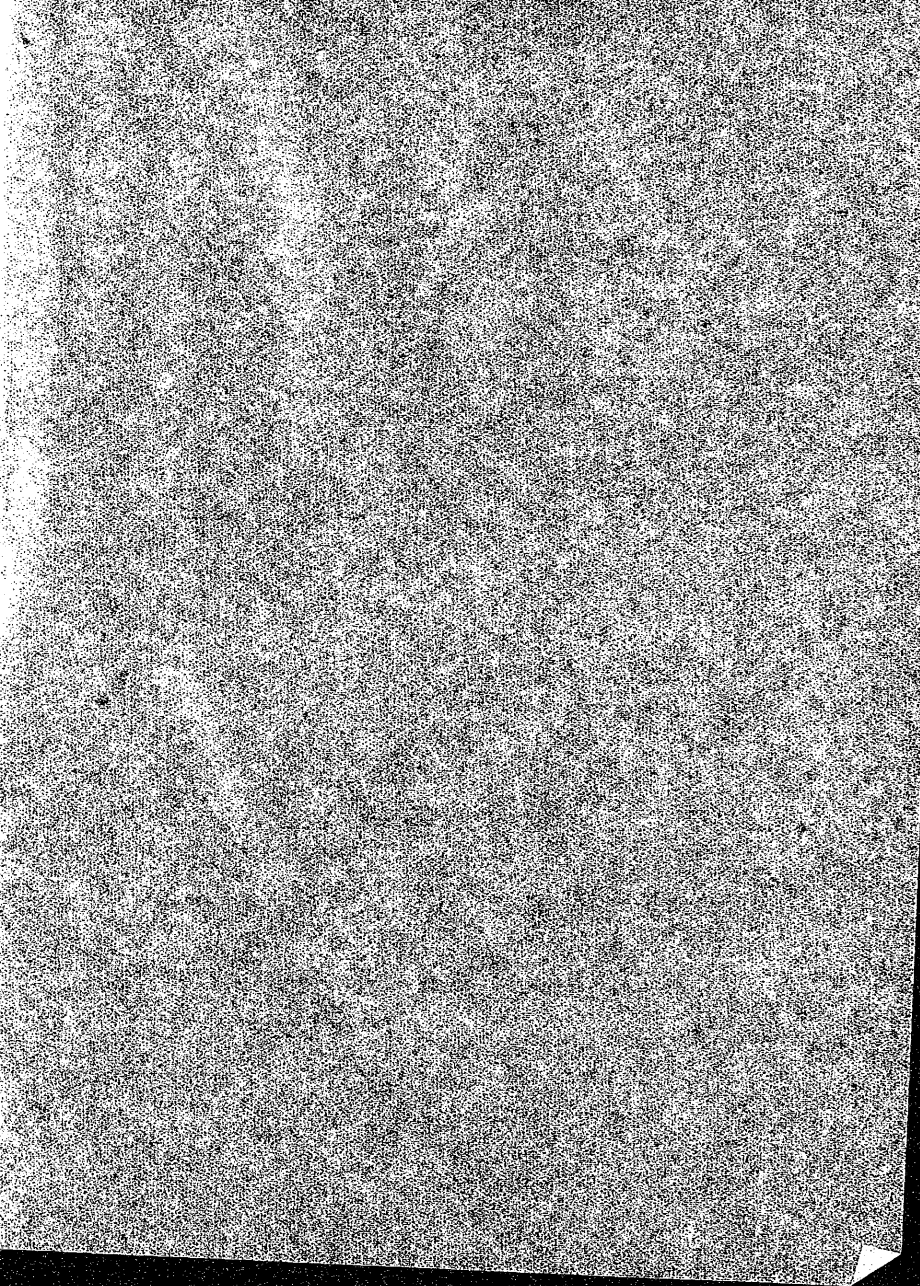
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As Ever Yours
E. J. Drinkhouse



HISTORY

METHODIST REFORM

SYNOPTICAL OF GENERAL METHODISM

1703 TO 1898

WITH SPECIAL AND COMPREHENSIVE REFERENCE TO ITS MOST
SALIENT EXHIBITION IN THE HISTORY OF THE

METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH

BY

EDWARD J. PRINKHOUSE, M.D., D.D.

(EIGHTEEN YEARS EDITOR OF "THE METHODIST PROTESTANT")

Ad astra per aspera

"Till it be proved that some special law of Christ hath forever annexed unto the clergy alone the power to make ecclesiastical laws, we are to hold it as a thing most consonant with equity and reason that no ecclesiastical laws be made in a Christian community without consent of the laity as well as the clergy."
— BISHOP HOOKER.

"He who has no right to the thing he possesses cannot prescribe or plead any length of time to make his possession lawful."
— DR. BARROW.

The equity of all history is: Hear the other side. — THE
AUTHOR.

VOLUME I

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PREFACE

THE writing of a History of the Methodist Protestant Church was first suggested to me by the Rev. W. C. Lipscomb in the autumn of 1877. Bassett's History had just been issued from the press. Written from the point of view of "The Methodist" (Protestant) Church of the North and West it was found quite unsatisfactory to the East and South, not so much from what it stated, as from what it failed to state. Hence this suggestion to me, then editor of *The Methodist Protestant*, Baltimore, Md. It was a surprise and not entertained. I had been a close student of Methodist history since 1850. More mature reflection led to the conclusion that it might be my providential task, if proper leisure and apt environment ever came to me. It led to a painstaking collection, often at considerable personal expense, of all the sources and authorities bearing upon general Methodism and of the Methodist Protestant Church in particular, through intervening years of exacting editorial toil down to 1892. Then came retirement from official position and leisure for the work. It has been diligently pursued through five years as an uncompensated labor of love and from a settled conviction that "the truth of history" demanded the work at my hands. The result is before the reader in these octavo volumes.

The Reform movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church during the decade of 1820-30, never contemplated a separate Church organization. This was made a necessity by the Expulsions of 1827-30, as a concerted action of the authorities of that Church. Nor for a decade of years after 1830, did the expelled and their seceding friends of governmental Reform in Methodism abandon the hope that their quondam associates would become amenable to reason and the sense of restitution on terms of reinstatement such as Christian manhood could accept. In consequence, inadequate care was taken to preserve historical documents and the local story of Reform movements. Apart from the records of its peri-

odical press no attempt was made to embody the facts until 1843, when a twelvemo volume was issued by Rev. James R. Williams, of Baltimore, Md., the cradle of Reform as it was of Methodism. It covered succinctly the period to 1842. The small edition was soon exhausted, but it was never republished, and fugitive copies are all that remain of this initial History. It was unsatisfactory to North Carolina and the circumjacent territory as dealing too sparsely with the movement in that section. Dr. J. T. Bellamy gathered material and wrote a History, but for unexpressed reasons during his last illness ordered his son to burn it. Rev. Dr. John Paris, also of North Carolina, in 1849, issued a twelvemo volume of more inclusive character and historical analysis. Like the History of Williams, it answered the demand of the period, but was never republished, and scattered copies only are to be found among our preachers and people. About 1855-60, Rev. Dr. Dennis B. Dorsey, Sr., then resident at Fairmont, W. Va. prepared a skeleton of a Church History and had largely filled it in, but his decease cut short the work and it never appeared. The Church had now grown in the West and North with a record of its own and on lines of separation from the adhering conferences, and a demand was made for a history from its point of view. It was furnished as already suggested by Rev. Dr. A. H. Bassett in a twelvemo volume, issued in 1877. It was afterward enlarged and amended, and for a score of years has been the dependence of the reunited Church. This triangular supply of data needed a central and unsectional array with the addition of a logical connection and philosophical treatment. It was this task the writer undertook under the extreme advantage of many years' residence in Baltimore, the Methodist centre of historic data. How well he has performed the work it will be for the reader to decide.

The sources and authorities cited in this History, with rare exceptions noted, are in the author's possession to be preserved intact, and held accessible for verification under any reasonable request, inasmuch as many of its allegations are at variance with the received historical statements; and a whole class of facts is disclosed heretofore minified or suppressed by, or unknown to, historical writers on both English and American Methodism. The writer has been careful of the ground so that a challenge is hereby recorded of successful contradiction of its averments as to matters of fact. His inferential positions may at times be strained or erroneous and these he submits to such controversial questioning as may be possible.

It is the custom of most historians to prefix to their work a bibliography of the sources and authorities consulted in its preparation. Such a compilation is not only helpful but necessary, when citations have been made without such references. In this work all citations are verified as to source and authority in the numerous foot-notes of the current narrative, so that a bibliography would be but a repetition of these titles. Sometimes the bibliography as a porch is more imposing than the structure, and carries the semblance at least of pedantry. Its absence in this work is not a loss.

The writer discovered when midway in his preparatory investigation that a History of the Methodist Protestant Church, logically stated and philosophically treated, could not be prepared without an enlargement of its original purview so inclusive as to comprehend at least synoptically the whole history of Methodism. The germinal principles incorporated in its Constitution and Discipline were disclosed in the governmental Reform movements during Wesley's life and since in English Methodism. And it is a remarkable fact that, without coöperation or knowledge of each other's movements, under the instigation of a common hierarchic rule, thoughtful Methodists both of the ministry and laity on either side of the ocean were working on independent lines to the same end of governmental Reform. The writer therefore found it necessary to give a broader title to his work as "The History of Methodist Reform," with his own denomination as the objective. The discriminating reader will discover that there was nothing new in the Methodist Reform movements from the tentative ones of Gatch, Dickins, O'Kelly and others in Virginia as early as 1778; of O'Kelly, M'Kendree, Rice Haggard, Hope Hull and others in 1792; the more effective ones of Snethen, Emory, Stockton and others in 1820-24; and later of Shinn, Jennings, Brown, Dorsey, McCaine and others for 1824-30. The objections they formulated and the protests they entered against the Paternal system of Asbury and the hierarchic features embodied by his pliant followers in the "Rules and Regulations" of the Methodist Episcopal Church of 1784, are all to be found in the seed of kindred objections and protests made by Wesleyan Methodist preachers and laymen from quite an early period of English Methodism down to the climacteric movement of 1849, which shook the parent body to its foundations.

Another great advantage of this historical method is, that it furnishes our own denominational readers succinctly all of

Methodist literature without recourse to historians and monographists whose coloring is unfavorable to liberal views. As common property it is, therefore, appropriated for information as to the rise and progress of doctrinal Methodism and its spiritual agencies, called "means of grace," touching which perfect unity has been preserved among our coreligionists the wide world over; as well as for contrast of governmental methods, equal prosperity attending diverse polities, and thus demonstrating that it was primarily due, not to any particular system, but to the doctrines and means of grace formulated by the Wesleys out of the Scriptures and the needs of the period. As collateral to this method and an irrefragable corollary from the facts of history, one of the fundamentals of this work is submitted as proven; to wit, that the dominant system on either shore of the Atlantic is responsible directly or indirectly for all the divisions of Methodism, and that in consequence organic unity is an impossibility, even if it could be shown politic, until the divisive elements in the dominating systems are eliminated.

These reasons must be the author's plea for occupying the entire first volume in what is really a preparation for the History of the Methodist Protestant Church. No apology is therefore offered for the extended space given to the vindication of the two men who have been most vilified and misrepresented, — Dr. Whitehead of the Wesleyan Methodists and James O'Kelly of the Asburyan Methodists. In both cases much new information is furnished; and while no effort is made to condone their errors of temperament and judgment, earnest, and it is believed successful, effort is made to rescue their memories from unmerited obloquy. It will also be discovered that nowhere in current Methodist history can such a running biography of Francis Asbury be found, portraying every side of his wonderful character and meting out with an even hand the merits and demerits of an unique system, of which he was the father, in emulation of the methods of John Wesley, the founder of it. Biographically it is believed that valuable new information is furnished, and fuller extracts made from Asbury's Journal than has been essayed by any other historiographer.

In discussing and narrating the so-called "Radical" controversy of 1820-30, the writer claims exceptional advantages, and if he has come short of the occasion, it has not been for want of a mass of material never before in large part at the disposal of a historian. He has endeavored, prayerfully and reflectively, at

every step to hold an even balance between the contending parties. It cannot, however, be reasonably expected that a History of the Methodist Protestant Church could or should be written by him from the point of view apologetic and excusatory of its historical foes. The defensive task has been abundantly performed by a large number of partial and able writers in England and America. It has never been performed on the behoof of Reformers in any such exhaustive pleas, unless the present work shall be accepted by impartial readers as equal to the subject. The writer believes indeed that nowhere else can such a collocation of records of those troublous times be found in continuity of presentation. But passing mention need be made of the class who ruefully deprecate the revival of "dead issues," as they call the contentions of this History. All history consists of dead issues, but it is the truth of them that demands their resurrection, and the vindication of the truth can never be untimely. If anywhere, after careful revision, he has been betrayed into sharpness of language or purposeful imputation of motive as to individuals, he will express regret and make amends if possible, or in palliation direct attention to the severity of average animadversions of the Reformers as found in the standard histories and fugitive monographs of Methodist literature. He has felt it, however, his first duty to set himself vigorously to the vindication of the fathers of American Methodist Reform, and to do this a restatement of the old controversy was inevitable.

In the progress of the work, in the second volume, he found himself confronted with two difficult performances. First, a determination to rescue from a swift-coming oblivion the Reformers of 1820-30. Many of them sleep in unmarked graves, and more of them have no historical embalmment. It has been a great labor to incorporate these biographical mentions, from a line or two to a page or more, as the judgment of the writer dictated or the material at command made possible. These interjections may seem to the critical reader to mar the flow of the narrative, but they often contain important facts, and no careful reader will pass them over. Many worthy men, for lack of obituary notice in the periodicals of the Church, or by inadvertent oversight, are no doubt unmentioned, despite the diligence of the writer to avoid such omissions. Then, in covering that section of the Church history from 1858 to 1877, marking the division and reunion of the denomination, that the author might be impartial, a Double history has been written. He has not knowingly omitted

any fact or argument for either side, and if his personal convictions anywhere appear, the feature is inseparable from an historical work, not a simple summary of naked figures and facts. The personal equation of a historian ought not, and indeed cannot, be excluded from his work. He has assurances from some who have read the History in manuscript, that this period will not prove unsatisfactory.

It was a part of the original design of the work to include in appendices brief histories of the several annual conferences, but it was found impracticable and was abandoned. The appendices which have been furnished are essential and invaluable, and the writer earnestly requests every reader and critic to make a careful perusal of them in their close connection with the running text, as indispensable to a right understanding of the subject. Brief histories of the Book Concerns as such, as well as of the official colleges — Adrian, Western Maryland, and Kansas University — have been omitted, for the reason that they have been largely incorporated in the running text, and more extended data are easily obtainable. The appendices for Ministerial Education, the Women's Foreign Missionary Society, the Foreign and the Home Missionary Boards, etc., have all been added to the first volume, though properly belonging to the second, in order that the relative size of the two books may in this way be preserved.

The principal claim of this History is, that it discloses and verifies a whole class of facts not heretofore given their proper accent by Methodist historians because not in alignment with the received opinions and traditional views of the great actors in the evangelistic movement, on both sides the ocean, called Methodism. It also places these received opinions and traditional views in other lights than those reflected by such historians, keeping in mind the great equity of all history: hear the other side.

Many portions of the first volume, dealing as it does with general Methodism, are rigidly condensed, while in the second volume the critical reader, especially if not denominationally connected with the Methodist Protestant Church, will discover minutiae of detail not always consonant with the dignity of history. Much of this period is within the memory of participants in it, and for the latter half within the personal recollection of the Author, so that many things are named by reason of an importance thus exaggerated.

The numerous illustrations were largely an afterthought, and are the best that could be secured at considerable expense and

much labor. The likenesses of early Reformers and some others are given with as much regard to sections and conferences as was possible. The writer regrets that no portrait of W. W. Hill, A. G. Brewer, Adjet McGuire, and others could be obtained. No living men appear for a reason that must be obvious, however worthy.

No pretension is made to literary style, and while indulgence is not asked of the critics as to fact and argument, forbearance is solicited when failure is exhibited in perspicuity or elegance of diction. The writer will find his reward if the readers shall discover that he is not without the "historic sense."

THE AUTHOR.

BALTIMORE, MD., November, 1898.

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HISTORY OF METHODIST REFORM

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

The subject in purview — Roots of Methodist Protestant history — Paternalism of Wesley and Asbury — The growth of the system in England and America — Synoptical outline must cover Methodist Reform as necessary to a philosophical and logical treatment of the Methodist Protestant Church — Historical method of this work in a bird's-eye view — The Poll-Deed in England and the Episcopal organization in America exclusively clerical, responsible for all the divisions of Methodism — Fundamentals on which the conclusions of this History are based.

THE history of the Methodist Protestant Church finds its roots in the personal and paternal government instituted by John Wesley for the Methodist Societies of Great Britain and perpetuated, under his example, by Francis Asbury for the Methodist Societies of North America. It shall be my task to uncover these roots; mark the growth of the anomalous system under the Father and Founder of Methodism; show how it flowered and brought forth its legitimate fruitage in the Deed of Declaration,¹ which entailed its principles and sowed the seeds of frequent and disastrous divisions in the parent body, with a like result for American Methodism from the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

In pursuance of this historical method and as germane to a history of the Methodist Protestant Church, — which will soon close the third quarter of a centennial existence as a standing Protest against ecclesiastical Paternalism, — as much of general Methodist narration in its origin and growth shall be given as will satisfy the reader without resort to other literary sources. It is a wide field. D'Aubigne, in his "History of the Reformation," has well

¹ Otherwise called the Poll-Deed, an act of Parliament which vested all the rights of property in chapels, etc., as well as the right of Conference appointment of the preachers, before held absolutely by John Wesley in person, in a close and self-perpetuating body of one hundred preachers named by him. The plan was devised by Dr. Coke and his attorneys acting for Mr. Wesley.

observed that "the encroachments of power form a large portion of all history; the resistance of those whose rights are invaded forms the other part; and the ecclesiastical power could not escape that intoxication which leads those who are lifted up to seek to raise themselves still higher. It felt all the influence of this general weakness of human nature." More forcibly still he declares, in the Preface to his masterful work, that "the History of the Reformation is altogether distinct from the History of Protestantism. The latter might claim the attention of Protestants; but the history of the Reformation is a book for all Christians, or, rather, for all mankind." And in accommodation of this language the writer affirms, in justification of the comprehensive character of this work, that the History of Methodist Reform which it outlines is something inseparable from and parallel with the History of the Methodist Protestant Church as its most salient expression. The latter might claim the attention of its members and adherents only; the former challenges the attention of all Methodists, or, rather, of the Christian world.

It is therefore the History of Methodist Reform that is here synoptically related, as it furnishes the only philosophical and logical basis for a specific History of the Methodist Protestant Church. It alone clothes its anatomical structure with fleshly symmetry. The parallel runs farther. Methodist Reform sustains the same relation to the parental Methodisms of Wesley and Asbury that the Reformation sustained to Romanism, while Protestantism sustains the same relation to doctrinal Romanism as Methodist Protestantism sustains to ecclesiastical Methodism. And the continued numerical inferiority of the one has its parallel in the continued numerical inferiority of the other. So that those who maintain the rightfulness of hierarchal Methodism on the score of its continued material and numerical superiority, must also maintain the rightfulness of hierarchal Romanism on the same score. There is no escape from the logical dilemma. D'Aubigne further affirms that "the Protestant Reformation was accomplished in the name of a spiritual principle." Methodist Reformation was accomplished in the name of an ecclesiastical principle. This principle is traced through the Methodisms of the world in these pages. Besides the bird's-eye view thus furnished, the method followed enables the writer to accomplish the double purpose of claiming for the Methodist Protestant Church all that is heroic in Wesleyan development as common property — its doctrinal teaching and means of grace — and of demonstrat-

ing that ecclesiastical paternalism is responsible for all the schism in the parent body subsequent to the Deed of Declaration as epochal of an organized departure from New Testament precedents. This review will be necessarily sketchy and condensed, but will be inclusive of everything material to the main purpose of disclosing the reasons for Wesley's paternal polity as it culminated in the Deed of Declaration; its destruction of English Methodist unity; the steady assertion of more scriptural and liberal principles by the English Reformers and their repeated excision by the Conference having its empire in property; the organized protest of the secedent bodies and their reflex influence in modifying exclusive ministerial rule until it is well established that full lay participation in governmental methods is a certain futurity of English Methodism.¹

The purview of this History suggests the same general course in the treatment of North American Methodism. Every great movement has its causative force, and the verdict of impartial history will be that, on the human side of it, Francis Asbury was that causative force in the Methodist Societies of this country. A born leader of men with a genius for control not inferior to John Wesley himself, he found on this side of the Atlantic a sphere for the exercise of his rule-loving propensities — a dominating passion which knew no subordination, except to his higher consecration to the kingdom of God and the salvation of souls.² By native predilection and educational direction he was a mon-

¹ Dr. Neely, fraternal messenger to the Wesleyan Conference of 1894, informs his readers through the *N. Y. Christian Advocate* that the Conference was composed of 250 ministers and 250 laymen, the Legal Hundred of course being the final legislative authority as legally settled by Wesley in the Deed of Declaration. These laymen, it must be observed, however, were only delegates, not representatives direct from the societies, but chosen by the Districts. What would be the amazement of Wesley and Coke could they revisit the "Conference" and find these laymen ensconced? Verily, the whirligig of time makes all things even.

² The Rev. Devereux Jarrett, rector of Bath Episcopal Church, Va., ardently coöperated with the Methodists in the early days, and was well acquainted with Asbury; held him in admiration, and on Jarrett's death Asbury preached a memorial sermon on his character and labors. Jarrett wrote his own life in a series of letters. One under date August 2, 1780, says: "Mr. Asbury is the most indefatigable man in his travels and variety of labors of any I am acquainted with, and though his strong passion for superiority and thirst for domination may contribute not a little to this, yet I hope he is chiefly influenced by more laudable motives." These pages will demonstrate that there was never a more impartial judgment pronounced. See Rev. Dr. John Atkinson's "History of the Origin of the Wesleyan Movement in America," etc., Jersey City, N. J., 1896, large 8vo, 458 pp., cloth. It is exhaustive of American Methodism prior to 1773, and is of original research. It will be cited hereafter. Present quotation on page 288.

archist in the State and a hierarchist in the Church. He cherished these views with a good conscience, and his selected readings, as we learn from his *Journal*, were all to the end of confirming him in his convictions. Evidently he made John Wesley his model. To be to American Methodism what he was to English Methodism was the goal of his life. Paternalism found its personification in him. It goes for the saying that no man comes to its successful and continuous exercise who has not large qualifications for it. The infant Society in America found in him a master spirit. His devotion and spirituality and love for souls were seen and read of all men and his striking personality asserted itself among his lay preacher peers almost without visible effort. He grew into their affections and confidence and that of the Society, and he ruled them by large consent irresponsibly; there being no one his equal in practical wisdom, in strategic ability, in arduous labors and single-eyed consecration. Nicholas Snethen, the ministerial father of Lay Representation for American Methodism, has aptly said of this juncture: "Though nothing, or next to nothing, was attempted in the way of instruction, so as to make the elder preachers the teachers of the younger ones; yet no preacher of any grade or station was ever left a day without a superior. The principles and germs of a hierarchy were thus incorporated in the very foundation of our primitive existence."¹ This hierarchy was a marvellous development. Under the inspiration of Asbury it grew with the growth of the American colonies in the Methodist Societies, though through all this period, say from 1770 to 1785, the doctrine of "passive obedience and non-resistance" in the State had been repelled by the colonies until it culminated in a revolution of blood and a finality of civil independence. Freedom from kings and bishops was the end attained by the inchoate States of the American Union, while the enthronement of kings and bishops was the inevitable outcome of the paternal system in the inchoate Methodist Church within the same territorial limits. Not a few of the preachers, especially among the native born, chafed under the Asburian rule from the beginning. It was utterly incongruous with the free air all about them, but they saw in their leader such an example of unfeigned piety and self-sacrifice that they submitted for the gospel's sake, a gospel of free grace and full

¹ Snethen on "Lay Representation," Baltimore, 1835, 12mo, 384 pp., for this and all other quotations from him in the course of this work, unless otherwise noted. The book is a summation of all he wrote upon this subject in the Reform periodicals of 1821-30.

salvation. If any openly demurred, it was sufficient answer that the plan was Wesleyan, it bore his credentials. Without abandoning the contention that the doctrines and means of grace peculiar to Methodism would have prevailed under the Divine blessing just as fully if it had been possible for Wesley and Asbury with their rule-loving natures to have administered a more liberal polity, it detracts nothing from the contention to admit that, accepting Abel Stevens's crystalline definition of Methodism, "A revival church in its spirit, a missionary church in its organization," the paternal government of both Wesley and Asbury, at least in the formative stages of the United Societies in Britain and America, was admirable and effective. But, as has been intimated, an intimation to be followed in due course by abundant proof, it was the ill-advised perpetuation of paternalism in the Deed of Declaration for the former, and the purposeful perpetuation of it in the hasty organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the latter, that made a Church for the ministry and not a ministry for the Church; the scriptural, rational, and natural order. It was the will and work practically of two men, — Thomas Coke, then but thirty-seven years of age, and Francis Asbury, but thirty-nine, and the acquiescence of fifty-nine other preachers out of the eighty-three then in the travelling connection, most of them mere striplings in age and experience; without consulting with the locality, now growing to the dignity of a third estate in Methodism, or of the whole body of the laity. It shall be my task to demonstrate that this second and aggravated departure from New Testament precedents of Church polity is directly responsible for the many divisions of American Methodism and the perpetual agitation against the exclusive rule of the ministerial class, who vested in themselves all legislative, judicial, and executive powers.

The conclusion is reached, then, that the Deed of Declaration was the cardinal error of English Methodism, in giving corporate form to an oligarchic entail of governmental power; and the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church was the cardinal error of American Methodism, with a like result, greatly exaggerated. The astute Snethen has expressed this conclusion with nervous energy: "Every matter of fact evidence, every argument *a posteriori*, goes to demonstrate that paternal power, as soon as it ceases to be qualified by parental affection, begins to degenerate into tyranny, and therefore ought not to be perpetuated beyond the life of the real father himself." It may be conceded that

Mr. Wesley for the United Societies of Great Britain, and Mr. Asbury for the United Societies of North America, acting as he did by his authority as general assistant for several years, and then by assumption, up to the Christmas Conference of 1784, governed by a plan which was more efficient than any other could have been, in the circumstances. Snethen makes the same concession: "It is, indeed, beyond all doubt that any leader in Church or State, with absolute authority, can do more than if he were fettered by a system; and yet it is a universally admitted fact that no governments are so liable to sink under their own weight as absolute ones. The ancient Romans had their temporary dictators in the emergency of the State; but when the dictatorship became perpetual, their liberties were lost forever." The fact and philosophy just hinted shall receive fuller treatment in the course of this History; and, joining issue as it does with those who see in these cardinal errors the acme of wisdom, the fundamentals of the issue shall be staked upon a vindication of this conclusion.

In pursuance of this method, the Christmas Conference of 1784, with its outcome, shall receive thorough exposure. The chief actors in it, John Wesley, Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, each God-fearing and conscientious in his sphere, shall be brought upon the stage of scrutiny, and another attempt made to unravel one of the most perplexing mysteries of ecclesiastical history. Perhaps no three men ever figured in Church activities who were so utterly free from love of personal ease and worldly wealth, twin frailties of so many who are not thoroughly consecrated to Christ and his kingdom; and perhaps no three men ever developed a stronger dominating passion for leadership in the Church of God. The first stoutly adhered to his paternal views as he aged to senility, though broad reading and the force of the exigent made him willing, at times, to change his mind and his measures. The second cherished a life-long aspiration for hierarchal honors. Highly educated, and abundantly wealthy for his day, he was by far the weakest of his compeers in natural endowments and asserting personality; but what he lacked in virile strength he made up in insinuating diplomacy. The third was a rugged character, a self-made man, who followed his convictions unerringly under the severe limitations of preconceived opinions, combined with a generalship which developed a fine strategy, and made him in this respect the pronounced superior of his associates. A tripartite contention will be disclosed as a key to the mystery of otherwise unaccountable transactions of these three in dealing

with each other. Wesley, the father and founder of Methodism, and excusably jealous of his position, holding to a settled purpose that, during his lifetime, he should be respected as such by the Methodists, whether in Britain, in America, or the islands of the sea; Coke, the untiring go-between, prevailing on Wesley to take advanced steps in paternalism for America, and then exceeding his instructions, after his conference with Asbury, and finding himself at last foiled in his personal ends; Asbury, every inch worthy of all he claimed as leader in America, outwitting Coke and antagonizing Wesley unto final insubordination to his authority, because he was entirely too massive to be thrown from his equipoise by either of them. Quick to discern the whole situation, with its possibilities, after his interview with Coke, his opportunity had come to organize a Church after his own model, and, as he sincerely believed, to the glory of God. It was not to be lost; so, with unprecedented haste, the Christmas Conference was summoned to meet in Baltimore, and within a short week paternalism was enthroned, and the power of the keys was in his own steady grasp. Snethen says of this unseemly haste: "I never reflect upon the chapter of our history which related to the formation of our Church without feeling it in my heart, for the sake of those concerned, to wish that it were blotted out. It is a mortifying monument of the want of diplomatical ingenuity." There was, however, a deep method in it which will be disclosed when it is treated in detail. Around it, as the centre of a fray, have gathered its apologists and their opponents. The gist of the controversy was: Did, or did not, Mr. Wesley intend to organize a Church for the American Methodists, and "recommend the Episcopal form of government"? It will be shown to a moral certainty, as positive demonstration is impossible on either side, that he did neither. That the American Societies were so impressed by Coke and Asbury need not be questioned. The means employed to this end will be traversed when the ancient controversy is covered, and the reader left to determine on which side of this darkly drawn line the truth is found.

The period from 1784 to 1792 will be carefully considered, a period which marked the growth and consolidation of a Methodist hierarchy, under much agitation, and final upheaval in the secession of James O'Kelly and others, with more than one-fifth of the Methodist people. This secession disclosed to Asbury two weak places in the government, which a subsequent General Conference strengthened by enacting a rule for expulsion of members or

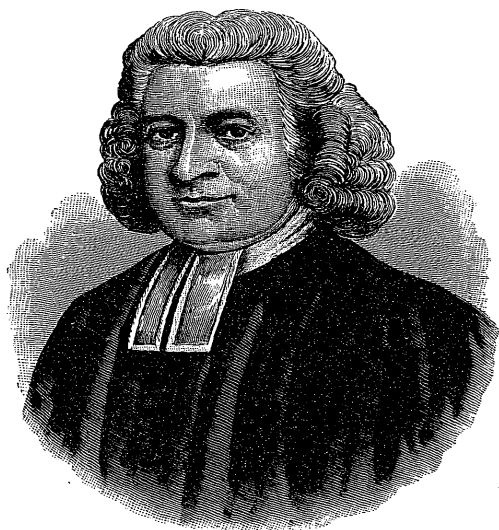
preachers for other reasons than immorality; namely, "sowing dissensions" and "inveighing against either our doctrine or discipline"; and the deed of settlement for church property placing the title in "the ministers and preachers of said church at their general conferences." The Council Plan of Asbury was intended to supersede the assembling of the preachers except in segregated annual conferences; the reasons for its miscarriage, with the outcome of a Delegated General Conference enacted in 1808, which was the first formal recognition of the voting power, or the right of suffrage, but confined exclusively to the ministers in Annual Conference. It will be shown that grave dissatisfaction existed all this time among the thoughtful laity because they were absolutely ignored as an estate in the Church, but who, for the most part, silently endured with patient acquiescence, for the sake of doctrines and means of grace which gave them soul liberty and spiritual peace. The same restive spirit found exhibition among the ministers in the right of appeal from the appointing power, O'Kelly's objective, and the election of presiding elders by the Annual Conferences, which had among its advocates a preponderance of the leading ministers from 1800 to 1820, when the measure was carried by a two-thirds majority in the General Conference of that memorable year. It brought with it, however, the amazing revelation of the superiority of the Episcopacy to the General Conference. The bishop-elect, Soule, entered his virtual veto, while the senior bishop, M'Kendree, solemnly protested; by indirection the resolution was suspended, and finally abandoned, and Episcopal prerogative reigned supreme, as exercised by Wesley and Asbury. It marked its culmination—it also marked its decadence.

A new epoch in the history of governmental Methodism dates from 1820. The effort of Bishop M'Kendree to secure the indorsement of the Annual Conferences for the reactionary step of Bishop Soule and himself opened the discussion of Episcopal prerogatives, and for the first time the intelligent laity of the Church looked more critically into the Discipline. In April, 1821, the *Wesleyan Repository* was issued from Trenton, N. J., by W. S. Stockton, a leading layman of the Church, and was continued for three years, its columns being open for the polemical study of Church polity; and lay participation in the discussion took tangible form. The synoptical review of this Introductory chapter is not the place for historical details. The General Conference of 1824 was a red-letter one, inasmuch

as it was called to answer the petitions of the laity for recognition. That answer was in turn an amazing revelation of exclusive claims for the ministry, and was intended to silence the membership, as the action of Soule and M'Kendree was intended to silence the ministry, as to the modification of the unlimited sway of Episcopal prerogatives. It gave birth to "The Mutual Rights of the Ministry and Laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church," a monthly publication issued from Baltimore; and of the Union Societies. The expulsions in various places for reading and circulating it and for being members of the Union Societies led to a crisis with the Reformers. The preliminary Convention of its friends in 1827; the delegated Convention of 1828; the formation of The Associated Methodist Churches, with its culmination in the Convention of 1830; the institution of The Methodist Protestant Church; its Constitution and Discipline; the growth of the infant Church under persecutions, and its subsequent history to the present time,—furnish the material for this work. As necessary to the vindication of its principles parallel notice will be taken of the revived agitation in the Methodist Episcopal Church; the modifications wrought at least in the administration of its Discipline by the prospering existence of its liberalizing offshoot; the gradual incorporation of lay delegation, if not of lay representation in the former; the inauguration of fraternity with its excised Branch; the arguments to be furnished that a voting, lay-representation Church has succeeded, other things being equal, as well as a non-voting, clerically governed Church; thus dissipating the fears and overthrowing the prognostications of those who had stigmatized Reformers as "the enemies of Methodism." Equal sincerity will be conceded to the staunch advocates of these diverse systems and an attempt made in these pages, while unflinchingly vindicating the men and measures of The Methodist Protestant Church, not to impugn the motives or question the honesty of those who stood as the champions of the mother Church as organized by the fathers. It shall be the aim to record and not make history, and as far as it is possible, without utterly obliterating the personality of the writer, to leave inferences to the reader.

If, as has been affirmed, "the most attractive phase in the history of each denomination is the season of its adversity," these pages will not lack for attraction. Within its purview, moreover, it shall be incumbent to preserve under proper limitation of space

the history of the initial Conferences, as well as to rescue from a rapidly coming oblivion by a brief biography, all the early participants in the Reform movements, with quadrennial statistics of church growth, thus to a given extent reversing the dictum of John Morley, the historian — "The interest of historic study lies in tracing the devious course of the sacred torch, as it shifts from bearer to bearer. It is not the bearers who are most interesting, but the torch." The writer of these pages therefore realizes that, a large section of this work will have an unromantic side based upon the clear necessity of embalming records which of themselves make stimulating reading to those only who are willing to become close students of historic remains. With this synopsis of the general purpose the reader is invited to enter a wide field of Methodist study.



CHARLES WESLEY.



CHAPTER II

Charles Wesley—Birth, education, Episcopal bias—Visit to America with John—Return; and itinerates among the Societies—Differences with his brother over lay-preachers and separation from the National Church—Friendship with Whitefield—Leaves the itinerant plan—Final separation from his brother—Whitehead's "Life," from his Journal and other papers—Triumphant death.

JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY are names immortal in the annals of Methodism. The former the exponent of its doctrines, the secret of its marvellous success, and the organizer of its primitive discipline, an accessory to that success. The latter was the complement of his brother as his most efficient helper and the author of its psalmody. They were sons of Rev. Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, England, and of his wife, Susannah. It is not within the scope of this History to treat of the Wesley family. Those who are curious as to its genealogy will find it exhaustively presented in Whitehead's "Life,"¹ the source of all succeeding biographies, and in Clarke's "Memoirs of the Wesley Family,"² the concluding sentence of its 432 octavo pages, crystallizing a verdict which loses all extravagance under his illumination: "Such a family I have never read of, heard of, or known; since the days of Abraham and Sarah, and Joseph and Mary of Nazareth, has there ever been a family to which the human race has been more indebted."

Charles Wesley was the junior of his brother by over five years, and was born December 18, old style, 1708. It seems demanded

¹ Whitehead's "Life of the Wesleys," genuine edition, in distinction from a fraudulent one issued shortly after the author's death, by Coke and Moore and emasculated by them. A reprint of the genuine was issued by W. S. Stockton in Philadelphia, Pa., 1845, large 8vo, 548 pp., cloth, two volumes bound in one, treating of Charles and John Wesley respectively, Whitehead being the literary executor of both brothers. This edition was embellished with steel-plate portraits of the brothers, and an introduction defensive of the author by Rev. T. H. Stockton, from the traduccements of his enemies. Another edition of the genuine had been issued a few years earlier in Boston, Mass.

² Dr. Adam Clarke's "Memoirs of the Wesley Family," reprint from the English edition, by Bangs and Mason, New York, 1824. One large octavo, and exhaustive of the family genealogy, etc.

in view of his conspicuous position in early Methodism and the scant reference accorded him in its annals generally, that a worthy place be given him in this outline.¹ His education was as thorough as his brother's, and his intellectual capacity in no wise inferior; his piety was as deep and his experience and grasp of evangelical doctrines as pronounced and comprehensive. The tutelage he received under his eldest brother, Samuel, gave him a high Church bias, which if it maintained his consistency, a quality his brother did not so fully esteem when it crossed his purpose, was the cause of the ultimate separation of the twain in their declining years of self-abnegating service in a common devotion to a spiritual kingdom without, and yet of the National Church. He accompanied John to America and shared in the hardships of the sojourn in Georgia. To this end he was ordained deacon and priest, and crossed the ocean as secretary to the governor, Oglethorpe; and also of Indian affairs. While detained at Cowes by contrary winds for six weeks, after sailing from Gravesend, October 22, 1735, he preached several times, "great crowds attended his ministry;" a foretoken of a popularity that followed him through life and made early Methodism a large debtor to his unremitting labors. Arriving at Savannah, John was stationed in the city and Charles at Frederica, an Indian station some miles distant. He soon became embroiled with the inhabitants by reason of his rigid discipline, strict preaching, and pure life, and they conspired against him either for the ruin of his reputation with the governor, or to take him off by violence. His health gave way under the climate and his persecutions; he resigned his position, shipped for England, but by stress of weather was driven to Boston and re-shipped for home, whither he arrived about thirteen months after his embarkation for America.²

His private Journal, which came into the hands of Whitehead, his literary executor, and whose life of Charles is the most authentic, if not comprehensive one, extant, furnishes details of

¹ Jackson's "Life of Charles Wesley," English edition, never reprinted in America, is an exception, as it is quite full but not so impartial as Whitehead's.

² John Wesley's "Calm Address to the Inhabitants of England," in the year 1777, London, printed at the Conference office, 1812, pamphlet, 16 pp. On page 3 he says: "In the year 1737,* my brother took ship in order to return from Georgia to England. But a violent storm drove him up to New England; and he was for some time detained at Boston. Even then he was surprised to hear the most serious people, and men of consequence, almost continually crying out, 'We must be independent; we shall never be well until we shake off the English yoke.' Thus early the American 'rebellion' began."

* He reached England December 8, 1736 (Whitehead, p. 97).

his acquaintance with Count Zinzendorf, head of the Moravian Church, and Peter Böhler, prominent in its ministry, and his experience of the "New birth," by spiritual regeneration with his brother John who had also returned to England, through their instrumentality. This experience led to the use of extempore prayer under special demand of public worship. A born poet, from his youth he was a singer in verse, and now his muse, under the inspiration of his new and rich communion with God, through a reconciled Saviour, as the fact was answered in his personal consciousness, incorporated his devotions in hymns whose spiritual fervor and musical rhythm have fired the hearts of evangelical Christians in every clime and for every age. Watts alone shares with him in this lyrical triumph, though John gave out fitful evidences of the same gift when he fully yielded to the afflatus. His public ministry was fruitful. A priest of the National Church without a settled parish, he preached wherever invited in the Church, having added extempore sermons to extempore prayers, to the prisoners in Newgate and other places, but always clad in his canonicals. He was arraigned before the Bishop of London, with his brother John, for preaching an absolute assurance of salvation. He was intimate with Whitefield, corrected his Journal for the press, and was urged by him to accept a college living at Oxford, the plan of an itinerant ministry not yet having developed. Following the example of Whitefield, he took to field preaching, and was rebuked by the archbishop for his irregularity. He preached to near ten thousand hearers by computation in Moorsfields and at Kensington common. He soon became thoroughly incorporated with his brother in itinerant preaching, meeting with like persecutions from the populace as, in public halls and open fields, he zealously proclaimed a full salvation for all men. Maxwell, the first of the lay-preachers, was also in the field, and he did not hesitate to yoke with him as such. The union with the Moravians in London had not yet been broken, and the Wesley brothers came under the regulations of the Methodo-Moravian societies. Dissensions came into the society of London by reason of the mystical tendencies of some of the Moravians, which John Wesley earnestly combated, and led to a final withdrawal from them. Another reason may have secretly operated to bring about this schism. Whitehead says: "Hitherto the government of the society has been vested wholly in the people. At their different meetings, they made such rules and orders as they thought necessary and proper, without paying

any particular deference to the ministers. In one or two instances, mentioned in these journals (Charles Wesley's), they threatened to expel Mr. Wesley himself when he did not conform to the rules they made. But on the 20th of April, this year (1740), it was agreed: "(1) That no order should be valid unless the minister be present at the making of it. (2) That whosoever denies the ordinances to be commands shall be expelled the society."¹ It was perhaps an instance of unbalanced government to the other extreme of the paternal system of John Wesley, when he was free to act out himself. In the meantime he labored in the societies, paralleling the zeal and fidelity of his brother, with much persecution and suffering. In the year 1744 there was much talk of the Pretender and a French invasion. Many thought it proper that John Wesley should draw up an Address of loyalty to the king in the name of the Methodist societies; and with that too ready acquiescence he exhibited in the matter of the American colonies, he drew it up, but it was not delivered, dissuaded probably by his ever cautious brother on the point of even seeming separation from the National Church. Charles wrote to his brother: "My objection to your Address in the name of the Methodists is, that it would constitute us a sect: at least it would seem to allow that we are a body distinct from the National Church, whereas we are only a sound part of the Church."²

In opening another paragraph of this epitomized account of Charles Wesley, it is pertinent to give place to Stevens's emphasis of two events: "Charles was the first of the brothers who received the name of Methodist, so was he the first to learn by experience the saving truth which Methodism was destined to witness to the world."³ His private Journal, which is followed by Whitehead, bating some breaks in its continuity, exhibits his daily labors itinerating among the United Societies, now under the acknowledged leadership of his brother John, and also discloses the differences in their temperament, modes of thought, and abiding convictions as to the lay-preachers, with his consistent adherence to the National Church, believing that the mission of Methodism was to reform it from within. His powers of endurance were not equal to his brother's, so that he was often indisposed from his exposures and persecutions. It is a part of this record that the Wesleys at times met with opposition

¹ Whitehead's "Life," Stockton's edition, Philadelphia, Vol. I. p. 146.

² *Ibid.* p. 173.

³ "History of Methodism," Vol. I. p. 101.

from the Dissenters. Whitehead, moralizing upon a striking instance of the kind in the career of Charles, says: "What shall we say to these proceedings? There is no class of people who cry out so loudly against persecution as the Dissenters, when it happens to be their turn to be persecuted. The truth seems to be, that most denominations of Christians disavow and condemn persecution in theory, yet fall into the practice of it when power and opportunity occur."¹ He purchased a house in Dublin, and fitted it up for lodging and boarding for the preachers and himself, and as a preaching-place. He became intimate in a Mr. Gwynne's family in Wales, and out of it sprang a proposal of marriage to his daughter Sarah, which was consummated not long after and proved a happy union. He preached at the Marsh, near Dublin,— "The congregation last Sunday was computed to be ten thousand." He went back and forth into Ireland, Wales, and England. In his treatment of the lay-preachers, to whom he was friendly, if they exhibited gifts and grace, Whitehead takes occasion to give a personal estimate of one of the marked differences between the two brothers Wesley, which it will be well to remember in tracing their respective careers. "Mr. John Wesley's great weakness was a proneness to believe every one sincere in his profession of religion till he had the most positive, and perhaps repeated, proofs of his insincerity; and to believe their testimony of things as true, without making proper allowance for their ignorance. This exposed him to frequent imposition and mistake. The case was far otherwise with Mr. Charles; he quickly penetrated into a man's character, and it was not easy to impose upon him. He totally differed from his brother concerning the qualifications necessary for an itinerant preacher, and sometimes silenced a man whom his brother had admitted. The one looked at the harm an unqualified preacher might do many persons; the other, at the possible good he might do to some."² He had close fellowship with the Perronets, who figure so largely in primitive Methodism, and one of the brothers was his travelling companion for a full year.

The ordination of some of the lay-preachers became rife, and the agitation had gone so far as to produce a division in the important United Society of Leeds. Both the brothers resisted this innovation as totally subversive of the original constitution of the Societies, and it may be in place to state that this became the vexed question of both British and American Methodism.

¹ Whitehead's "Life," Vol. I. p. 191.

² *Ibid.* p. 211.

The result of its solution in favor of ordination will be fully treated in its current place. This and the Deed of Declaration were the causes of the after official estrangement of the brothers. Those who contended for ordination did so with the ulterior purpose of a separation from the National Church. Says Whitehead: "He was fully convinced that all attempts to form the people into an independent body originated in the pride and selfishness of some of the preachers, and would be injurious to the progress of the work. He saw, however, that under various pretences, the preachers would finally prevail and obtain their purpose, though not during the life of his brother. He was still comforted with the hope that, whenever such an event should take place, there would be found, perhaps, a third part of the people in the Societies who would have judgment and virtue enough left to withstand it, and continue the connection on the original plan. How far his expectations will be realized, time must discover."¹ It was never realized, the people having little voice under the paternal system of the Wesleys, while the spirit of separation was as rife with them as with many of the preachers. Largely, however, he had the eye of a seer.

1756-57 finds him still itinerating. In the latter year he made his last considerable journey from Manchester to Leeds. He afterward divided his labors between London and Bristol, having as quietly as possible dropped out of official relation, principally for the reasons that his inflexible opposition to separation made him enemies among the prominent preachers, and his high standard of qualification for lay-preachers united all the aspiring class against him; and they were not slow to whisper to John, ever ready to hear and believe reports, that Charles was being alienated from Methodism. Whitehead says: "Mr. Charles being fully aware of all this, and wishing to avoid a low and illiberal opposition, and especially occasions of frequent difference with his brother, thought it best to retire from a situation in which all his words and actions were artfully misconstrued and misrepresented; and from having any share in the government of the Societies, which he saw, or thought he saw, was approaching toward a system of human policy that in the end could not be carried on without sometimes having recourse to the arts of misrepresentation and deception. These he abhorred in all persons, but when practised under the mask of religion they always appeared to him more detestable."² Methodist annalists, because for the most part

¹ Whitehead's "Life," Vol. I. pp. 224, 225.

² *Ibid.* p. 225.

special champions of John Wesley and his peculiar methods, are severe in their animadversions of him for this step, but it cannot be denied that he preserved his logical consistency, which cannot be affirmed of his brother's ecclesiastical course. In 1758 he published his testimony on the subject of separation, the gist of it being John's twelve reasons for adhering to the National Church; for, strange as it may seem, to the close of his life John strenuously maintained that he would die a member of it and had no intention for himself or the Methodists to separate from it either in Britain or America.

For thirty more years Charles continued to preach for the Societies, and kept up an affectionate correspondence with his brother, protesting, however, with tongue and pen against the so-called ordinations for America in 1784; and when, in 1786, John ordained more of the English preachers, he republished their mutual protest against separation. John's logical divergence and change of mind and measures will be fully considered in their proper place, with such apology as himself and others have made for it. As the breach widened between the brothers on this subject,—never, however, affecting their personal relations,—Charles made final answer to John's determination to ordain. It betrays a tinge of sarcasm. "Stand to your proposal: let us 'agree to differ.' I leave America and Scotland to your latest thought and recognition: only observing now that you are exactly right: 'he did nothing before he asked me' (referring to John's plea that he had always consulted his brother). True, he asked your leave to ordain two more preachers, before he ordained them: but while your answer was coming to prohibit him, he took care to ordain them both. Therefore, his asking you was a mere compliment. This I should not mention, but out of concern for your authority. Keep it while you live; and after your death, *deter digniori*—or, rather, *dignioribus*. You cannot settle the succession: you cannot divine how God will settle it."¹

Reference has been made to Charles Wesley's intimacy with George Whitefield. It continued unbroken, though he was as fully an Arminian in his theology and preaching as his brother John. The latter made open proclamation against the Calvinistic theology, and as the head of the Methodists made the rupture between them with some tartness of language. Their sweet personal relations were afterward resumed, and Whitefield selected

¹ *Ibid.* p. 226.

him to preach his funeral sermon some time before his departure, and he fraternally complied.¹ Charles would probably have managed the controversy so as to prevent a separation, and as Whitefield, despite his peerless eloquence and unprecedented success in soul-winning, had little organizing capacity, a wiser course could have been pursued at least conjecturally. Lady Huntingdon, by her earnest sympathy and material support, gave all the body there was to the Calvinistic Methodists. The scope of this work will not allow more than this brief mention. His numerous biographers have done him ample justice. Like the Wesleys, he adhered to the National Church, as did his followers to the end, availing themselves of the ambiguity of its seventeenth article.

A brief paragraph in conclusion must dismiss Charles Wesley virtually from these pages. His withdrawal from active official connection with the United Societies laid him open to an impugnment of his motives from not a few of the Conference zealots. They said it was due to a loss of zeal and true vital religion; and even Whitehead, a bosom friend and his literary executor, confesses that he was once of this opinion; "but I have since been more perfectly informed and better acquainted with the nature of his situation." There seems no foundation for such an imputation whatever. A family grew up around him, during these thirty years of retirement from the itinerant plan, and he had a weak body and poor state of health during most of his useful life. He died March 9, 1788, aged seventy-nine years and three months. He was buried at Marylebone churchyard at his own request, eight clergymen of the National Church acting as pall-bearers. A few days before his death he composed the following lines. They are tenderly pathetic, and comprised his whole experience of steadfast faith. None of his lines are more familiar, and they have proved a solace to many departing Methodist saints. Having been quiet and silent for some time, he called to his wife and bade her write as he should dictate. It was his swan song.

"In age and feebleness extreme,
Who shall a sinful worm redeem?
Jesus, my only hope thou art,
Strength of my failing flesh and heart;
O! could I catch a smile from thee,
And drop into eternity!"

¹ A well-preserved copy of the original edition of this sermon is in my possession, London, 1770. It was found among the effects of the venerable John Chapel of Baltimore.



JOHN WESLEY.



CHAPTER III

John Wesley; birth, education, and training—Characteristic anecdote of him—Holy Club experience—Life in Georgia—The Moravians—Mixed society in London of Methodists and Moravians—The separation and the reasons for it—The Wesleys and Whitefield—First Methodist Societies—Lay-preachers—Classes—General Rules.

JOHN WESLEY was the second son of Samuel and Susannah Wesley, and was born at Epworth rectory on the 17th of June, old style, 1703. The salient events of his early life shall be sketched, leaving the reader who wishes to peruse in detail to Whitehead, Moore, and Watson among the earlier biographers, followed by the candid Tyerman in England, and by the thorough Stevens in America.

The burning of the rectory when he was less than six years old, his imminent peril and wonderful deliverance, have furnished material for an exciting adventure, and a clear special providence is claimed for it. His mother took it closely to heart with a full persuasion that a divine mission was ordered for him. So assiduously was he cultivated in piety that at eight years of age he was esteemed worthy by his watchful parents to receive publicly the Church sacrament. He continued under his mother's exclusive tutorage until 1714. More than any of the children he inherited the strong traits of both his remarkable parents: the indomitable will and versatile mentality of the father reinforced by the positive character and religious consecration of the mother. At eleven years he was placed at the Charter House School in London under Dr. Walker, its eminent head master. He remained until he was seventeen years of age, when he was elected to Christ Church, Oxford. While at the Charter School he suffered much from the hazing of the elder boys, and this accounts in part for the following incident taken in full from *Zion's Advocate*.¹ Tyerman gives it with the original authority, but omits Tooke's inference.² The story runs that Tooke, then school usher, once broke in upon Wesley while delivering an oration to a number of

¹ "Mutual Rights," Vol. I. No. 21, July 6, 1829.

² Tyerman's "Life of Wesley," Harper and Brother, 1872, Vol. I. p. 20.

the smaller boys, and he was desired to follow him to the parlor, which he did with reluctance. Mr. Tooke then said to him, "I wonder that you, who are so much above the lower forms, should constantly associate with them, for you should affect the company of the bigger boys, your equals." Young Wesley boldly replied, "Better to rule in hell, than serve in heaven." Tooke dismissed his pupil with this observation to an under master, "That boy, though designed for the Church, will never get a living in it, for his ambitious soul will never acknowledge a superior, or be confined to a parish." Riggs, in his work entitled, "*The Living Wesley*," admits the association with the smaller boys as probable, but dismisses the story as an invention and embellishment added by the older school fellows. He gives no better reason for his opinion, however, than the slip in the quotation from Milton, insisting that young Wesley would have quoted accurately, — reign instead of rule, — but this change could easily have been made in the transmission typographically. This space is given to an immaterial matter as showing the disposition of partial biographers to suppress incidents lacking in the color they prefer, and to mark an early development of a dominating passion as the boy is seen to be the father of the man. The tradition is in no sense discreditable, and bears every token of verisimilitude in the light of his after career. At twenty-one years of age he had a classical education of the highest grade, while the constant correspondence of his devout and intelligent mother kept him in all the forms of outward religion as a reflex of an inward life as near to God as one intended for the Church, but a stranger to spiritual regeneration, could be. He made a study of Kempis's "*Imitation*" and Taylor's "*Rules of Holy Living and Dying*," and was not slow to see and feel that true religion is seated in the heart. He was ordained deacon September 19, 1725. Soon after he was elected a Fellow of Lincoln College. He obtained his degree of A.M. on the 14th of February, 1727, his religious convictions deepening as his acquirements multiplied. On the 27th of September, 1728, he was ordained priest by the Bishop of Oxford.

A new epoch in his life approaches. After a journey to Lincolnshire he returned to Oxford in June, 1729, and entered upon his duties as tutor. A few years before, his brother Charles, through his advice, had become deeply serious, and soon gathered about him several other collegians of like spirit for study, meditation, and prayer. The little group were so methodical in the

disposal of their time as to be stigmatized by their fellows as Methodists, and as such they were widely known all over the university. When John Wesley joined them, "They gladly committed the direction of the whole to him; and from this time the society began to assume a more regular form."¹ This simple fact is another pointer to his born leadership of men. They entered upon charitable visitations to the prisoners and the sick, and won for themselves the enviable title of the Holy Club. The two brothers began the practice of conversing with each other solely in Latin, which they continued as a habit for more than fifty years. In 1731 combined opposition to the Club was inaugurated at the university, but it was borne with meekness and made no change in their ascetic habits. Much space is given by Whitehead to their severe spiritual exercises as they struggled together toward the light.

It may be useful in the matter of health and longevity to note that, about the year 1733, when Wesley was thirty years of age, his excessive labors and rigid abstemiousness greatly reduced him and he had frequent returns of blood spitting, and on the night of the 16th of July he had a hemorrhage that waked him from his sleep. But more prudent management under the advice of physicians overcame his tendency to pulmonary disease, and his almost constant outdoor life saved him to a rare old age, though twenty years afterward he had a severe return of consumptive tendencies. He paid little heed, however, to the first warning. Whitehead says of his life in Georgia, only five years later, but not in commendation, "He exposed himself with the utmost indifference to every change of climate, and to all kinds of weather. Snow and hail, storm and tempest, had no effect on his iron body. He frequently slept on the ground in summer, under the heavy dews of the night; and in winter with his hair and clothes frozen to the earth in the morning. He would wade through swamps, and swim over rivers in his clothes, and then travel on until they were dry, without any apparent injury to his health. On one of these occasions he concludes, that any person might undergo the same hardship without injury, if his constitution was not impaired by the softness of a genteel education. In all Mr. Wesley's writings I do not know such a flagrant instance of false reasoning as this: contrary to all the rules of logic, he draws a general conclusion from particular premises; but who is at all times in the

¹ Whitehead's "Life," Vol. I. p. 259.

full possession of all the powers of his mind?"¹ This impunity was apparent only, and it stands as an admonition to all concerned, an exception to general laws.

His father's health failing in 1734, strenuous efforts were made by him and the family to induce John to accept the rectorship of Epworth. A long correspondence ensued, during which his brother Samuel says, referring to his steady declination of the position, "After this declaration, I believe no one can move your mind but Him who made it." John closed the question by assigning twenty-six reasons he would be more useful with his pupils at Oxford and as the head of the Holy Club than to be shut up in a parish. His father died in April, 1735, and the living of Epworth was given away in May, so that he now considered himself as settled at Oxford.

Another change of scene takes place in the panorama of his life. The new colony of Georgia in America was in need of missionaries, not to the colony only, but to the Indians. Mr. Oglethorpe, the new governor, and others, pressed the Wesley brothers to accept. On the 14th of October, 1735, they set sail for America. Among the passengers were twenty-six German Moravians with Nitchman, their bishop. John Wesley at once began the study of the German that he might converse with these godly people. The ship was made a Bethel for these and the eighty English passengers. A severe tempest overtook them, imperilling their lives. The English were fearfully alarmed and rent the air with cries and screams—the Germans calmly sang their devotional hymns. John Wesley afterward asked one of them, "Was he not afraid?" He answered, "I thank God, no." I asked, "But were not your women and children afraid?" He replied mildly, "No, our women and children are not afraid to die." After more than three months' voyage they landed at Savannah. Shortly one of the resident Moravian pastors was introduced to him by Governor Oglethorpe and in the conversation Wesley was asked, "Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?" He said, "I was surprised; I knew not what to answer." He was not yet a conscious child of God. The two brothers entered zealously upon their clerical work, John at Savannah and Charles at Frederica. "They had high notions of clerical authority . . . they stood firmly on little things as well as great, and held the reins of ecclesiastical discipline with

¹ Whitehead's "Life of John Wesley," Vol. II. p. 34.

a tightness unsuitable to infant colonists especially, and which tended to provoke resistance.”¹ Another adumbration of the personal government of the United Societies in the near future, and of the reason for the official separation of the brothers. The embroilments, intrigues, persecutions, sufferings, and hard-earned experiences of the Wesleys in Georgia command much space from their biographers, but it covers, perhaps, the least profitable portion of their lives. Charles returned to England after an absence of about thirteen months and was followed by John fourteen months later, reaching home February 3, 1738.

He returned to Oxford, the Spirit of God leading him step by step into the full assurance of faith enjoyed by the Moravians and already experienced by Charles. He kept up his preaching at Bristol and in London, meeting there Whitefield, on his return from America, and uniting again with the mixed society of Methodists and Moravians. He opened a correspondence with Moravians in Germany; met frequently with Peter Böhler; made a journey to Herrnhut, and had an interview with Count Zinzendorf at Marienborn; and at last came into the full liberty of the sons of God.

The Society at Fetter Lane, London, was the nucleus of the great after movement denominated from the stigma of the Holy Club, Methodism. It was organized May 1, 1738. Mr. Wesley distinguishes three periods for the origin: November, 1729, when four gathered at Oxford; at Savannah, in April, 1736, when twenty or thirty persons met at his house; and at Fetter Lane, May 1, 1738. But Whitehead contends that this is hardly accurate, and shows that the first United Society of Methodists dates from the separation of himself and others from the Fetter Lane organization, which was on July 20, 1740.² Innovations of doctrine were charged against the Moravian brethren of the Fetter Lane Society, though the Church as such was afterward vindicated from the errors charged. Mr. Wesley vainly expostulated with them and at his last meeting he concluded his exhortation in these words, “But as I find you more and more confirmed in the error of your ways, nothing now remains but that I should give you up to God. You that are of the same judgment follow me. I then,” adds Mr. Wesley, “without saying any more, withdrew, as did eighteen or nineteen of society.”³ Some months prior to this a society had been formed by Wesley at the Foundry, and to these the seceding brethren from Fetter Lane

¹ Watson's "Life of John Wesley," American edition, 1831, p. 35.

² Whitehead's "Life," Vol. II. p. 48.

³ *Ibid.* p. 82.

joined themselves. Still earlier a society had been formed at Bristol, so that the question of priority has been largely discussed by Methodist annalists. Myles, in his "Chronological History," seems to settle the matter between Bristol and London in the undisputed statement that the "first preaching house was *built* at Bristol; the first which was *opened* was in London." The relevancy of the subject to our main purpose is in the effort of most of these annalists to minify Wesley's obligation to the Moravians and his connection practically with them, so far as they had organization in England, from about the date of his return from America in February, 1738, to July 20, 1740. Stevens gives larger space to it and his summation is just. First, his spiritual regeneration, a distinguishing experience in the after mission of Methodism. Second, kindred theological ideas as related to this spiritual life. Third, Zinzendorf's communities within the Established churches of the Continent for their reformation, as imitated by Wesley in his United Societies; and fourth, not a few details as to means of grace, love feasts, band meetings, and moral discipline.¹ Whitehead, however, brings to light the self-governing features of the Moravian society, which has been already suggested as a conjectural additional reason for Wesley's separation from them. The Rules of the Fetter Lane Society were made under the advice of Peter Böhler and are given in full by Whitehead. The fourteenth of these Rules is in these words, "That no particular person shall be allowed to act in anything, contrary to any order of this society; but that every one without distinction should submit to the determination of his brethren; and that, if any person or persons did not, after being thrice admonished, conform to the society, they should no longer be esteemed as members." On this rule Whitehead makes the following comment: "The fourteenth rule, to which the ministers were subject as well as the common members, was an excellent preservative against the abuse of power; and some of the others are good guards against the admission of improper members. It would have been happy for the Methodist societies if these rules had been preserved among them, and rigorously kept: the work would in that case have been more pure than it has been, and much confusion would have been prevented."² Again he says: "It was a rule of the society, 'that any person who desired or designed to take a journey, should first, if it were possible, have the approbation of the bands,' so entirely," he adds, "were the

¹ Stevens's "History," Vol. I. p. 108.

² Whitehead's "Life," Vol. II. p. 49.

ministers, at this time, under the direction of the people."¹ It was for utterances of opinions like these and the disclosure of kindred matters that brought Whitehead under the disfavor of the Conference leaders after Wesley's decease, specially Coke and Moore; a subject which shall receive full treatment in its current place, and an appendix furnished for the vindication of this remarkable man. Methodist historiographers, echoing each other generally, commend the separation from the Moravians, or United Brethren, as intrinsically wise and providentially ordered. It is open at least to question. Nothing doctrinally was gained and much ecclesiastically was lost. The merits of it cannot, however, be unfolded, as our limitations compel the dismissal of this phase of Methodist history.

The period from 1739 to 1744 was a formative one under the Wesleys and Whitefield. They traversed England, burning and shining lights. Their itinerating labors were crowned with unprecedented success in evangelizing the people. For a time the scattered converts took no organized form. Neither Charles Wesley nor Whitefield had the qualities of leadership exhibited by John Wesley, and which from the first gave him the right of way in the whole movement for spreading scriptural holiness over the land. He was, perhaps, unconscious of assuming this position. He simply acted out himself in following an indomitable will, chastened by divine grace. As converts to the doctrine multiplied they met for prayer and instruction, and, by an instinct of spiritual self-preservation, looked to John Wesley for fostering care. In the introduction to the "General Rules of the Society" he gives a brief account of the origin of the United Society. "In the latter end of the year 1739 eight or ten persons came to me in London and desired that I should spend some time with them in prayer, and advise them how to flee from the wrath to come; this was the rise of the United Society." "This," he says, "was soon after the consecration of the Foundry. Twelve came the first night, forty the next," and soon after a hundred, according to Jackson. The statement must not be taken, however, as inconsistent with the fact that a society had been formed before this in Bristol, and the first chapel of the Methodists built there. But the opening of the Foundry, November 11, 1738, has historical eminence; for after the separation from the Fetter Lane brethren it was the headquarters of Methodism in London. The year is also memorable from the formation of "Bands" in Bris-

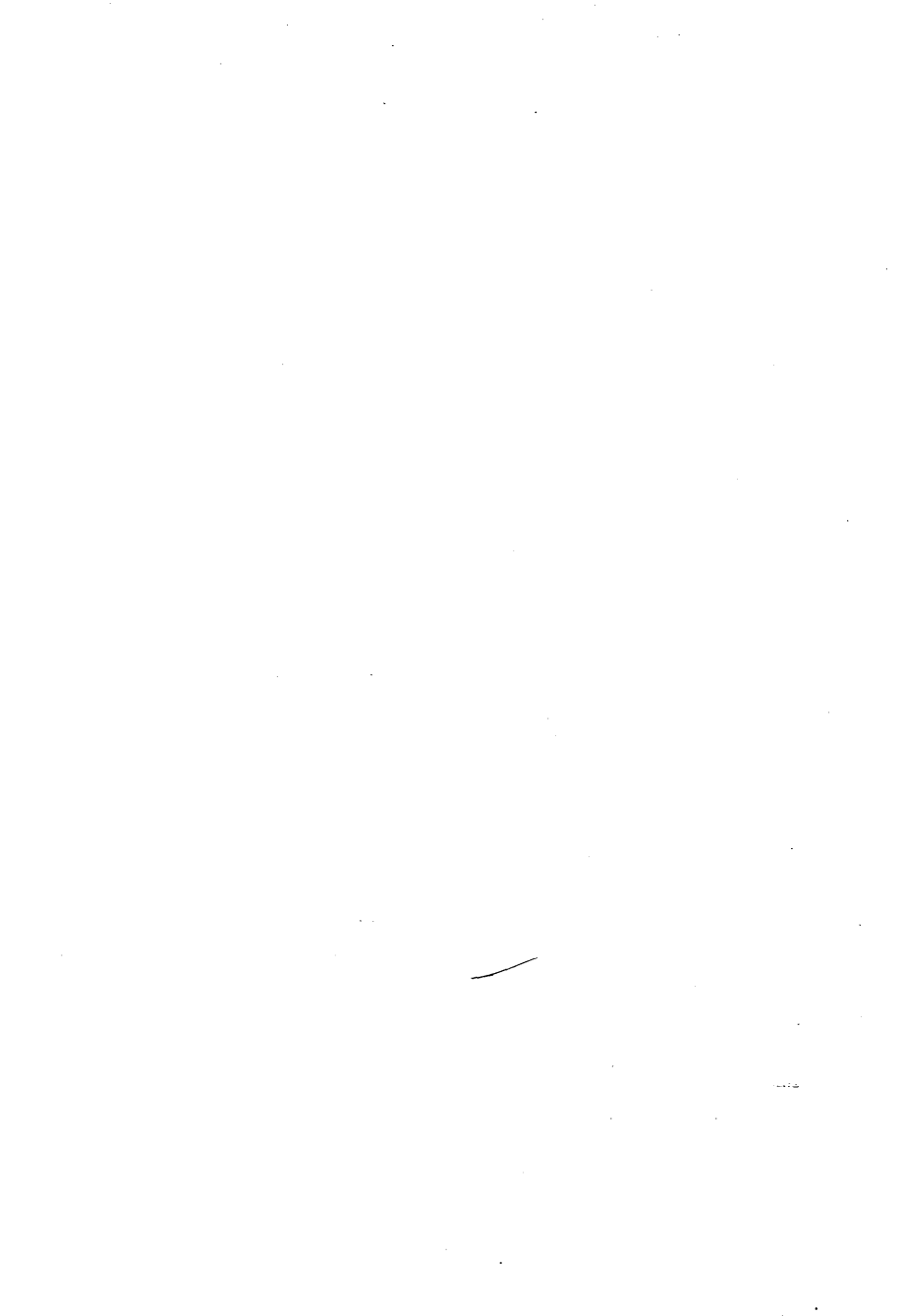
¹ *Ibid.* p. 62.

tol, and the issuance by the Wesleys of their "Hymns and Sacred Poems," the beginning of its published psalmody.

Necessity was the mother of his invention, and he now appointed John Cinneck, a layman, to take charge of the Kingswood society; pray, expound Scripture, but not to preach, in his absence. Thomas Maxwell was assigned to some religious duties at the Foundry, and John Nelson began about this time to hold meetings at night, working at his trade of a stonemason by day. It marked the initiation of his lay ministry, and it became the backbone of Methodism both in England and America; for ordained ministers there were none but the Wesleys and Whitefield. Mention should also be made of Ingham, who was Wesley's companion in America and who formed many societies in Yorkshire. Howell Harris labored in Wales and John Bennet in Derbyshire. David Taylor, who was a servant to Lord Huntingdon, attracted great assemblies of the rustic people, being recognized by Lady Huntingdon, around her residence and elsewhere. Samuel Deacon became a distinguished preacher, raw from the harvest-field. In February, 1742, a meeting was held at Bristol for consultation over the debt upon the chapel, and it was agreed that every member of the society who was able should contribute a penny a week; that the whole society should be divided into classes of about twelve, and that one person in each class should be appointed to receive the contributions and pay over to the steward. "This," says Wesley, "was the origin of our classes in London (for the plan was extended to all the societies), for which I can never sufficiently praise God, the unspeakable usefulness of the institution having ever since been more and more manifest." Thus was laid the foundation of the financial system of Methodism and gave rise to the saying, "A penny a week and a shilling a quarter," as a minimum poll tax upon the membership; while the devotional feature, soon added, of each giving a weekly "experience" kept alive the personal religion of all in society. Wesley appointed the leaders, and, as the societies increased, in order that he might have a check upon improper persons and know by some token who belonged to the society, he issued tickets with a short Scripture verse with the date and name of the holder. Such a ticket was a passport to any of the classes, and was valid for three months. April 9, 1742, the first watch-night was held in London, the Friday night nearest the full moon either before or after was selected that those from any distance might have its light returning home.



SUSANNAH WESLEY.



The service was held from half-past eight to a little past midnight. The New Year's watch-night afterward took its place.

Wesley's lay helpers were "expounders" and "exhorters" only, but Maxwell, one of the most gifted, while in charge at the Foundry during his absence was led to "preach." Wesley heard of it at Bristol, and hurried back to arrest this irregularity. He first, however, consulted his widowed mother, who was living in the parsonage adjoining the Foundry, and she had heard Maxwell preach. She warned him not to interfere, "He is as surely called of God to preach as you are." Instead, therefore, of silencing Maxwell, he was himself silenced, and he became the first of a host of itinerant lay-preachers, the stalwart pioneers of a free grace and Spirit-witnessing gospel in England and America. Lady Huntingdon also added her approval after hearing Maxwell, and thus to two godly women Methodism is indebted for a return to New Testament methods. The sainted mother died July 23, 1742, her dying request being, "Children, when I am gone sing a psalm of praise to God." He and five of her daughters who stood around her bed complied with the request at the moment of her peaceful departure. His lay ministry of the itinerating class now numbered some twenty-three, besides local preachers. They were distributed among the societies, moving from place to place, Wesley in the lead supported by his brother Charles, in ever enlarging circuits. He revisited Epworth, and, being denied the use of the church of his father's long rectorship, he preached upon his tombstone to a vast audience, on one occasion for a week continuously. The United Societies had greatly multiplied, and chapels built at Bristol, London, Kingswood, and Newcastle. More clearly defined and uniform terms of membership seemed demanded, and a bond of union established between the numerous societies. The two brothers Wesley framed the memorable "General Rules of the Society." They are sufficiently familiar. They bear date May 1, 1743. The fearful scenes of riot and personal violence with marvellous deliverances through which the brothers passed and their lay helpers would make a volume. Satan and his emissaries were in extremity over the moral revolution being wrought among the colliers of Kingswood and the townsfolk everywhere. The numbers now in Society cannot be ascertained, but in London alone there were over two thousand; while as the year 1743 closed there were forty-five itinerants in the field and many local preachers, all under the military-like direction of Wesley in storming the kingdom of darkness.

CHAPTER IV

The first "Conference"—Who were present—Extension of Methodism—Subsequent Conferences—Kingswood school—Wesley's loves and marriage—Break with his brother Charles—Personal authority and its effects upon the brothers—Apology for the course of John—Philosophy of the situation.

A NEW chapter in Methodist history opens. The first Conference was convened by Wesley at the Foundry, London, June 25, 1744. Some considerable difference of opinion obtains as to who were invited and who were present on the memorable occasion. Watson gives no intimation. Moore says generally, "He summoned annually a considerable number of the preachers." Whitehead records: "June 20th, he returned to London, where he met his brother, two or three other clergymen, and a few of the preachers, whom he had appointed to come from various parts to *confer* with them on the affairs of the society."¹ He italicizes the word *confer*, and it is significant as suggesting the official name of these after convocations. Stevens says, "He wrote letters to several clergymen and to his lay assistants, inviting them to meet him in London, and to give him their advice respecting the best method of carrying on the work of God."² He gives the names of the four clergymen of the National Church, who with the brothers Wesley, as good an authority as Jackson says, composed the first Wesleyan Conference. But Stevens gives the names of four of the lay-preachers who were also present, Maxwell, Richards, Bennet, and Downes. There is no evidence that more were either present or invited than is intimated in Stevens's statement.³ The Conference remained in

¹ "Life of Wesley," Vol. II. p. 111.

² "History of Methodism," Vol. I. p. 211.

³ Minute of the First Conference of 1744. "Q. Shall any of our lay brethren be present at this Conference? A. We agree to invite from time to time such as we think proper. Q. Which of them shall we invite to-day? A. The four mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, who were accordingly brought in." Found in "Chronological History of the People called Methodists of the Connection of the late John Wesley, from their Rise in the year 1729 to their last Conference in 1812," by William Myles. London, 3d edition, enlarged. Printed at the

session for five days and discussed a wide range of subjects; doctrine, teaching, discipline, and a seminary for laborers in the cause. The interview took the form of conversations, questions and answers, which were afterward published. The Plan of Appointments had not yet come into vogue; Wesley sent his workers at pleasure, and recalled them at will. The meeting adjourned without making provision for any future assembling, but they followed in order, and Wesley lived to attend and preside over forty-seven of these Conferences.

Methodism had now extended over England from Land's End to Newcastle, and the whole area was traversed by Wesley, superintending the work amid persecutions and sufferings shared fully by his brother and his devoted helpers. Some of them were impressed for the army, others met heroic deaths, either directly or indirectly, the result of their consecration to their divine Master and the cause of religion as represented by Methodism. The new religion broke out in the army of Flanders on the Continent. Some of the soldiers had taken it at home and now began to preach, and hundreds were converted, a moral miracle, as the depravity of this soldiery is perpetuated in the legend — "They swore like the army in Flanders." Not a few of these converts died in Christian triumph on the field of battle. Meanwhile, August 1, 1745, the second Conference was held at Bristol and continued two days, Whitehead says, "with as many of the preachers as could conveniently be present." It was much in character with the first meeting, and all that is known of it is preserved in the "Minutes of the Conversations" which were published together in 1747. England was threatened with an

Conference office, 14, City Road, 1813, 8vo, 487 pp., sheep. In Peabody Library, Baltimore, Md. It is noteworthy that the foregoing minute is not found in the "Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev. John Wesley and the Preachers in connection with him from the year 1744 to 1800." Leeds, England, 1803, 12mo, sheep." Also in the Peabody Library of Baltimore. In these Minutes the following does occur, and it never has been found by the writer reproduced anywhere else. It is important as showing the ascetic and celibate principles of Wesley in that day: "Touch not a woman, be as loving as you will, but the custom of the country is nothing to us."

The Bennet mentioned by Stevens, one of Wesley's helpers, made a copy of the minutes of the early conferences, which was kept in the family for several generations, but has been recently published by the Wesleyan Conference, 1897. He mentions as present at the Conference of 1744 only the following: John Wesley, Charles Wesley, John Hodges, Henry Piers, Samuel Taylor, and John Meriton. Evidently, others were present, and it detracts from the value of this historical "find," by John Bennet. See compend of the pamphlet in N. Y. *Christian Advocate* for December 9 and 16, 1897.

invasion by the Pretender, but amid the commotion Methodism grew and had its signal triumphs in divers places. Stevens says the third Conference was held on the 12th of May, 1745, but does not give the place, while by Moore and Whitehead it is not mentioned, probably because it was so lacking in importance that Wesley himself makes no reference to it in his Journal. The fourth Conference was held, according to Whitehead, from June 15th to 20th, 1747, and the place is given as the Foundry by Stevens. It was numerically the largest held. At the session of 1745 Marmaduke Gwynne, a layman, attended by invitation, and at that of 1746, the question was propounded: Who are proper persons to attend any Conference? And the answer was, besides the preachers conveniently at hand, the most prudent and devoted of the Band leaders of the town where the session was held, and any pious and judicious stranger who might be in the town should be invited.¹ It will be seen from the dates, that an annual feature had not been adopted; the Conferences met when and where Wesley thought it expedient to call one.

On the 2d of June, 1748, the fifth was held at Tower-Hill chapel, London, and it was not reconvened until November 16, 1749, in London. On the 8th of March, 1750, the seventh was held; but there are no traces of its minutes, and from this time to 1765 there are records of but two. A little more than a decade had elapsed since the first as an epoch of Methodism. Meantime, Wesley's views from reflection and reading had undergone considerable change as to Episcopacy, and doctrinal points were more clearly settled. Quarterly meetings were held for the circuits, books were distributed by the preachers as colporteurs, and Wesley concluded his "Christian Library" in fifty volumes. It was little more than a careful compilation of other books, and occasion will occur in the future for larger reference to a prevailing practice of plagiarizing by leading men of literary reputation. A lay ministry had accomplished a wonderful work throughout the British Islands. In fine, Wesleyan Methodism had taken on an organic form, though adhering to the National Church. The Kingswood school was opened in 1748. Wesley's marriage with Miss Grace Murray had miscarried through the interference of his brother Charles. It is alleged she was engaged to one of the helpers, Ben-net, and to whom she was married, much to Wesley's disappointment, soon after. Wesley remembered this interference of his brother and it marked the interruption of the harmony which for

¹ Stevens's "History of Methodism," Vol. I. p. 315.

twenty years had existed between them. It may be in place here for the simple mention of his entanglement with Miss Hopkey of Savannah while he was yet in Georgia. It was broken off for reasons touching which his biographers greatly differ, but it was among the causes that hastened his return to England. Some years before his marriage he had written a tract favoring celibacy as more conducive to spiritual life, but he had evidently made no resolution not to marry. He formed the acquaintance of Mrs. Vizelle, a young widow of independent fortune with accomplishments, and a professor of religion withal. He took care that her fortune should be settled upon herself, and that it should be agreed that he was not to surcease in his labors and travels as superintendent of the United Societies. But it proved an ill-starred marriage. She soon tired of itinerating with him, and in her efforts to overrule him for a location in the ministry she became abusive and violent in her treatment, and finally left him with word that she never expected to return. Wesley makes the characteristic record — "I have not left her; I have not put her away; I will not call her back." In 1781, some thirty years afterward, she died, leaving her fortune to an only son by a former marriage and a ring to Wesley. Grace Bennet long survived her husband, who became a dissenting minister; and late in life an interview at her request took place between her and Wesley in the presence of a mutual friend. It was a tender interview; they parted, and Wesley was never afterward heard to allude to her.

As might be expected Wesley had not only his fightings without but his troubles within the Societies. There were signs of disaffection, and the preachers were restive under the yoke of the brothers, and their dependence upon the National Church. He freely unburdened his mind to Edward Perronet, and Tyerman cites from their correspondence fragments of John's dissatisfaction. "Charles and you behave as I want you to do. But you cannot or will not preach where I desire. Others can and will preach where I desire; but they do not behave as I want them to do. I have a fine time between the one and the other. . . . I have not one preacher with me, and not six in England, whose wills are broken enough to serve me as sons in the Gospel."¹ He seemed to forget that he was dealing with free-born Englishmen, and that: —

"Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. II. p. 85.

More perplexing than these things, the ostensible division of authority with his brother Charles in some things did not work well. In November, 1751, they met at Shoreham and in the presence of Perronet talked it over with much candor and love. An agreement was drawn up defining their respective rights with the lay-preachers. Whitehead says John signed them with reluctance, but nothing came of it as a settlement. "Mr. Wesley would not submit to any control in admitting preachers into the connection, in appointing them to the different circuits, or in governing the societies. It appears to me that after the first difference with his brother, who disappointed his intended marriage, he made up his mind not to suffer either a superior, or an equal in these respects. From that time he seemed determined to be *aut Caesar aut nihil*."¹ Moore says this imputation of Whitehead was based on a "heathenish principle," and finds a motive and apology for John's breaking the engagement in that he found Charles "was unable to execute so large an engagement with efficiency."² This was probably so, if competing with him in laborious travel is made a factor, but the truth after all is found in Whitehead's deduction: in such a work there could not be two masters. And so it proved. Charles, in despair of sharing in the substance of official authority, determined that he could not be his brother's shadow and retired; though for thirty years after he did all in his power to help the societies, and in all emergencies threw himself into the breach, as during his brother's serious illness in the autumn of 1753, when the consumptive symptoms returned and Wesley in anticipation of a fatal termination wrote his own epitaph.

Our limitations will not allow even a sketch of the introduction of Methodism in Ireland from 1747; except to embalm the names of John Smith, Robert Swindells, and Thomas Walsh of his lay-preachers as well as Christopher Hopper, John Jane, and Duncan Wright. In 1754 Wesley read with deep interest the Life of Baxter and was moved to record his sympathy with the Dissenters in their persecutions by the clergy of the National Church; and this led Whitehead to philosophize as follows: "It is natural to observe here what the history of mankind uniformly shows, that, where the people have no balance of power in the government of the Church or of religious societies, to be used as a check against any undue influence of their teachers, the ministers, or preachers of the Gospel, become in the end haughty, tyrannical, and intoler-

¹ Whitehead's "Life," Vol. II. p. 167.

² Moore's "Life of Wesley," Vol. II. p. 150.

ant; and their councils, assemblies, or conferences degenerate into mere combinations against the natural rights and liberties of those over whom they assume any authority."¹ The language is prophetic as to Methodism and its peculiar *régime* and prejudiced the Conference party against him, provoking the open opposition of Dr. Coke and Henry Moore. It may be fairly offset by the following judicious observation of Stevens, "Discipline and authority such as Wesley alone among the founders seemed capable of establishing, were necessary for an enduring organization of the various crude elements which Methodism gathered from the degraded masses of the English populace."² As much has already been conceded in these pages at least as to the clerical leaders of the great religious revival. Of the three preëminent ones he alone possessed in a large degree the organizing faculty. But it must be observed that nearly all the factions in early Methodism with which he had to contend were fomented by inferior men among the ambitious preachers.

It is safe to conjecture that Wesley could have strengthened himself against all of this class if he had taken more account of the laity in his councils. It has been found that, in the Conferences he assembled from 1744 to 1765 and onward, he invited of the preachers whom he would, and allowed a sitting to any prominent Band leader or member in the place of its meeting of his selection also. But down to his decease, in 1791, they figure but furtively in any of these consultations. The whole history of Methodism proves how loyal they have been to the preachers and how conservative of the methods adopted. What an opportunity it was for a scriptural beginning according to New Testament precedents. What if he had invited a few prominent laymen of the Societies in London, Bristol, Newcastle, and Leeds, and so in an enlarging circle as the societies multiplied and the preachers increased? They would probably have added little light in doctrinal and speculative discussions which occupied so much of the time of these early Conferences, but as to discipline and local needs, the Kingswood school and the temporalities generally, would they not have been helpful? Was it because he had broken away from the Moravian regulations with their apostolical example of consulting the brethren in all emergencies at Fetter Lane? If these things occurred to him, they were dismissed as trammels upon his administration. He was providentially directed. Plainly he was

¹ Whitehead's "Life of Wesley," Vol. II. p. 173.

² "History of Methodism," Vol. I. p. 392.

so convinced. But doubts will arise when it is considered that it has no countenance in the methods of the primitive churches under the guidance of the Apostles, and it was the fruitful source of numerous divisions in the United Societies after his decease. If the Deed of Declaration had included one hundred laymen as well as a hundred preachers; eminently prudent, as it was to hold property, a pure temporality; it is not too much to declare in the light of all the facts of history that Methodism, the world over, would have been as fully a unit of organization, as it is of doctrine and means of grace. The proofs of this postulate will appear in the current places. There is no key, however, to the anomalous conditions, unless it be found in the dictum of Tyerman which is freely accepted: "Wesley was not a designing man; cunning he had none; he was a man of one idea; his sole aim was to save souls. This was the philosophy of his life. All his actions had reference to this. He had no preconceived plans; and hence it is needless to speculate about his motives. The man is best known by what he *did*; not by what philosophers may suspect he *thought*."¹ His parental relation to his helpers and the societies determined the bias of his actions, and under its moulding influence there was no need that he should preconceive plans. In him resided the motive power of the whole, and it needed no invention to adjust the subordinate parts; wheel came to wheel and cog to cog by a kind of natural selection. And it is not easy to criticise it on the score of efficiency alone, and the system can be freely condoned during the life of Wesley. Criticism holds only as to the trend of such a system as developed in the fundamental error of its entailment by the Deed of Declaration.

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Preface Vol. I. p. 5.

CHAPTER V

Wesley's effort to unite with him the evangelical clergy of the National Church — Its failure — Twenty-second Conference at Manchester, 1765 — "Feoffees," or trustees of chapels; property question — General Booth's Salvation Army and its property tenure akin to Wesley's, and open to abuse — Prediction fulfilled — Wesley seeks a closer union with Whitefield — Wesley's objection to the Leeds' chapel deed — Explains the origin of his power — The first missionary collection at Newcastle, 1767 — Perfection theory — Appeal from America, 1769 — Steps in anticipation of the Deed of Declaration — Led into it by Dr. Coke — Characteristics of Wesley — America in the minutes, 1770 — Calvinistic discussion revived — Asbury and Wright to America, 1771 — Joseph Benson — Women preachers.

1740-65. About a quarter of a century had now elapsed since the Fetter Lane separation and the independent career of Wesley as the organizer of United Societies; within, but not of, the National Church. In 1764 he made an earnest effort to unite with him in his single-eyed work of spreading scriptural holiness over the land all the evangelical clergymen. To this end he addressed a circular to thirty-four of them, including such notable persons as Romaine, Newton, Shirley, Stillingfleet, Fletcher, Venn, Burnet, and Berridge. Three only condescended to answer. Had he succeeded it would have bound the Societies more closely to the National Church and greatly strengthened him in his efforts to resist the growing clamor for ordination and separation. It threw him back upon his lay-preachers and such clergymen as were willing to continue their coöperation. Wesley was now sixty-two years of age, and there remained to him another quarter of a century of life. A few chapters will cover its salient events. The twenty-second Conference was held at Manchester, August 20, 1765. There were now twenty-five circuits in England, nearly a fourth of them in Yorkshire; four circuits in Scotland, two in Wales, and eight in Ireland. These were served by ninety-two itinerants, twelve of whom were admitted at this Conference.

Twelve pounds, or about \$60, was the salary of the preachers. About \$500 were collected for the Kingswood school, and the subscriptions in the classes amounted to some \$3500, of which

\$3000 was devoted to chapel debts, \$150 to law expenses, and about \$500 divided among preachers in want.

When the Bristol chapel was built, in 1739, Wesley had appointed "eleven feoffees," or trustees, to relieve him in directing the work and the financial responsibility. But friends in London, Whitefield in particular, objected, insisting that "he do everything in his own name." Among the reasons they gave, and which were decisive with Wesley, Stevens thus expresses: "That such feoffees would always have it in their power to control him, and if he preached not as they liked to turn him out of the house he had built." "In this manner," Stevens continues, "was it that the property of all his chapels became vested solely in himself during the early part of his career; a responsibility which was necessary in his peculiar circumstances; which he never abused, and which he transferred, in prospect of his death, by a 'deed of settlement' to his Legal Conference. Decisions in the Court of Chancery, made under this document, have given security to the property, and stability to the whole economy of Wesleyan Methodism down to our day."¹ When this famous Deed of Declaration comes under review this question will be considered more fully. Suffice it to say, as a running comment now, that there can be no dispute that this class and exclusive method of holding church property by the founder of Methodism, and the Legal Hundred after him, had the merit of giving security to the property, and stability to the economy. The same may be said with even more pronounced emphasis of the tenure by which all church property is held in the Roman Catholic Church. The entail is through the bishop of the diocese, and the archbishop and the cardinal, and ultimately in the Pope. In its incipient stage the same process is going on in the now world-wide Salvation Army. Under General William Booth it is known that for a period, movements of the officers, and the rank and file under them, were by his orders after a council with those nearest him in authority; but he quietly assumed, as the Army grew and military power concentrated, to discard the councils, and he now issues his orders independently. The garrisons and barracks, the press plant, and valuables of every kind are deeded to him, and it is safe to predict that after his decease serious trouble will originate from this cause with possible disintegration.²

¹ Stevens's "History of Methodism," Vol. I. p. 128.

² This was written in 1894, or about four years ago, and already the inevitable has come to pass. Arbitrary and absolute power vested in the "General" as he

In vain do you look for New Testament precedents for thus securing property and stability. Parallels in civil government are not wanting in the czars and emperors and kings. If it could be shown that security of property and stability of government cannot otherwise be obtained, there might be some color of excuse for a proceeding so violative of the methods of the primitive Church under the Apostles and of that principle of common law that property should vest in those who have created it. The strongest objection is yet to be mentioned: it preordains opportunity for abuse without possibility of redress and without limit as to its flagrancy. History is full of such abuse. That Wesley did not abuse it may be freely admitted as a fact, and something could be allowed him in "his peculiar circumstances"; but when he "transferred it" to the Legal Hundred the moral right is challenged and its expediency questioned. Empire follows property, as shall be farther exhibited.

Some modification was made by Wesley; for ten years after the Bristol chapel case, Stevens says: "In 1749 the chapels had been legally settled upon trustees. A person was now appointed to examine their deeds, and see that vacancies among their trustees were filled." He evidently means that for local convenience trustees held the chapels formally, but it did not affect Wesley's power of entail.

The Manchester Conference, though the most important in twenty-five years, receives but scant notice from Whitehead, and the same may be said of Moore. In the latter case it can be accounted for from the fact that his "Life of Wesley" is almost a literal transcript of Whitehead's "Life." He purloined whole pages, but never mentions Whitehead's name except to discredit him or to make a point emphatic. Stevens and Tyerman furnish what facts are available. The Conference continued four days. None of the historians gives the numbers in society at this date.

aged rendered him more exacting and impatient of contradiction. Under this military system, his son, Ballington, and accomplished wife, were put in charge of the American forces, and after nine years of successful labor, without warning, peremptory orders were sent him by the father from India to return to England and turn over his command with the property to his successor. He complied under protest, withdrew from the Army, and organized the American Volunteers out of sympathizing comrades and others. The merits of the case between father and son the world will never understand, though each has set forth his case in the public press. The son announces the breach as final, so the Salvation Army has its first secession, the fruit of arbitrary power; it is not the last. The history of such power in Wesley and Asbury will repeat itself in General Booth.

It now assumed business shape. The theological and ecclesiastical questions were mostly settled for the nonce. For the first time a roster of the preachers and of the circuits is published, and a Plan of Appointments, with minute rules of discipline for both the societies and the preachers. Superannuated preachers are first named, with a plan for their relief. The certificate, or ticket of transfer of members from one society to another, became an established custom. The phrases "brother" and "sister" were allowed "*prudently*." Tobacco and drams were not to be touched by the preachers on "any pretence," and were denounced among the people. Men and women were to sit apart, and no backs were to be put to the chapel seats. Breaking bread in the love-feasts was discountenanced as "a silly custom invented by James Wheatley." No preacher was to print anything without Wesley's approbation. Fasting and family prayer were urged, and economy enjoined in the households. Wesley, the God-fearing man of ascetic habits, narrowly looked into everything, and one cannot but admire his intense earnestness for the welfare of both the bodies and souls of his "sons in the Gospel" and the flock over which he was made a watchman.

1766 was also an eventful year in Methodism. Wesley's plan for a union with the evangelical clergy of the National Church having failed, he seems to have looked with a more favorable eye upon the Calvinistic Methodists. A closer union took place with Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon. August 21, 1766, he wrote: "This morning I and my brother spent two blessed hours with George Whitefield. The threefold cord we trust will never more be broken. On Tuesday next my brother is to preach in Lady Huntingdon's chapel at Bath. That, and all her chapels, are now put into the hands of us three."¹ It was just after the twenty-third Conference, held at Leeds, August 12. In the early part of this year, when he had reached Liverpool in his annual itinerary, he examined the new trust deed of Pitt Street chapel, and was much displeased. There is such a charming simplicity and innocence in the way this "autocrat of the Methodists," as Tyerman titles him, states his objections that they must be rehearsed in full. "(1) It takes up three large skins of parchment, and so could not cost less than ten guineas; whereas our own deed, transcribed by a friend, would not cost six shillings. (2) It is verbose beyond all sense and reason; and withal so ambiguously worded that one passage only might find matter for a suit of ten

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. II. p. 556.



GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

or twelve years in chancery. (3) It everywhere calls the house of God a meeting-house, a name which I particularly object to. (4) It leaves no power either to the assistant or me, so much as to place or displace a steward. (5) Neither I, nor all the Conference, has power to send the same preacher two years together. To crown all, (6) If a preacher is not appointed at the Conference, the trustees and the congregation are to choose one by most votes! Can any one wonder I dislike this deed, which tears the Methodist discipline up by the roots?"¹ Ah me, empire by property creates friction. Thoughtful laymen who contributed their money to build chapels, being loyal to doctrine and discipline, could not see why they must resign all control over it to the Conference deed. The fact was, as disclosed by this rebellious deed at Leeds and the admission of Watson, that "some began to wish a larger share in the government";² the yeast of dissatisfaction with the paternal system was fermenting in the Methodist mass.

At the Leeds Conference forty circuits were reported, and for the first time the minutes show an attempt to furnish a census of the societies, but it is too imperfect to give an aggregate of the members. The debts on the chapels and preachers' houses had increased to £11,383. "We shall be utterly ruined," said Wesley, "if we go on at this rate." It was found expedient, officially, to assert that they were not Dissenters, and the preachers were directed not to hold their services so as to interfere with the Church worship. Separation from the National Church was one of the great topics discussed and negatively determined. The Wesleys had but one dictum, which John expressed in an apothegm, "Whoever separate from the Church separate from the Methodists." Tyerman gives evidence that Charles attended this Conference, and deems it important as a fact by reason of this discussion and also of John's administrative power, and a "thorough reform of the preachers." It appears there were Methodist "radicals" in those days, and the murmurings against unamenable authority, as exercised by Wesley, grew so loud that he felt constrained to make a defence. It is an elaborate paper given by Tyerman in full,³ but not noticed by Moore, though he copied from Whitehead, who also gives it nearly in full. Watson has scant reference and Stevens contents himself with a dozen

¹ Rev. Luke Tyerman, here and elsewhere quoted from his "Life of Wesley," was a Wesleyan preacher and a warm partisan of the British Conference, but he was a candid historian. See Vol. II. p. 556, American edition.

² "Life of Wesley," American edition, 1831, p. 183.

³ "Life of Wesley," Vol. II. pp. 557-559.

lines, and they do not give the pith of it. A paraphrase is the best the limits will allow. "But what *power* is this, which *you* exercise over all the Methodists in Great Britain and Ireland? The answer is, that in 1738 persons came to him in London asking him to advise and pray with them, . . . here commenced my power, to appoint, when and where and how they should meet — and to remove the unfaithful — and this power remains the same, whether the people meeting together were twelve, twelve hundred, or twelve thousand." He rehearses how he came to appoint stewards and of removing them, another phase of power. Then certain brethren as lay-preachers desired to help him and he durst not refuse their assistance, "and here commenced my power to appoint each of these where, when, and how to labor; that is, while he chose to continue with me," — the case continued the same when the number of preachers increased. He recites that in 1744 he called together the first Conference of a select few. "They did not desire this meeting, but I did." Afterward, when the number of preachers increased, he invited more to attend Conference: "I sent for them to *advise*, not to *govern* me. Neither did I, at any of those times, divest myself of any of that power above described, which the providence of God had cast upon me, without any design or choice of mine." "But several gentlemen are much offended at my having so *much* power." "My answer to them is this: I did not seek any part of this power — I never was fond of it. I always did, and do now, bear it as my burden; which God lays upon me; but if you can tell me any one, or any five men, to whom I can transfer this burden, who *can* and *will* do just what I do now, I will heartily thank both you and them." "But some of your helpers say, 'This is shackling free-born Englishmen,' and demand a *free* conference, that is, a meeting of all the preachers, wherein all things shall be determined by most votes. I answer it is possible that something of this kind after my death may take place; but not while I live — every preacher and every member may leave me when he pleases; but when he chooses to stay, it is on the same terms that he joined me at first." "But this is arbitrary power; this is no less than making yourself a pope." "If it is meant that I exercise the power singly, it is true, but if by arbitrary is meant unjust, unreasonable, or tyrannical, then it is not true." He disclaims being a pope, and contends that the charge is injurious to him and mischievous to the people — "to whom they really owe more, for exercising this very power, than for all my preaching put together. Because

preaching twice or thrice a day is no burden to me at all; but the care of all the preachers and all the people is a burden indeed!" This is his vindication. You need not too carefully analyze it. Hampson, in his History, who had been checked by Wesley, says, "He never thought his authority secure, but when exerted to the utmost. The love of power was the chief misery of his life, the source of infinite disgusts, and the most frequent cause of the defection of his friends." Tyerman says, of his defence, "He assigns reasons for it, and unless he is suspected of insincerity—a thing of which he was almost incapable—all must give him credit for being actuated by high and conscientious motives. The wisdom of acting as he did is a fair subject for discussion; but the purity of his intention can hardly be questioned."¹ In this calm judgment the unbiassed will readily concur. As a parent he exercised supervision and discipline, and for the United Societies it was best, everything considered, while he lived. The fundamental error was in his attempt to entail parental power. If, as a matter of fact, its exercise during his life preserved the union of the societies, it was the direct cause of the destruction of that unity after his decease through its exercise by the Legal Hundred and their successors, as shall be shown in the sequel of English Methodist history.

At this Conference of 1766 a heart-searching scrutiny was made of the societies. Wesley gave his opinion in no flattering terms of the average Methodist at this period.² He lectured the preachers severely, but not unjustly. Preaching was not enough—they must visit from house to house and instruct and reprove, or "the Methodists will be no better than other people," as was charged. It was one of the most important he ever held. A new impulse was given the entire work. Wesley entered upon his travels and labors with redoubled zeal, were that possible, and his helpers everywhere were stirred to a higher consecration. He came into the possession of \$1000 by the will of a Miss Lewen, one of the converts who died early; but it was speedily distributed among the poor. He could resist no appeal, and his hand was always open while a shilling remained. Withal no man was more loved and more hated than he. He was assailed on every side, maligned and traduced by tongue and pen.

The Conference year of 1767 is notable for the fact that Wesley lifted the first missionary collection at Newcastle, August 8, and not at Leeds in 1769, as is supposed. He had, however, more

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. II. pp. 579, 580.

² *Ibid.* p. 580.

faith in consecrated men who would volunteer for missionary work abroad than in money as an agency.¹ The Methodist work was pushed by the trio now in full fellowship, — the two Wesleys and Whitefield. Persecutions waxed hotter, and many were the narrow escapes from open violence and sudden death of these fervent evangelists. About the only doctrinal bone of contention remaining was the Christian perfection theory; the practice was under limitation. There were zealots for the former who constantly misrepresented Wesley's views, and he was kept busy correcting and enforcing what he did believe.

But as this is about the only doctrinal point of difference of interpretation, unity in this regard having been marvellously preserved throughout its whole history in every land, this sketch takes no note of the intellectual and experiential side of this great revival of genuine religion. It is elaborately treated by Whitehead, Moore, Watson, Stevens, and Tyerman. On the 18th of August, the twenty-fourth Conference was held at London. For the first time a complete statistical table of members was furnished, showing an aggregate of 25,911.

There were forty-one circuits and 104 itinerants. Francis Asbury was received at this Conference, a fact worthy of note as the future will show. There were eighty-four chapels in England, one in Wales, two in Scotland, and thirteen in Ireland, with an aggregate debt of £12,000. Subscriptions were taken to cancel it, and the effort was pressed with all the authority and system of Wesley until within a few years the debt was reduced to £7728.

1768 Wesley made his first will, differing very much from his last, in 1789. He also made a second visit to the sainted Fletcher, who so nobly coöperated with him and the lay-preachers throughout life, and whom Wesley nominated by correspondence with him as his successor, an appointment he would no doubt have pressed, but for Fletcher's decease, though he never gave the least encouragement to it personally. And this is all the mention the space will allow of one of the purest, wisest, and most judicious men that ever lived to honor God. On the 16th of August, the twenty-fifth Conference was convened at Bristol. The increase of members was but 430, and Wesley was dissatisfied, as well he might be. It was attributed to the fact that most of the preachers were partly secularized in trades and artisanship, and so not their time only, but their minds, were divided. Steps were taken

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. II. pp. 606, 607.

to remedy the evil as far as possible. The increased circulation of books was also urged to counteract the declension in some places.

August 1, 1769, the twenty-sixth Conference began at Leeds. There was a gain of six circuits and of 922 members. An appeal came from America for helpers, and Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor responded and were accepted. A collection of seventy pounds was made, fifty for the new chapel in New York and twenty for their travelling expenses to the distant land. Wesley was now sixty-six years old. He began to concern himself seriously about the successorship—heart and mind were intent upon preserving the unity of his preachers and his people after his death. It may be admitted, according to the favorite phrasing of most of his biographers, that, as a rule, he had no preconceived plans; but in this matter he exhibited an anxiety which could not be fathered upon Providence, or referred to any thing but the delusive necessity all autocratic minds see, for a perpetuation of the absorbing idea of their personal leadership. Running before Providence, he finally settled it in a way that ultimated in the converse of his purpose; it destroyed the unity of both his preachers and “the people called Methodists.” His distraction was great, for though he presented a plan at this Conference curiously involved and complicated, he held it in suspense for years, then brought it up again at the Conferences of 1773, 1774, and 1775, when it was signed by all the preachers present, 101.¹ In 1784 it was superseded by the Deed of Declaration when he was eighty-one years of age.

Meantime a pious, educated, wealthy, versatile, consecrated, and diplomatic character had come into Methodism, and, more than any other man, Wesley excepted and Asbury not considered, moulded its structure both in England and America. That character was Thomas Coke. But for him, probably the advice of his brother Charles would have prevailed, when he wrote to John on this very subject: “You cannot settle the succession. You cannot divine how God will settle it.” Had Providence been allowed to settle it, Providence would have followed its own precedents for church government in the New Testament, and thus settled, it would have been settled right. An earnest appeal had been made to him by the few preachers doing missionary work in America, to pay them a visit, and Wesley was strongly inclined to comply; but he long hesitated, and finally abandoned the idea. Whitehead

¹ Tyerman's “Life,” Vol. III. pp. 49, 50, is found the full text of this plan.

gives his dominating reason for not going, characteristic of Wesley. "Being one day asked in company if he intended to go to America, he answered, 'If I go to America, I must do a thing which I hate as I hate the devil.' 'What is that, sir?' said one present. 'I must keep a secret,' he replied, meaning that he would have to conceal it from the societies, which were strongly opposed to his going. And this incident authenticates his brother's declaration, 'But you expect he will keep his own secrets! Let me whisper into your ear; he never could do it since he was born. It is a gift which God has not given him.'"¹ His nature was open and ingenuous. Those who travelled with him had free access to his letters. The representations made him by others, if reputable persons, he never questioned. He had a childlike confidence in the sincerity of others, and thus was moved to action, often unconsciously to himself, by the influences prompting it. The trait is noteworthy as furnishing a key to some of the pregnant events of his life, fraught with consequences of deepest moment, acts of which he repented with tears when it was too late to amend them. He was incapable of guile or malice, and he easily condoned the conduct of those who at times misled him.

The twenty-seventh Conference was held in London, August 7, 1770. There were fifty circuits, a gain of four; the last is significant—"Fiftieth, America, Joseph Pilmoor, Richard Boardman, Robert Williams, John King." There was a gain of 1143 members. There were forty-three preachers' wives to be provided for out of something over one hundred, thus inroads were made upon a celibate ministry. The support was extremely meagre: £64 for the preacher, £12 for his wife, £8 for each child, but for the children, the boys only until they were eight years old, when they were to be sent to the Kingswood school, and girls until they were fourteen. This Conference was memorable for inciting the warmest controversy of a doctrinal kind that ever raged in the societies. A minute of the Conference a little incautiously worded revived the Calvinistic discussion. Wesley himself had grown tired of disputations of the kind, but the points involved were vigorously taken up, with Shirley, Toplady, and Hill on the one side and Fletcher and Olivers on the other. It produced the celebrated and imperishable "Checks to Antinomianism" by Fletcher, who proved himself more than a match for all his opponents. His work is a

¹ "Life of Wesley," Vol. II. pp. 212, 227.

splendid specimen of Christian controversial writing. It settled the theological character of Methodism as emphatically Arminian. The controversy ran through several years, and Wesley, goaded by constant misrepresentations of the minute of 1770, printed an exposition of its true meaning for circulation among the preachers.

Trouble occurred in Dublin, a dispute regarding the authority of the preachers and the leaders respectively, thus showing that the hierarchal system of wheels within wheels, after all, does not work without serious friction. It possesses the one advantage of the power to crush, generally, it must be admitted, the wrongdoers, but always liable to grind the innocent without adequate provision for redress. Wesley wrote, "In the Methodist discipline the wheels regularly stand thus: the assistants, the preachers, the stewards, the leaders, the people."¹ The pyramid stood on its apex. This fact focalized the whole difference, which is seen to agitate the societies twenty years before his death; directly or indirectly to disrupt it afterward, and to lead in America to numerous divisions, and an agitation which cannot cease in the nature of the case until the pyramid stands on its base—the people. Wesley makes the following entry in his Journal: "1771, June 28th—this day I entered the sixty-ninth year of my age. I am still a wonder to myself. My voice and strength are the same as at nine and twenty. This also hath God wrought."² He rises before you a sublime, historical figure unparalleled by any other of his class. He ascends on eagles' wings, preaching, travelling, and writing as never before. His sun of life was westering for a rich and mellow setting. A halo seemed to settle about his head, which gave the only sign of his advancing years in its almond blossoms, so that wherever he went veneration fell upon the people, and the preachers were awed to stillness in his presence.

The twenty-eighth session of Conference began at Bristol, August 8, 1771. The call from America for more laborers was responded to by five—two were sent, Francis Asbury and Richard Wright. A name famous in Methodism appears upon the roll for the first time, Joseph Benson. He lived to be twice President of the Wesleyan Conference, and from 1803 to his death in 1821, editor of the *Methodist Magazine* and author of an elaborate commentary. In this year Miss Bosanquet, the future wife of Fletcher, wrote Wesley for advice as to female preaching, and in

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. II. p. 109.

² "Journal," Vol. II. p. 355, American edition, 1831.

his answer he rests the case in her admitted extraordinary call, which he conceded also to his lay-preachers, and thus began in Methodism an important movement for woman's emancipation from old traditions, the end of which is not yet, much as has been gradually conceded in the 120 odd years to this date.

CHAPTER VI

The last score years of Wesley's life—Leeds Conference of 1772—Accepts a chaise for his travels—Attacks the principle that the people are "the source of power"—Finds irregularities in his book business, the germ of "Book Concerns"—The Conference of 1774; "concord" by acquiescence in his will—His change of opinion as to the colonies in America—Dr. Coke comes upon the scene; divergent estimates of his biographers; pen-portrait; dominating passion, ambition—City Road chapel—Wesley bends to appointments to save a break with the societies—M'Nab and the Bath trouble—The ordination question culminates and Charles Wesley retires—Whitehead aspersed—Birstal property question.

1771-91. A score of years to Wesley's earthly end. He was rounding out his sixty-ninth year. In 1772 he read a pamphlet on the slave-trade by Anthony Benezet, a French Protestant, who, after an education in England, became a Quaker in Philadelphia, Penn., U.S.A., and he was so impressed by it that he concentrated his protest in the words, "that execrable sum of all villanies, commonly called the slave-trade," a declaration which is often misquoted and sometimes misapplied. Spending most of the winter, as was his habit, in London, he made an annual tour among the societies. His friends saw that his amazing physical energy began to fail, and by subscription secured him a carriage and horses, which he relayed at periods, and which enabled him not only to keep up his practice of reading while travelling, but of writing as well, to which he inured himself. His northern tour of this year covered seven months' absence from London. He reached Leeds in time for the annual Conference, August 4, being the twenty-ninth. The gain of members was 1646. Wesley preached a sermon to an immense congregation, in a field back of the chapel, on the rise and growth of Methodism. Taking up his travels again at Bristol, Tyerman writes, "He visited the whole society from house to house, taking them from west to east." He was indeed a father among his children. He travelled and preached and wrote incessantly this year, suffering most of the time acutely with a hydrocele; once, his chaise breaking down, he took to horseback and rode to an appointment twenty-two miles. Nothing could balk him.

His publications this year were numerous, and among them two political tracts,—“Thoughts upon Liberty” and “Thoughts upon the Origin of Power.” In the latter he combats the theory that the people of a nation are “the origin of power.” In this it is seen how he scouted the democratic doctrine of the New Testament, the sovereignty of the churches, and it accounts for his method of paternal control of the societies, as has been shown; the pyramid standing upon its apex. He attacks the origin of power in the people with taunts and withering sarcasm; these, perhaps, in lieu of argument; for the only one he offers is the illogical one, that the theory cannot be sound and its practice possible unless carried to its logical ultimate, and every man, woman, and child be made a voter for constituting parliamentary and governmental cabinets.¹ To-day, in England, his tract would be estimated a rank heresy by suffrage-exercising Englishmen, while in America, the people are the very foundation of the Republic. But Wesley was neither the first nor the last to demonstrate the unwisdom of political preachers, for he blundered in every instance: his Address to the King during the Pretender excitement in the realm, these tracts, and his subsequent “Calm Address to the American Colonies,” which he appropriated from Dr. Johnson’s diatribe, and when detected, frankly admitted, and was condoned by Johnson, who quizzically approved the enlarged circulation it gave his philippic.

The thirtieth Conference was held in London, August 3, 1773. Scant notice is taken of these Conferences by most of the historians. Tyerman is far more satisfactory, because he had access to materials not obtainable until his later day. In this way he furnishes opportunity for reflection upon Wesley’s monopolization of the printing and publishing business, as well as “the care of all the churches,” which Paul found his sufficient burden. Not often does a clergyman carry a business head upon his shoulders, and Methodism is about the only Protestant organization in either hemisphere which relegates temporalities as well as everything else to its ministry. During this year Wesley found that there must be something wrong with his book business. An account of stock was taken, and the inventory rendered showed that he was in debt to printers and binders £500, and yet had books on hand whose gross value was near £11,000. Some took up the suspicion that his wife by means of false keys had obtained access to the book steward’s cash and helped herself,

¹ Tyerman’s “Life,” Vol. III. p. 145.

but there was no conclusive proof. His book steward, Samuel Franks, a man of great probity, failing to unravel the mystery, fell into insanity and hanged himself. The discrepancy remained unsolved; the possessor of a large amount of property, Wesley was yet seriously in debt. The precedent thus established and entailed upon the Legal Hundred was the paternal origin of future "Book Concerns" in England and America, and one of the boastings of the parent bodies. In the sequel of this History it will be shown a grave error of economic judgment and of calamitous denominational strife.

On the 9th of August, 1774, the thirty-first Conference was held at Bristol. The membership reported was 35,612, showing a gain this year of 2340. Among the names received at this Conference were James Rodgers and Samuel Bradford, both eminent in after years, the latter esteemed as "the Demosthenes of Methodism." Dr. Adam Clarke, speaking of his eloquence, says, "I have never heard his equal," — and he had heard Whitefield. The former, a successful preacher, the husband of the saintly Hester Ann Rodgers, he suffered much from persecutions, attended Wesley in his last journey, and was at his bedside when he departed. Wesley was averse to having his portrait taken, more because of the sittings required and loss of time, as he esteemed it, than any other reason. But two or three pictures of him were taken, of which Tyerman gives excellent copies. This year he was prevailed on to allow a cast of his face to be taken. The Conference of 1774 was largely occupied with temporal matters. A Miss March, writing of it August 23, says among other things, "The preachers said there was much concord among them, and one of them observed Mr. Wesley seemed to do all the business himself."¹ The method of the Conferences was for Wesley to ask questions and solicit opinions in answer, but there were no votes taken; Wesley decided, and that ended it; and this method was perpetuated after his demise and came over into American Methodism. No doubt it expedited business, but what of its reflex influence? They sat with closed doors, the people were excluded; and as for the preachers under such a training, all individuality was lost; they gave up everything to the presiding genius; happily their veneration for and confidence in him were such, and he proved himself so worthy of both, that as a rule "concord" reigned. As was inevitable, however, under the system cliques formed under the leadership of the most self-

¹ *Ibid.* p. 177.

asserting of the preachers as his death was foreshadowed, and the question who should be greatest distracted the Wesleyan Conference for years afterward. Wesley kept on writing and publishing extensively during this year.

1775 saw the English crown and the American colonies in conflict. The revolt was raised in the latter against the principle of taxation without representation. This was the occasion of Wesley's "Calm Address to the American Colonies," which was a pure abridgment of Dr. Johnson's "Taxation no Tyranny," yet Wesley signed it "By the Rev. John Wesley, M.A." Prior to reading Johnson his sympathies were with the colonies, and five years before, in the incipency of the Revolution, he published a pamphlet to this end. He was bitterly attacked for his change of views. Tyerman naïvely suggests: "Wesley had a perfect right to change his opinions, but when a man like Wesley does that, he can hardly expect to escape unfriendly criticism. The world dislikes changelings and hesitates to trust them."¹ A wider application of this truth will be made in the body of this History. Fletcher and Olivers came to his defence against a host of pamphleteers who lampooned and maligned him. But he needed no defence as to his motives, whatever might be said of his judgment in the matter. In June of this year Wesley had a violent illness of fever, and for three days his life was despaired of; indeed, the rumor obtained that he had died, but he marvelously recovered and lived for fifteen years longer. The thirty-second Conference was held at Leeds, August 1, 1775, and was largely attended, and rigid inquiry was made into the qualifications of the preachers.² The membership had increased 2533. Daniel M'Allum was in the plan of appointments. He labored mostly in Scotland and continued in the field for near sixty years. He merits this passing mention. Also John Valton, a great revivalist and a man of mark for near twenty years.

¹ "Life of Wesley," Vol. III. p. 187.

² The *London Methodist Recorder* of Jan. 6, 1898, organ of the Wesleyan Methodists, publishes a letter of Rev. John Fletcher to John Wesley under date of Aug. 1, 1775, or the same day of this Leeds Conference. The letter was found recently among some old papers of the Book Room. It outlines a plan for a closer union of the Societies with the Church of England with great particularity. The problem with those who have magnified the importance of this discovery is why Wesley preserved it, and yet makes no reference to it in any connection. The simple reason appears to be that the suggestions made were not new to Wesley. Those who will take the pains to compare this letter with facts already stated in this History as to Wesley's tentation in 1764 to enlist the clergy of the Established Church in his work, and its almost utter failure, and his embodiment of a Plan



THOMAS COKE.

The thirty-third Conference was held in London, August 6, 1776. The total membership was 39,826, including the American societies at the census of the previous year. Fletcher's health failed, and Wesley invited him to travel with him, which he did for some time, and lived nine years longer. He spent three years in Switzerland, and on returning to England married Miss Bosanquet, memorable name in Methodism, and he died August 14, 1785. But as Fletcher had failed him it is a coincidence at least that in the same year he formed the acquaintance of Thomas Coke, than whom no man, Fletcher excepted, had such an influence over him for the remainder of his life. Wesley was now seventy-three years old. Coke was a young man of twenty-nine. No character in Methodism is so difficult to mensurate, and none as to whom there is so wide a divergence of opinion as to his merits and demerits, which were so striking that admission of his faults and frailties is about the only point upon which his critics agree and the one salient and redeeming feature of his eventful life,—the missionary of Methodism by eminence for the whole world.

The key to this divergence of opinion is not hard to find. Impartial biography seems an impossibility, as human nature is constituted. This declaration is made because of the fact that there lies before the writer Whitehead's "Life of the Wesleys," in which Dr. Coke is painted by a man whose opportunities for correct estimate are unsurpassed, except by Samuel Drew, Coke's literary executor, whose biography of Coke is also before me. Whitehead's work betrays a coloring biassed by his party affiliations among the cliques into which the Conference divided, after Wesley's demise. It was the party of the people and of liberal administration. Wesley's Journal reflected his view of Coke as influenced by consecrated motives, while condoning his ambition and the indirections he resorted to in order to satisfy it. Watson's "Life," through deficiency of information in part, is the apologist of Coke. Moore's "Life of Wesley" is severely par-

submitted to the Conference of 1669, and for years after up to this Leeds Conference of 1775, will find that nearly all the points made in this letter of Fletcher's are set forth in Wesley's plan. It came too late for Wesley. The only thing it shows is Fletcher's stanch adherence to the National Church, and his determination not to concur in any scheme of "ordination" for any of Wesley's helpers until this last resort to secure it from the National Church on the Plan suggested in this letter should be tried and proved abortive. Wesley did not make the effort, and it cannot be shown that Fletcher was ever a party to the subsequent ordinations of 1784, and later. He proposed to Fletcher to be his personal "successor," but he never entertained it.

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tisan, as a leader of the Coke clique in the Wesleyan Conference, and bitterly prejudiced against Whitehead and his views. Bangs's and Stevens's Histories are under the constraint of preconceived theories and confessional prejudices, and, as such, see Coke in the most favorable light only. Lastly, Tyerman's "Life," the most exhaustive, impartial, and latest of the group, is honest and fair-minded. A strong Conference man, he yet tells all he knows of both Wesley and Coke. The telling excluded his work from republication by the Methodist Episcopal Book Concern,¹ though ever ready to furnish a market for Methodist literature of trans-Atlantic origin. The reprint is by the Harper Brothers, New York, 1872, and even this independent firm did not venture to issue it without, for business policy, adding an Appendix: Stevens's defence of Wesley's ordination of Dr. Coke and of his participation in the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which differs so widely from Tyerman's account, and, as the writer believes, the truth of history.

A prayerful determination to avoid, if possible, extremes, and to strike the golden mean of this bewildering maze of facts and opinions, shall control the writer, as Thomas Coke will hereafter be brought so frequently under review in these pages. Suffice it at present for his introduction, to say that he was born at Brecon, Wales, September 9, 1747. His father was an eminent and wealthy surgeon, and Thomas was an only child. He was frivolous in his youth, and inclined to infidelity. At sixteen he was removed to Oxford, and entered at Jesus College in that University. Through reading Sherlock he was made a nominal Christian. At the age of twenty-one he was chosen councilman for Brecon, and soon after elected chief magistrate. As his full intention was to enter holy orders, his secular offices secured him flattering prospects of rapid advancement in the National Church. The prebend of the cathedral at Worcester was his objective. "Deluded with the prospects of sudden elevation in the Church, the visionary phantom continued to dance before him till his serious impressions began to fade . . . he hastened to obtain episcopal orders that no impediment might obstruct his course or intercept the bounty of his friends. Several years had now

¹ Since the foregoing was written, in an interview with my friend, Rev. Dr. John Lanahan of Baltimore, who was at the time assistant Book Agent in New York, he assured me that there was nothing personal in their failure to republish Tyerman—they were surpassed by the Harpers. Evidently, however, there must have been strong prejudice against the work among Methodists, or the Appendix to it would not have been printed as a salvo.

elapsed since the first intimations had been given him that brought on the ambitious delirium with which he was still enslaved." These are the words of Drew, his biographer,¹ and furnish a key to the weak side of his character. It was the one frailty of his nature, and was the hidden human spring to the activities of a marvellously consecrated life. He took out his degree of Doctor of Civil Laws on the 17th of June, 1775. "His understanding, though naturally good, was not to be ranked among the higher orders of human intellect. It was comprehensive, but not profound, and was better calculated to produce respect than to excite amusement." "Dr. Coke was low in stature, and as he advanced in age was inclined to corpulency; but he was finely proportioned, and exhibited a pleasing figure. His skin was remarkably fair; his eyes were dark, lively, and piercing. . . . His face was particularly handsome. A peculiar freshness, through every stage of life, distinguished his countenance, which was generally animated with an engaging smile; . . . his voice was soft, engaging, and melodious; . . . to his enthusiastic admirers he seemed to want nothing but wings to become an angel."² Disappointment of his aspirations led him to a more serious frame of mind, and, on hearing Thomas Maxwell, already mentioned in these pages, preach, he was aroused to his spiritual need, and this and other instrumentalities finally led him to an experience of saving grace. He had accepted the curacy of South Petherton, and now began to preach a zealous Arminian doctrine, receiving therefor the admonition of the Bishop of Bath; he was dismissed by his rector, and threatened by the mob. Finally he was driven out of Petherton, the bells were rung, and cider distributed for free drinks over their deliverance from a "Methodist curate." Wesley met him while in Somersetshire, and thus writes: "Here I found Dr. Coke, who came twenty miles on purpose to meet me. I had much conversation with him, and a union began then which I trust shall never end."³

The thirty-fourth Conference met at Bristol, August 5, 1777. Fletcher was there, stimulating by his saintly presence, and Coke was also there, having cast in his lot with Wesley, but his name does not appear in the minutes until the following year, when he was assigned to London. The historians are in a great muddle over this interval and the reasons for it. It was conjectured that

¹ "Life of Coke," American edition, 1837, p. 22.

² *Ibid.* p. 370.

³ Wesley's "Journal," Vol. II. p. 459.

Wesley wanted to keep his eye upon him as a convert, that he might not promote him rashly. Others indignantly deny it. He travelled part of the time with Wesley and devoted himself to a thorough acquaintance with the discipline of the United Societies. He threw the whole force of his impetuous nature into whatever enterprise he undertook. An informal session of Conference was held in Ireland early in 1778 in order to suppress a strong tendency to separation from the National Church because of maltreatment of the Irish Methodists, but Wesley stood firm against it, and the uprising was quelled.

The thirty-fifth Conference was held August 4, 1778, at Leeds. Sixty circuits were reported, and an aggregate membership of 47,057, including 6968 in America. The salient events of the year were the dedication of the new chapel in City Road as a substitute for the old Foundry, which had been used for thirty-five years. It cost about £6000 and contributions were received from the Methodists of the United Kingdom to pay for it. It was a fine edifice for that day and is still the focal point of London Methodism. It was proposed to make it so respectable as well, that the Lord Mayor might attend and other dignitaries. To this end it was suggested that the pulpit should have an exclusive supply; the two Wesleys, Coke, and John Richardson were the sabbatic preachers to the tabooing of the lay-preachers, however eminent and eloquent, as Pawson, Jaco, Rankin, Tennent, Olivers, and others. Charles Wesley was persistent as a high churchman, but after much contention the lay-preachers prevailed; and this, Whitehead declares, was the beginning of a decadence of John Wesley's absolute authority over the preachers. Watson thinks it only modified its exercise, as Wesley was politic enough to bend, if he could do it without seeming to break. It was intimated that at this time there was a combination of preachers against Wesley's authority, but they made Charles and his churchism the foil, and, if so, it lends probability to Whitehead's assertion. Wesley was now seventy-five years old, and innovations began to creep into his methods; besides, he was violently attacked again by pamphleteers in the grossest manner. At this Conference of 1778 others than preachers were allowed to be present, among them Thomas Thompson, Esq., afterward member of Parliament. The foreign missionary field for Methodism enlarged. A mission to Africa was discussed, but deferred, while the work in Antigua, West Indies, under Mr. Gilbert, was prospering. Laymen of some of the prominent

societies expressed a choice of preachers as a supply, and often won their point. In March of this year Wesley wrote while at Bristol, "This year I myself (which I have seldom done) chose the preachers for Bristol." He came into intimate relations with Mr. Creighton of the National Church, of whom future mention will be made in the so-called "ordination" of Dr. Coke. Wesley projected the *Arminian Magazine* this year, which has continued to be published without interruption to this day, making it the oldest religious magazine in the world.

The thirty-sixth Conference was held in London, August 3, 1779. One hundred and sixty-seven preachers received appointments. Henry Moore was admitted, a name eminent in Wesleyan Methodism. He took a prominent part in Ireland, as he was born in Dublin, 1751; was one of Wesley's trustees of his literary remains; was the last survivor of men Wesley ordained, and after spending near seventy years in the ministry died aged ninety-three years, a venerable patriarch. Alexander M'Nab was one of Wesley's most eloquent and successful preachers. During this year at Bath a serious trouble occurred. Wesley had appointed Edward Smith, a Church of England clergyman, to preach every Sunday night at Bath, thus overriding, as M'Nab thought, the lay-preachers, and he so vehemently opposed it that a division occurred in the society. Wesley and his brother endeavored to compose the dispute, but without avail. He read to the society a declaration of his absolute power to appoint when and where the preachers should officiate, and soon after notified M'Nab that he must submit or "he could not receive him as one of our preachers." It was a bold act of discipline, and its wisdom is questioned by Tyerman and others on solid ground. In the expulsion of M'Nab, Wesley was influenced by his brother, Dr. Coke, and the Rev. Mr. Collins. Through Pawson and the London preachers Wesley reviewed his act, and M'Nab was restored at the succeeding Conference. Charles was much displeased and wrote his brother a fretful letter. He esteemed it the entering wedge to insubordination and final separation from the National Church, an offence he could not brook.

The thirty-seventh Conference convened at Bristol, August 1, 1780. The increasing size of the body and the multiplication of business led to the resolve that from nine to ten days should be allowed each session. The number of preachers appointed was 171. Aggregate membership, 43,830, an increase for the past decade of 14,651, or about thirty-five per centum. Wesley in-

dulged prophetic hopes of future enlargement. Quoting Luther, that "a revival of religion seldom continues above thirty years," he looked upon one already fifty years continued and waxing stronger with its age. At seventy-seven Wesley still led the sacramental host with marvellous health and unyielding vigor. Charles Wesley was present at this Conference. Separation from the Church was again discussed, and he foresaw that the trend of his brother and the Conference was in that direction, so he sorrowfully retired, to meet them no more. In America the societies had increased, and this intensified the ordination question. Wesley having read Lord King's account of the Primitive Church, became satisfied that bishops and presbyters were essentially one in order, a conclusion he was assisted to reach by his environments.

The necessity for some action for the American societies was greater. Rectors of the inchoate Protestant Episcopal Church were few and far between over a vast territory, and, as in England, not above reproach in their moral conduct. There were now eight thousand Methodists in America, and they were practically without the ordinances. Dissatisfaction and disaffection obtained, and open revolt, despite the restraining power of Asbury, now Wesley's General Assistant. A pronounced hierarchist, his reading was not Lord King, but Bishop Potter, an uncompromising high churchman, true to "apostolical succession." Asbury studied Potter and spent not a little time in transcribing, as his *Journal* states, his strongest points.¹ But more of this in its proper connection. Wesley hesitated, as well he might. An expedient remained, and he adopted it: secure, if possible, an ordained clergyman of the National Church for the American societies. He wrote a long letter to Bishop Lowth of London, the very day after the adjournment of the Bristol Conference, soliciting the appointment of such a clerical helper, but he was refused.² About this time, also, Dr. Coke discerned heresy in Joseph Benson and arraigned him for Arianism, but the charge came to nothing, Coke thus exhibiting, as Tyerman pithily puts it, "a fussy officiousness which scarcely redounded to his honor." One of the legislative acts of this Conference was to enforce the rule that men and women should sit apart, which had been violated at Bristol. Wesley went so far as to resolve that he would not preach to such a congregation, so wedded was he to trivial forms of his

¹ Asbury's "*Journal*," edition 1852, Vol. I. pp. 369, 370.

² Full text of this letter in Whitehead and Tyerman.

discipline, for the apparent reason only that it was his. Among the publications of Wesley, this year, was "A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists," 12mo, 520 pages, which has continued to be used by the English Methodists, with slight alterations, to this day.

As Whitehead makes no note of the Conferences from 1780 to 1784, neither do any other Methodist historians, Moore, Watson, nor Stevens. Whitehead is the fountainhead. As a rule when he is silent all others are dumb of information. Tyerman alone supplies the hiatus. These facts make opportune mention that Stevens in a foot-note on page 208 of his "History of Methodism," Vol. II., invidiously suggests, "Whitehead's 'Life of Wesley' should not be consulted by any whose acquaintance with other contemporary authorities is not thorough enough to enable them to correct that author's immoderate prejudices." In the analysis of the biographers of Wesley already made in this work, it is conceded that Whitehead exhibits party bias, but as to "contemporary authorities," as just exposed, they had no information he did not supply of any moment; and they used it with "immoderate prejudices." The impartial reader need but consult together Whitehead and Moore.

The thirty-eighth Conference assembled August 5, 1781, at Leeds, and was memorable for the notable presence of eighteen clergymen, so largely had Wesley been reënforced from the National Church, while those preaching an evangelical doctrine in the Church were estimated at about eighty, set over against two or three when Wesley and Whitefield entered upon their soul-saving crusade. Coke and Fletcher were present, and there were about eleven hundred communicants. Wesley writes, August 6, the day before the Conference assembled: "I desired Mr. Fletcher, Dr. Coke, and four more of our brethren, to meet every evening, that we might consult together on any difficulty that occurred. On August 7, our Conference began, at which were present about seventy preachers, whom I had severally invited to come and assist me with their advice in carrying on the great work of God." Tyerman gives as the controlling reason for so sparse a gathering of the preachers — not one-half of them — that the society in Leeds could not entertain any more. There being more married preachers than preachers' houses in the connection, it was ordered at this Conference that no more married men be received except of necessity. These facts give us a clear insight into Wesley's methods at this time. The preachers were his

"sons in the gospel," to go and come at his bidding, and the people, his and their spiritual children, always in nonage, and so not officially consulted. It provoked at times scenes like the following at this Leeds Conference. Dr. Hey, a principal member at Leeds, a prominent physician and correspondent of the eminent Dr. Priestley, and a Methodist for seven and twenty years, intimated to Wesley that he desired to address the Conference and offer some suggestions and advice, declaring that if they were rejected he could no longer be a member of the Methodist society. Wesley allowed him to begin to read a paper, the gist of which was a complaint that the preachers were assuming a Dissenter attitude toward the National Church; but, as he read, the signs of dissatisfaction were so displayed that Wesley politely stopped the reading. Hey left the society. Early in this year the Oldham Street chapel, Manchester, was dedicated by Wesley. Next to City Road, it was the most pretentious house of the Methodists, and Tyerman mentions that Mrs. Bennett, a relative of John Morley, was "the first female class leader in Manchester." The relation gave her official standing in the quarterly meeting and so with others. After thirty years of matrimonial misery, Wesley's wife died in October of this year. He writes, October 8, "This evening she was buried, but I was not informed of it till a day or two after."¹ Throughout this year he was always on the wing, and yet managed to write and publish extensively.

The thirty-ninth Conference met in August, 1782, in London. The serious question discussed was the case of the Birstal chapel. Originally built by John Nelson in 1751, it became necessary to rebuild in 1782. The deed gave a reserve right after the death of the two Wesleys and Grimshaw, to select their own preacher. The new deed was in substance the same, and Wesley now refused to sign it, claiming property right for the Conference in his name absolutely over all the chapels. Like a shuttlecock in the game of battledore the controversy raged; propositions and counter propositions were submitted. Dr. Coke took part, probably at Wesley's prompting, and his letters to the trustees exhibit that insinuating diplomacy running through his whole future history. After a year or more the matter was settled; the trustees, pushed financially to meet a debt of £350, yielded the point on a pledge from Wesley that he would raise the money for them. Tyer-

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. III., for the facts of this paragraph.

man says of it, — note that he was a strong but candid Conference partisan, — “Wesley committed a mistake; but be it borne in mind that he was now an old man of nearly eighty, and that Alexander Mather, and Thomas Briscoe, the superintendents of the Leeds and Bristol circuits, were participators in his folly.”¹

Thus early in the history of Methodism was the issue joined of empire by property, resumed from time to time, and made one of the fundamentals in the Reform controversy in American Methodism in 1827–30. When it comes for consideration the merits of the question shall be reviewed exhaustively. Suffice it to observe that the gist of it at Birstal and ever afterward was, Which is antecedently more probable, that the people will depart from Methodist usages and doctrines, or that the preachers will depart? The contention of Wesley and his coadjutors was that the people could not be trusted to control their own property. The contention of the people was, that after Wesley’s decease it was a necessary security, to mention no other grounds, that the preachers would not use the advantage against the people. The citation just made from Tyerman is pregnant of consequences, soon to be realized, in the one sentence, “He was now an old man of nearly eighty,” as accounting in part for the uncompromising attitude he assumed in the Birstal matter, as he was influenced, maybe unconsciously to himself, by his familiars and confidants. Not Coke only, but Charles Wesley, took part in the Birstal contention. It is interesting to note that he cites from one of the letters of the nineteen trustees the following just observation, “The civil and religious rights of mankind have seldom been promoted by the assemblies of ecclesiastics of any denomination; and they never will be, unless they are composed of men devoted to God, and dead to all allurements of ease, and avarice, and ambition.”² Charles Wesley admits its truth in his reply, but hopes that the Methodist Conferences will always be of the character depicted, as a reason for their yielding. Elizabeth Wallbridge must be mentioned, as in this year she was converted under the ministry of James Crabb, a Methodist preacher, and she became a member of society and continued such to her death

¹ “Life of Wesley,” Vol. III. p. 376.

² Tyerman’s “Life,” Vol. III. p. 377. The writer’s copy is from the library of the late well-known Rev. Anthony Atwood of the Philadelphia Conference M. E. Church. It is filled with pencil checks and marginal notes. Opposite this quotation is found the indorsement, “Ever so.”

in 1801. She was the original of Leigh Richmond's "Dairyman's Daughter," of which millions of copies have been published in thirty languages, but he omits to name her Methodist faith and associations. Wesley continued his unremitting labors, travelling, writing, and publishing. Coke or Moore or Bradburn shared his conveyance frequently, as he was now an old man.

CHAPTER VII

Wesley at eighty — The Birstal matter again — Wesley jealous of his authority — 1784, the "climacteric year of Methodism" because of the ordinations and separation — Coke's assumptions of authority — Sunday-schools and Wesley — "The People called Methodists" — Coke and the Deed of Declaration — Tyerman on the Legal Hundred — Two objections to the Deed — Review of its provisions — Asbury and the ordinations — Fletcher no party to it — Coke's letter and its overpersuasion — Subsequent ordinations by Wesley — Tyerman on Wesley's inconsistency, viz., ordaining and yet a Churchman — The "Sunday Service for the American Methodists."

1783, and Wesley at eighty years of age. He had more invitations now to preach in National churches than he could accept. A wonderful change in forty years, yet, from the point of view of the clergy, the fact that he and his were not excised is a striking proof of the conservative character of that Church, imitated by its congener, the Protestant Episcopal Church of North America. He was as ardent a Churchman as ever. He was taken dangerously ill in March, and on convalescing wrote a most tender letter to Hester Ann Rodgers, rehearsing a dream he had of his own funeral. Yet on June 11, he set out for Holland, with companions, taking as interpreter, Jonathan Ferguson, son of a preacher who had removed to Holland. He returned to London July 4. The fortieth Conference began July 29. The Birstal matter led to the following minute: "What can be done to get all our preaching houses settled on the Conference plan? Let Dr. Coke visit the societies throughout England as far as is necessary to the accomplishment of this end." So strong was the sense of the injustice of this plan that the recalcitrants were not confined to Birstal. Kingswood school was also giving trouble. The membership of the societies was 45,955, not including 13,740 in America, and near 2000 in Antigua, West Indies. William Black was also laboring successfully in Nova Scotia. At this Conference Wesley was again taken seriously ill, but, after eighteen days of suspense he recovered, and was soon active as ever, keeping in touch with every interest, and guarding his authoritative control of preachers and societies as though dissolution and disaster

impended should he relax in the slightest minutiae of discipline. The mind was autocratic, and the danger was in his mind. It was, indeed, the only safeguard in such an anomalous and unbalanced government. Since the plan for transmitting his authority of 1770-75 had overpassed, the same subject was now the burden of his thoughts. He continued to write and publish, the *Arminian Magazine*, the medium for the sermons which he now matured.

1784 has been denominated by Whitehead "the grand climactic year of Methodism." He refers to the ordinations by Wesley and the Deed of Declaration. In this sense his characterization is just. A staunch advocate of its "original constitution," as he calls it, adhesion to the National Church, in the forlorn hope that reform of it could still be secured from within, he saw in the ordinations and the Deed of Declaration inevitable separation after Wesley's decease. He also saw the factions into which the Conference was dividing in a strife for leadership, and no provision being made for a popular or people's check upon these factions, he prophesied corruption, and final dissolution of the societies. Right in the abstract, he proved to be wrong in the concrete, inasmuch as he took no sufficient account of that empire of property, its cohesive power in holding together a powerful party, which the Deed of Declaration securely intrenched. Now in his eightieth year, Wesley claimed an octogenarian vigor as surprising to himself as it was to his friends. Setting out in March, he made a seven months' journey throughout England and Scotland. The Irish Conference he gave largely over to Dr. Coke. Apropos, Drew, his biographer, says: "As the doctor, in his occasional visits, sometimes acted as Mr. Wesley's more immediate representative, it was not unfrequently his lot to introduce regulations into the societies with which many were dissatisfied. His power was rather discretionary than precisely definite; and in several instances he was accused of proceeding beyond the bounds of delegated authority. . . . With difficulties of this nature the Doctor was somewhat compelled to contend; while the part which he actually bore in the dubious transactions rendered his means of defence more perplexing than the charges were serious which he undertook to obviate; and this ultimately exposed his conduct to suspicions which it was not easy for him to repel."¹ The reader will not fail to carefully note these reflections, by a bosom friend of Dr. Coke's and a Conference partisan, as their application will be

¹ Drew's "Life of Coke," edition 1837, pp. 43, 44.

seen often in the progress of this History. It is applied by Drew particularly to his alleged dominating influence in the preparation of the Deed of Declaration. Before it shall pass in thorough review as it came before the Conference, a few things need mention.

In his eighty-first year Wesley mellowed and ripened for his saintly garnerage. Nothing could be sweeter than his tender consideration for the children who thronged about him as he walked the streets and ministered in the chapels. The snowy locks, the freshness of his countenance, and his benignant smile won them to him, and scenes are narrated by his biographers of interviews with the children most pathetic and instructive. Guileless as a child himself, he was more than ever unsuspecting of the suggestions of those about him. In his travels he came to Otley, and preached at Bingley church, where a Sunday-school of 240 had been gathered. He remarks of it, "Who knows but that some of these schools may become nurseries for Christians?" It is his first notice of Sunday-schools. They were beginning to attract public attention. Miss Ball had such a school at High Wycombe, and Miss Cooke, a Methodist, was the first to suggest to Robert Raikes the idea of instituting a school at Gloucester, which he did June 5, 1784, and ever since his name has been associated with them as the originator. The whole town of Leeds was divided into sections where reading, writing, and religion were taught the children, and then they were conducted to their respective churches. Wesley earnestly fostered the plan.

The forty-first Conference began at Leeds, July 27, 1784. It was a gracious season as well as one of "long debate," sixteen or seventeen hundred partaking of the Lord's Supper. "August 3 our Conference concluded in much love," and Wesley adds, with unaccustomed sarcasm — "to the great disappointment of all." This is from his Journal, which gives no hint that the "long debate" was on the Deed of Declaration; but Tyerman shows from the *Methodist Magazine*, 1845, pp. 12, 13, that it was the subject. Wesley preached not less than eight times during these seven days. Mention has been made of the prominent features of the early deed of settlement for the chapels. At the instance of Wesley, Dr. Coke ferreted out the fact that it was imperfect in that it gave no legal definition of the term occurring in it, "Conference of the People called Methodists,"¹ as the Conference was

¹ There never was a greater misnomer, and it is remarkable that it should have been selected by Wesley who absolutely repudiated the people as a factor in his governmental scheme. Whitehead criticises it severely in the Deed of Declara-

not an incorporated body. A strong probability is established that Dr. Coke was principal in the preparation of the new deed. It is well known that Wesley had a repugnance to legal forms and was impatient of their details. Indeed, Whitehead declares that : "Neither the design of it nor the words of the several clauses are to be imputed to Mr. Wesley. So far was he from forming any design of a deed of this kind, that I have good evidence to assert it was some time before he could be prevailed upon to comply with the proposal : and as in most cases where he followed the same guide, he soon found reason to repent. That Mr. Wesley did actually repent of signing this deed is pretty evident from the following letter which he wrote about a year afterward, and committed to a friend to deliver to the Conference at their first meeting after his decease."¹ The "guide" referred to was undoubtedly Dr. Coke. These confident assertions of Whitehead should be taken with some allowance, but not more than the opposite as made by Coke and Moore. The letter referred to Dr. Whitehead gives, and it indicates not so much repentance for the Deed of Declaration as grave fears based upon the jealousies he saw spring up among the preachers in the year when the letter was written to the Legal Hundred. If he harbored regrets for the act it was too late to amend and he did the only thing remaining : dictate this letter, which as a voice from his grave he hoped would restrain the factions.

Whitehead gives nearly in full this famous Deed, and it is copied by Moore and also Tyerman. It contains sixteen articles, and those interested in the text can find it in the references given. It entailed upon 100 out of 192 preachers then in the Conference all Wesley's personal authority, and legal power over the chapels for ever. It was enrolled in the High Court of Chancery, and has repeatedly been declared binding by the English courts. It is sharply criticised by Whitehead, but some of his exceptions are immaterial. Moore comes to its defence, and Coke was so severely charged with complicity as to call for an address to the societies explanatory of his connection with it. By its admirers it has been called the *Magna Charta* of English Methodism.

tion, while Moore as severely replies by the weak argument that it occurred of necessity in the Deed of Declaration inasmuch as that instrument was intended to legalize that very title in the original chapel deeds to Wesley, as though Whitehead could mean that it was subject to criticism as occurring in the Declaration, but not in the Deeds. His criticism, justly made, was of the title itself. It was one of the paradoxes of the autocratic mind of Wesley.

¹ Whitehead's "Life," Vol. II. pp. 250-254.

Tyerman analyzes the choice of Wesley of the one hundred and shows some strangely invidious discriminations. They were made by a man eighty-one years of age, who, when the storm broke upon him from the excluded, five of whom, the two Hampsons, father and son, Joseph Pilmoor, William Eels, and John Atlay, had issued an appeal to the societies against the discriminations and were arraigned at the Conference of 1785, claimed that if mistakes had been made by him in the selections he was alone responsible, and they must be attributed, not to his will, but to his judgment. It resulted in the loss of these five, and some thirty others of the excluded sooner or later withdrew. It was the first evil effect of entailed Paternalism. Tyerman says: "It was a deed investing a hundred Methodist preachers with the unexampled power of determining, irrespective of trustees, societies, and congregations, who shall be the official ministers in the thousands of chapels occupied by Methodist societies at home and abroad, throughout the United Kingdom, and throughout the world. We purposely refrain from raising the question about the kind of church government involved in this great settlement." In common, however, with the annalists having Conference bias, he concedes that without this deed, "the Methodist itinerancy must have ceased, and Methodism itself have been broken up into congregational churches." His final word is: "The reader must form his own opinion. Comment would be easy, but we purposely refrain."¹

The writer would improve the opportunity thus suggested and offers as facts in bar of this concession two objections: first, that the whole history of Methodism as a missionary organization shows that it had its itinerant feature conserved more by the laity than by the ministry. The Deed made it imperative that no preacher should be continued in any circuit or station longer than three years. Yet Watson, one of the most prominent of the Conference preachers and writers, a little later, in his biography of Wesley, makes his only exception to the Deed against this provision.² Both in England and America this "restrictive rule" as it came to be known, has met in the vast preponderance of cases its most persistent opponents not from the churches but from the preachers. The Birstal chapel case already noted turned largely on the action of the trustees reserving to themselves not so much the power to continue beyond the restricted time a pastor, but the right to

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. III. pp. 417-426.

² Watson's "Life," edition 1831, p. 141.

change at their own option, as often as deemed expedient. If, as already suggested, one hundred laymen had been added to the one hundred preachers as a body corporate, a conservative element would have been introduced insuring the itinerant plan and the unity of the societies Coke had proposed; Tyerman declares that the whole body of the preachers should have been incorporated, a plan he indorses, and this would have saved the Conference from much damaging agitation, discontent, and secession; but Wesley says he thought first of committing the matter to a dozen of the preachers, and appears to have fallen upon the hundred plan as a compromise, giving no better reason for it than the expense of assembling all the Conference annually and their absence from the fields of labor, as he sets forth in his "Thoughts upon some Late Occurrences," published in vindication of his action in the spring of 1785. He also felicitates himself on it as "such a foundation as is likely to stand as long as the sun and moon endure."¹ The second and more serious objection to the Deed of Declaration is its entailment of Paternalism as a system of government in the kingdom of God. Almost anything may be allowed Wesley during his life-tenure of absolute rule, and investment in himself of property. If not the wisest procedure that might have been adopted, for the nonce it was the most efficient, and the purity of his personal character was a guard against abuse. But the Deed, in its sixteen articles, is a curious melange. It provides for the act of the majority being the act of the whole, provided not less than forty are present; and of the election by the one hundred of a President annually. The first business is the filling of vacancies out of the members of the Conference by this close corporation of the Legal Hundred. It was a wide modification of his views of the successorship when he purposed that Fletcher should wear his mantle. It recognized suffrage at least within the hundred, while it secured Paternalism in their choice of a personal head. It is futile, however, to consider all that can be said for and against its provisions. It has the virtue, if such it can be called, of securing a self-perpetuating machine with unlimited powers, with its foundation in property. It has the vice as an active principle of securing directly or indirectly the destruction of Methodist English unity, the very thing which its Founder was most anxious to avoid. One admission must be made: this and other mischievous resultants, if foreseen by others, could not have been by Wesley, as he was not making provision for a Church. The marvel cannot be suppressed that, if he studied New Testa-

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. III. pp. 425, 426.

ment precedents, he adopted not one of them. Their use did not come within his purview. Here let the question rest until in the sequel of this sketchy history of English Methodism the evidence shall develop, as heretofore promised, that this entailed Paternalism sowed the seeds and brought forth the fruit of constantly recurring agitation and disaffection within the Wesleyan Conference, with repeated divisions in the United Societies — now a misnomer — by the excision of Reformers under the ninth article of the Deed: "That the Conference may and shall expel any member thereof, or any person admitted into connection therewith, for any cause which to the Conference may seem necessary."

1784 was, indeed, a "climacteric year for Methodism," — a phrase originating with Whitehead, and not with Southey, as Stevens seems to intimate, — not for the Deed of Declaration only, but for the ordinations of Coke, Whatcoat, and Vasey for America. Its exhaustive presentation would be proper at this period, and this is the method of Stevens and others; but as it necessarily recurs in association with the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the Christmas Conference of 1784, and as much additional light was thrown upon these ordinations by Alexander McCaine during the Reform controversy of 1824–30, reënforced since then by other discovered facts and arguments, except as it relates to its effects upon British Methodism, the consideration will be deferred, to avoid so much anticipation as would be requisite.

Suffice it to recite the main facts. It must be remembered that this was an age of prelatical pretensions. Ordination, instead of being that simple New Testament setting apart by laying on of hands, a custom borrowed from the Old Testament method of reverential blessing, with no priestly entail whatever, came to be an essential of hierarchal exclusiveness, as it grew in its departures from New Testament ideals, from the third century onward. Deacons were ordained as an order in the ministry, and Elders as a superior grade, and Bishops as transcending both, and then Archbishops in the ascending gradation, ultimating in the crowned and infallible Pope, an incarnation of ecclesiastical Paternalism. Apostolical Succession was the established dogma of the National Church of England. It was firmly held by Charles Wesley to his decease. John Wesley, when about forty years of age, by extending his reading and laying himself open, by the modifying force of his environments, to intellectual conviction, became satisfied from Lord King's "Account of the Primitive Church," that

there was no authority for an order of Bishops from the Scriptures. Subsequently Bishop Stillingfleet's "Irenicum" convinced him that the Apostolical Succession was "a fable which no man ever did or could prove." But he remained a staunch Churchman to the end, not accepting the logical results of such conclusions. He therefore insisted that the members of his United Societies should go to the National Church for the ordinances, and steadily refused, until late in life, to relieve any of his lay-preachers of this disability. He resisted, with all his effective authority, the clamors of both his people and his preachers, fortifying his conduct with the one reason: the Church kirks were near enough to his societies for practical purposes.

The circumstances were widely different in America. The English helpers he had sent over were mostly of the same opinion, and Asbury, his General Assistant, was an emphatic believer in Apostolic Succession, as has been already found. But at the close of the Revolutionary War the established Episcopal Church in America had been so scattered and peeled that, for hundreds of miles together, her deserted kirks had no rectors, so that not their own people only, but the Methodists, now fifteen thousand strong, were absolutely without the ordinances: their children remained unbaptized, and the Lord's Supper was never administered except under rebellion against Asbury's authority. Appreciating the urgency of the situation, and having good reasons to know that if much longer delayed he would be completely overborne, he wrote beseechingly to Wesley to come over himself, or send a National Church clergyman to relieve the difficulty. He could not go himself—his age forbade it. He applied to Bishop Lowth, setting forth the need for an ordained clergyman to be sent to America, but he was refused. He was in a strait betwixt two. Should he send himself a clergyman, or permit the authority of Asbury, and through him of himself, to decay? He anxiously consulted Fletcher and others of his confidants, hoping for directive, favorable advice to the purpose which was crystallizing in his own mind; but they, with one consent, disapproved of his assuming the episcopal prerogative of ordination, as understood in the National Church—any other they did not understand at all.¹ In this emergency he thought of Coke, who largely shared

¹ Stevens, in his "History of Methodism," Vol. II. pp. 213, 214, intimates that Fletcher approved the ordinations. "Wesley," he says, "did not yield till urged by his most revered counsellors. Fletcher, of Madeley, was one of these." Again, "Fletcher was present with Wesley and Coke at the Leeds Conference, and there

his confidence. He was a presbyter of the National Church, equal with himself in this respect. He was fully qualified by education, and his administration of the Irish Conference, now for some time committed to him by Wesley, all conspired in favor of this choice. He appears to have given him some intimation of his purpose. Drew says he did it in February, 1784. He would send him as a General Superintendent—a word-coinage of his own—not, perhaps, to supersede Asbury, but to ordain some of the American preachers, and give the societies the ordinances. Asbury had written his last urgent letter under date of March 20, 1784, calling for Wesley to come or to send a minister. Dr. Coke eagerly fell in with the suggestion to send him. He saw in it an opportunity to gratify the pet ambition of his life. April 17, 1784, he writes to Wesley from near Dublin, and in this and a subsequent letter his diplomacy is exhibited. The first of them is a manuscript letter, which came into the possession of Tyerman, and is cited by no other previous author in consequence. As it is the writer's opinion that this letter, and one under date of August 9, 1784, furnish the key to the strange inconsistency of Wesley's conduct in the ordination of Dr. Coke, the full text is here given:—

HONOURED AND VERY DEAR SIR,—I intended to trouble you no more about my going to America; but your observations incline me to address you again on the subject.

If some one in whom you could place the fullest confidence, and whom you think likely to have sufficient influence and prudence, and delicacy of conduct for the purpose, were to go over and return, you would then have a source of sufficient information to determine on any point or propositions. I may be destitute of the last mentioned essential qualification (to the former

with his assistance the question was brought to an issue.” Neither Wesley, nor Moore, nor Drew, nor Watson, nor Tyerman, and lastly, though first in order of time, nor Whitehead supports this view. Whitehead says, Vol. II. p. 255, that Fletcher advised that “a bishop should be prevailed upon, if possible, to ordain them (Coke, Whatcoat, and Vasey), and then Mr. Wesley “might appoint them to such offices in the societies as he thought proper, and give them letters testimonial of the appointments he had given them.” And Coke, in his letter of August 9, 1784, makes plain that this was as far as Fletcher ever went. Coke says, “And afterward (the ordinations) according to Mr. Fletcher's advice, give us letters testimonial of the different offices with which you have been pleased to invest us.” Wesley could not get a bishop to ordain them, and when he did it himself there is not a scintilla of proof that Fletcher approved the act. At the Leeds Conference he was a peacemaker, and probably saved the Conference from disruption on account of these ordinations, but he was too consistent a Churchman to countenance ordination, except by a third-order bishop. If anything be wanting to clinch the position here taken, it is furnished by Rev. James Creighton, who participated in the setting apart service of Coke and company, in a letter

I lay claim without reserve) ; otherwise my taking such a voyage might be inexpedient.¹

By this means you might have fuller information concerning the state of the country and the societies than epistolary correspondence can give you ; and there might be a cement of union, remaining after your death, between the societies and preachers of the two countries. If the awful event of your decease should happen before my removal to the world of spirits, it is almost certain, that I should have business enough, of indispensable importance, on my hands in these kingdoms.

I am, Sir, your most dutiful and affectionate son,

THOMAS COKE.²

Tyerman says, and what he says is enough for the present: "This is a curiously expressed letter ; but if it means anything, it means, that if Wesley would be good enough to think and say, that Coke had 'sufficient influence and prudence and delicacy of conduct,' he was willing to become Wesley's envoy to the American Methodists."

Matters rested in this shape, so far as information is obtainable, until the Leeds Conference which met July 25, ensuing. The question was then referred to a select committee of Wesley's appointment. Pawson, one of the prominent preachers, was a member and present when it met. Wesley revealed his plan to ordain Coke, Whatcoat, and Vasey, for America. Pawson says, in his manuscript memoir of Dr. Whitehead: "The preachers were astonished when this was mentioned, and, to a man, opposed it. But I plainly saw that it would be done, as Mr. Wesley's mind appeared to be quite made up."³ Coke, Whatcoat, and Vasey, when the Plan of Appointments was read, were announced for America. If Wesley had any hesitation as to Coke, already a presbyter and therefore as fully qualified to ordain Wesley as Wesley was to ordain Coke in the Churchman sense, it was turned into decision when, only six days after the Conference adjourned, Dr. Coke, fully intent upon his ulterior purpose, wrote him the

addressed to Mr. Samuel Bradburn, printed in London in 1793, two years after Wesley's death, in which he says, "You take notice of a meeting which Mr. Wesley had with some clergymen at Leeds in August, 1784, at which he consulted them concerning the ordination of preachers for America. Mr. Fletcher was present, and I believe Mr. Seldon, and two or three others. They did not approve of the scheme because it seemed inconsistent with Mr. Wesley's former professions respecting the Church. Upon this the meeting was abruptly broken up by Mr. Wesley's going out." See McCaine's "Letters on the M. E. Church," pamphlet, 1850, pp. 64, 65.

¹ *In*-expedient ; *in* supplied, an evident misprint in Tyerman.

² "Life of Wesley," Vol. III. p. 428.

³ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. III. p. 438.

following letter, marked in every line of it with the most ingenious diplomacy, and plausible as, it was, no doubt, sincere. The text must be given in full, as this second letter with the first already given focalize light upon the mystery of this hybrid ordination. It is as follows:—

AUGUST 9, 1784.

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—The more maturely I consider the subject, the more expedient it appears to me that the power of ordaining others should be received by me from you, by the imposition of your hands; and that you should lay hands on brother Whatcoat and brother Vasey for the following reasons: 1. It seems to me the most scriptural way, and most agreeable to the practice of the primitive churches. 2. I may want all the influence in America which you can throw into my scale. Mr. Brackenbury informed me at Leeds that he saw a letter in London from Mr. Asbury, in which he observed that he would not receive any person deputed by you with any part of the superintendency of the work invested in him, or words which evidently implied so much. I do not find any, the least degree, of prejudice in my mind against Mr. Asbury, on the contrary a very great love and esteem, and am determined not to stir a finger without his consent, unless mere sheer necessity obliges me, but rather to lie at his feet in all things. But as the journey is long, and you cannot spare me often, and it is well to provide against all events, and an authority formally received from you will (I am conscious of it) be fully admitted by the people, and my exercising the office of ordination without that formal authority may be disputed, if there be any opposition on any account; I would therefore earnestly wish you would exercise that power in this instance, which I have not the shadow of a doubt but God hath invested you with for the good of our connexion. I think you have tried me too often to doubt whether I will in any degree use the power you are pleased to invest me with, further than I believe is absolutely necessary for the prosperity of the work. 3. In respect of my brethren (bros. Whatcoat and Vasey), it is very uncertain indeed whether any of the clergy mentioned by brother Rankin will stir a step in the work, except Mr. Jarrett; and it is by no means certain that even he will choose to join me in ordaining; and propriety and universal practice make it expedient that I should have two presbyters with me in this work. In short, it appears to me that everything should be prepared, and every thing proper be done, that can possibly be done this side the water. You can do all this in Mr. C——n's house, in your chamber; and afterwards (according to Mr. Fletcher's advice) give us letters testimonial of the different offices with which you have been pleased to invest us. For the purpose of laying hands on brothers Whatcoat and Vasey, I can bring Mr. C. down with me, by which you will have two presbyters with you. In respect to brother Rankin's argument, that you will escape a great deal of odium by omitting this, it is nothing. Either it will be known or not known; if not known, then no odium will arise; but if known, you will be obliged to acknowledge that I acted under your direction, or suffer me to sink under the weight of my enemies, with perhaps your brother at the head of them. I shall entreat you to ponder these things.

Your most dutiful,

T. COKE.

A full analysis of this remarkable letter must be left for the period of the American Christmas Conference and the disclosure of 1820-30 in the Reform controversy. The only point to be substantiated at present is the affirmation that Wesley did not intend the anomalous ordination of Dr. Coke until the receipt of this last letter. The evidence already offered is conclusive that the hesitation in the whole matter was not with Coke but with Wesley. Moore says indeed: "Mr. Wesley then considered the subject, and informed Dr. Coke of his design of drawing up a plan of church government, and of establishing an ordination for his American societies. But cautious of entering on any new plan, he afterward suspended the execution of his purpose, and weighed the whole for upward of a year."¹ Drew says: "When the Conference at Leeds in 1784 ended, Mr. Wesley repaired to Bristol, and Dr. Coke to London, to make arrangements for his departure. He had, however, not been long in London, before he received a letter from Mr. Wesley requesting him to repair immediately to Bristol to receive fuller powers; and to bring Rev. Mr. Creighton with him."² Tyerman says of Coke's letter: "Would it not seem from this, that Wesley had no idea of ordaining any one himself; but that he intended Coke, who, as a presbyter of the same church, had coequal power, to go out to America for that purpose? There can be no question, that there is force in Dr. Whitehead's critique, that, 'Dr. Coke had the same right to ordain Wesley as Wesley had to ordain Coke.' Wesley, we think, never intended doing this; but at Coke's request he acquiesced."³ In due season the evidence shall be made overwhelming that in this transaction Dr. Coke with Wesley successfully played the role of "the little magician," as some one has ycleped him. He tried it subsequently with Asbury, but that keen-sighted man proved himself more than a match for both Wesley and Coke. Tyerman adduces a fact which no other historian mentions, and which he thinks may have influenced Wesley finally in this matter of ordination. A controversy arose in regard to one of Lady Huntingdon's chapels, a complication growing out of the Calvinistic Methodists' relation to the

¹ Moore's "Life of Wesley," Vol. II. pp. 272, 273, edition 1825.

² Drew's "Life," p. 73.

³ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. III. pp. 430, 431. "He had not been long in London." Even so: for only six days after Conference adjourned he wrote Wesley his letter of August 9, which antedated that of Wesley to him. It accomplished its purpose — Wesley yielded to his persuasions, and, as will be seen, carried out his suggestions to the smallest details as to the ordinations.



COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON.

National Church; and after litigation the case was so decided that clergymen who had heretofore held service were deterred for fear of persecution for preaching in a place not episcopally consecrated. The upshot was that Messrs. Wills and Taylor, clergymen, formally seceded from the National Church, and it was the first that took place. The object of these withdrawals was to enable these clergymen to ordain some of Lady Huntingdon's preachers, which was accordingly done on March 9, 1783. Six young men were set apart. Wesley knew of these things but kept quiet, not knowing but the same legal and ecclesiastical proceedings might be instituted against him. Wesley ordained Coke, Whatcoat, and Vasey, when, where, how, and to what, with the testimonial he gave Coke, and the letter he wrote the American brethren, and all associated facts, shall be reviewed later.

Suffice it to say that, when the secret work became known, as it did speedily, the Conference preachers were highly indignant, and there was great commotion. One of the preachers wrote, "I wish they had been asleep when they began this business of ordination; it is neither *episcopal* nor *presbyterian*; but a mere hodge-podge of inconsistencies."¹ It must be noted that there is a wide difference between the ordination of Dr. Coke, whatever Wesley intended by it, and the ordination of Whatcoat and Vasey. With Wesley's modified views as a presbyter he felt qualified to ordain deacons and presbyters though illogical in an Episcopalian, who if anything must be a believer in three orders of the ministry with the ordaining power restricted to the bishops; so that, having made the ecclesiastical plunge, he proceeded as necessity called for it, to set aside others of his helpers. In Scotland there was as strong need as in America, the clergymen of the National Church forbidding the ordinances to Methodists. So, in 1785, he ordained Pawson, Hanby, and Taylor for Scotland. In 1786 he added to the number, Keigley and Atmore for Scotland, Warrenner for Antigua, West Indies, and Hammett for Newfoundland. A year later five others were ordained. In 1788, when Wesley was in Scotland, Barber and Cownley were set apart; and at the ensuing Conference seven others, including Alexander Mather, who was ordained not deacon and presbyter only, but *superintendent* for Scotland, this case also to be more fully considered in its logical connection. In 1789 Wesley ordained Henry Moore and Thomas Rankin, names conspicuous in Methodism on both sides of the

¹ Whitehead's "Life," Vol. II. p. 258.

ocean. Tyerman says he thinks these complete the list of Wesley's ordinations.

The correspondence that ensued between Wesley and his brother Charles anent these things in 1785 is tender, but decisive. Reference has already been made to it. Tyerman says of it: "Wesley failed to grapple with his brother's question; or rather, he declined. Charles's point evidently was the same as Lord Mansfield's — 'Ordination was separation.' No doubt this was strictly accurate. Wesley was too keen-sighted not to see it; but he was too much of a churchman to acknowledge it. He felt himself unable to reply to his brother's argument; and therefore really did not attempt to reply at all."¹ It helped on the divisions which occurred after his decease, provoked by the Deed of Declaration. Ordination and the administration of the ordinances were not assented to. Pawson says: "Had the preachers after his death only acted upon his plan, and quietly granted the people who desired the sacraments that privilege, no division would have taken place."² He, however, was one of the ordained and strongly prejudiced in favor of all Wesley did, and stands alone among the preachers in the opinion that Wesley meant to ordain bishops when he laid hands on Coke and Mather — "In order therefore to preserve all that was valuable in the Church of England, among the Methodists, he ordained Mr. Mather and Dr. Coke bishops. These he undoubtedly designed should ordain others. Mr. Mather told us so at the Manchester conference of 1791."² But the English preachers would not have it, so that it was not until 1795 that the administration of the ordinances was authorized by the Wesleyan Conference, and it was not until 1836 that ordination by imposition of hands was enacted and became the "standing rule and usage in future years." Let Tyerman as the most impartial of Wesley's biographers close the case for the nonce. Logically, the ordinations made Wesley a Dissenter: "Wesley refuses to acknowledge this; but feeling the impossibility of the thing, he declined to attempt refuting it. With great inconsistency, he still persisted in calling himself a member of the Church of England; and, as will be seen, to the day of his death told the Methodists, that if they left the Church they would leave him. All things considered this is not surprising; but it was absurd. Great allowance must be made for Wesley; but to reconcile Wesley's practice and profession in this matter, during the last seven years of his eventful life, is simply impossible."

¹ "Life of Wesley," Vol. III. p. 447.

² *Ibid.* p. 443.

The year 1784 was not memorable except for these dual events just considered. Wesley continued his unexampled labors for a man of eighty-one, travelling, preaching, writing, and publishing. Among the last was "The Sunday Service for the Methodists in America," or his abridgment of the Prayer Book which Coke carried with him to America in the printed sheets, perhaps, as more portable for a long sea-voyage. It plays a most important part in the Wesley-Coke entanglement, as will be seen in the future.

CHAPTER VIII

Wesley at eighty-two a marvel of activity — Ordination of Mather the same as the ordination of Coke, nothing more — Rare London pamphlet giving curious revelations of Wesley — Deductions from it — Perronet and Fletcher — Deed of Declaration causes secessions — Methodist laity conservative — Dr. Coke, father of missions — Wesley ordains as an illogical Churchman — Charles Wesley's death — Coke and service during Church hours — Farewell to Ireland — Wesley's old age — An autocrat to the last — Blind to judicial distinctions — Last Journal entry — The preachers outwit Wesley — He never abused his power; the error in trying to entail it — His last testimony against separation from the Church.

1785, and Wesley at eighty-two, finds him spending five days of January walking the streets of London in slush and snow, begging £200 for the poor and visiting the destitute in their own houses. He met the London classes and received the weekly contributions, out of which he paid himself his quarter's salary of £15. He also preached in some of the National churches, invitations being now plentiful.

He was a marvel of activity and consecration. He wrote a letter to Mr. Stretton of Newfoundland, February 25, in which he says, "Last autumn Dr. Coke sailed from England, and is now visiting the flock in the midland provinces of America, and setting them on the New Testament plan, to which they all willingly and joyfully conform."¹ Coke had carried a letter to them from him for public use, in which he declares that the Revolutionary War had set them free from "the State and the English hierarchy; we dare not entangle them again, either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty, simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive Church."² Explaining his ordination of Mather as a *Superintendent* for Scotland he wrote: "After Dr. Coke's return from America, many of our friends begged that I would consider the case of Scotland . . . I at length consented to take the same steps for Scotland which I had done with regard to America. But this is not separation from the Church . . . Whatever then is done in America or Scotland, is not separation from the Church of England." Dear old man!

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. III. p. 458.

² *Ibid.* p. 436.

Guileless, ingenuous, unsuspecting, unmindful now that in these things he should be logically consistent, it was his idea of a "New Testament plan" to preserve his primacy over the world's Methodists, appointing Superintendents for sections not convenient for him to supervise personally, as in America and Scotland, to which Ireland would probably have been added but for the fact that Coke, the most available man for the position, and who held the Conference Presidency by Wesley's appointment for a series of years, was made his choice for America. It did not enter into his dream, even, that what he did would or could be perverted into the organization of a Church independent of him, either in Scotland or America.¹ How the "joint superintendents" for America became bishops in due time, and how an Episcopal Church was organized, is a tale that will be worth the telling in its proper place.

At the previous Conference he had assigned William Moore to Plymouth. He was one of the dissatisfied with the Deed of Declaration and broke away from Wesley's authority and severed

¹ Letter to Thomas Coke and Henry Moore, occasioned by their proposal of publishing "The Life of John Wesley, A. M.," in opposition to that advertised by Rev. John Whitehead, M. D. Also an "Appeal to the People called Methodists on the Same Subject, by an Old Member of the Society," etc. London, pamphlet, 56 pp.

A copy of this rare document is in the Baltimore Methodist Historical Rooms. Among other things contained in it is a letter from John Wesley, not found, so far I know, in any of the histories of Methodism extant. It is addressed to an anonymous friend on the probability of division after his death despite the Deed of Declaration. In the course of it Wesley says: "I have long foreseen that a division must necessarily ensue from causes so various, unavoidable, and certain, that I have long since given over all thought and hopes of settling it on a permanent foundation." He recognizes the struggle of the preachers for power and preëminence as one cause, but says he could not settle upon an individual successor who could exercise his own absolute control, and adds—"which I have hitherto exercised, and I am determined I will maintain so long as I live—never will I bear a rival near my throne." Another cause, he says, will be the inadequacy of funds to carry on the work—"money is as much the sinews of religion as of military power." But he adds, "This no way concerns me; I have attained the object of my views by establishing a name that will not soon perish from the face of the earth; I have founded a sect which will boast my name long after my discipline and doctrines are forgotten."

This letter is subscribed, "I am, etc., J. W., City Road, Thursday morning."

As the Deed of Declaration was signed in 1784, allusions in this letter would assign it a date only a few years before his death. In its naïve confession that he felt his earthly reward of a life of labor and sacrifice to be in the perpetuation of his name in connection with Methodism, may be found the private reason he did not avail of the offer of Bishop Seabury, who, while in England and Scotland in 1784 seeking ordination for the American Protestant Episcopal Church, sought to obtain an interview with Wesley as to the American Methodists, but did not succeed owing to Wesley's engagements on the wing. But he knew of Seabury's

the society in Plymouth. He was a man, says Tyerman, of "education, courage, and Christian zeal." He hired a room, drew off some forty of the society, and formed one of his own. Wesley was sent for, and, with the advantage of empire in property, soon settled matters to his satisfaction. It was naughty in Moore, but a peace measure as the Deed was intended to be is not always measured by peace. Wesley visited Ireland, and in two months entered and preached in fifty or sixty towns about fourscore sermons. He passed his eighty-second birthday on the 28th of June, and finds himself in such health that he says, "I dare not impute this to natural causes; it is the will of God." He held the Irish Conference on July 10, Coke being absent on his mission. He is delighted with the Irish preachers and pays them the high compliment, "I think number for number they exceed their fellow-laborers in England." He was constantly forming new friends, but the old ones were rapidly dropping away. This year Vincent Perronet and John Fletcher died. The former was in the ninety-second year of his age, and died while Wesley was in Ireland, on the 9th of May. Charles Wesley buried him and preached his funeral sermon. Wesley was in the west of England when Fletcher died, August 14, 1785, and so could not attend his funeral. Next to the Wesleys and Whitefield, Methodism is most indebted to Fletcher. But for his almost angelic influence at the previous Conference of 1784, during the debate on the Deed of Declaration and the Ordination questions, serious results might have followed, menacing the very existence of the Conference and the societies. His life was saintly and his death triumphant.

The forty-second Conference convened at City Road in London, July 26. Wesley says: "Our Conference began; at which about seventy preachers were present, whom I had invited by name. One consequence of this was, that we had no contention or altercation at all; but everything proposed was calmly considered and

presence in England and the mission on which he came; so that he was not anxious for an interview with him. Having failed to induce the Bishop of London to ordain one of his preachers, who, Kewley* declares, was to come in that case to America in the capacity of chaplain in Lord Cornwallis's army, he abandoned farther quest in that direction, for the specific reason stated by himself, that if the Episcopal Bishops ordained, they would also "expect to govern," the American Methodist preachers. Thus he would have been robbed of his name as head of the Americans also. It makes the foregoing letter quadrate with these and other facts of his life.

* See Appendix to Dr. Kewley's "Inquiry into the Validity of Methodist Episcopacy," etc., Wilmington, 1807. A copy in writer's possession.

determined as we judged would be most for the glory of God.”¹ Seventy preachers out of nearly two hundred. There is a charming simplicity in his record of the result; as though seventy out of two hundred, and they invited by name, could disagree to anything he proposed! Nevertheless, the Deed of Declaration was again brought up, and seventy preachers, all who were present, signed documents that they approved the Deed. Eight preachers left the connection, including Moore and the two Hampsons, without dispute among the ablest and hitherto truest men of the Conference. It was the beginning of other secessions on the same account. Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Antigua appeared in the minutes. Once more itinerating, when he reached Bristol he heard a report that he was about to leave the National Church, and felt called upon to make a public denial. “I openly declared in the evening that I had no more thought of separating from the Church than I had forty years ago.”² Among the notable publications of this year under Methodist auspices was a twelve-page pamphlet with the title “Free Thoughts Concerning Separation of the People called Methodists from the Church of England, Addressed to the Preachers in the Methodist Connexion by a Layman of the Methodist Society.” It was a strong argument against separation, and is cited in proof that the Methodist laity, in the Wesleyan and Asburian forms of it specially, have ever been most conservative; and yet, strange to say, under the polity of both these eminent leaders, the laity were shut out from all participation in the government, the position being practically in regard to the people, that they were best qualified to exercise the trinity of virtues: Pray, Pay, and Obey. The concession made in these pages that the paternal system of Wesley — and it may be extended to Asbury — during his life was, all things considered, the most efficient, and for the time allowable, and if its advocates please, even providential, must be qualified by its trend in establishing a precedent for a class hierarchal of preachers exclusively. It is worth while to retrace our steps a few weeks to July 14, the second Sunday before the Conference met, to record one of the most interesting events in Wesley’s life. He preached the next morning at five o’clock to the Methodist children in City Road chapel. It was crowded with children. Tyerman says, “When, either before or since, was there such a congregation at such an hour?”³ It was one of the hygienic

¹ Wesley’s “Journal,” p. 622. ² Tyerman’s “Life,” Vol. III. pp. 464-468.

³ Tyerman’s “Life,” Vol. III. pp. 464-468.

fallacies of Wesley that not himself only, but all his helpers, should preach at five o'clock in the morning. He believed it was one of the principal reasons his own health was so marvelously preserved, therefore everybody to be healthy must preach at five in the morning. There was much rebellion both by preachers and the people against a rule, serviceable for exceptions under which it was created, but unreasonable as a perpetual and arbitrary regulation. Preachers were disciplined for not observing this iron rule.

1786 and Wesley at eighty-three. From the opening of it to the forty-third Conference, July 25, at Bristol, his labors continued to be signalized by remarkable occurrences of which Tyerman gives details found in no other biography. At the Conference the question of separation from the Church was again mooted. Dr. Coke was the leader, "who had returned from his *episcopal* tour in the United States."¹ The underscored word is by its author. Charles Wesley was present for the last time and uttered but one single word, an emphatic "No" when Dr. Coke in his separation speech affirmed that nearly all the converted clergymen in the kingdom were Calvinists. Sitting with closed doors was relaxed at this Conference to the extent of a single session. "On Thursday in the afternoon, we permitted any of the society to be present."² Despite the discussion on separation, Wesley says in his Journal: "Great had been the expectation of many, that we should have had warm debates, but by the mercy of God we had none at all."² A lover of peace, if matters moved smoothly in the channels he appointed, nothing is more common for no mention to be made at all of discussions or denials, if he thought that best. The total membership for the world was reported at 81,010.

It is a pleasure to introduce Dr. Coke in a shining light. He must be esteemed the father and founder of the Methodist Missionary Society, its lifelong advocate, and most laborious evangel. It had been inaugurated at the Conference of 1785. Before leaving for America Dr. Coke drew up a Plan and made a report which he referred to Fletcher. Its title is "A Plan of the Society for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathen." He never relaxed his efforts in this direction, and spent much of his independent fortune—he claimed to have an income of £1200 a year, an inheritance from his wealthy father as an only child—in it, and found his grave in the Indian Ocean, when

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. III. p. 478.

² Wesley's "Journal," p. 640.



JOHN FLETCHER.

sixty-seven years of age, in pursuance of his burning zeal in the cause. The mission to India had to be postponed, but other points nearer home and in America were pressed, and collections taken as a part of the regular work of Methodist preachers.

Passing mention must be made of Wesley's immense correspondence throughout his long life. It is simply past comprehension how he managed to do all he did. In the autumn of this year he undertook to write a "Life of Fletcher." He says: "To this I dedicated all the time I could spare till November, from five in the morning till eight at night. These are my studying hours. I cannot write longer in a day without hurting my eyes." Tyerman breaks out: "We should think not! Fifteen hours a day of unintermitting labor in the case of a man eighty-three years of age!" He writes: "In general my health has been better for the last ten years, than it ever has been for ten years together since I was born. . . . All my pains and aches have forsaken me, and I am a stranger even to weariness of any kind." Impressed himself, he strongly exhorted the people to make their wills. He finished his "Life of Fletcher," a twelvemo. of 227 pages, a year's work itself for an ordinary man; but he published nothing else save the *Arminian Magazine*, 688 pages, much of it his own composition. An extract shows that he had drifted away from all narrow views of what constituted a church: "Two or three Christian brethren united together are a church in the narrowest sense . . . the catholic or universal church is all the persons in the universe whom God hath called out of the world, etc. . . . the part inhabiting any one kingdom may be called a *national church*, etc."¹

1787 and Wesley at eighty-four. He kept on ordaining, as has been shown, and he kept on resisting with all his power those, either among the preachers or the people, who were agitating for separation, thus persevering to the end in his illogical position as an Episcopalian. He wrote: "They that are enemies to the

¹ In his "Notes on the New Testament" his unbiassed deliverances as to the Primitive Church, both as to its officers and its laity, are utterly at variance with his ecclesiastical notions as a Presbyter of the National Church, and as the Primate of the Methodists. Commenting on the second and third verses of 6th of Acts, he says: "In the first church the primary business of apostles, evangelists, and bishops was to preach the word of God; the secondary to take a kind of paternal care (the church being then like a family) for the food, especially of the poor, the strangers, and the widows. Afterwards the deacons of both sexes were constituted for this latter business. And whatever time they had to spare from this they employed in works of spiritual mercy. But their proper office was to take care of the poor. And when some of them afterward preached the gospel they

Church are enemies to *me*. I still think, when the Methodists leave the Church of England, God will leave them." The poor of London and elsewhere were much upon his heart, and he spent days begging for money to relieve them. At Bristol he was grieved to discover that out of a membership of sixteen hundred only a dozen hearers formed the five o'clock morning service. He admonished them on their indolence, and during his stay the number rose to some three hundred, but even the fame and authority of Wesley could not bring them out at this unreasonable hour as a permanent service. He meets with Howard the philanthropist, kindred spirits. He held his Irish Conference.

The forty-fourth Conference was held at Manchester, July 31. The statistics of every class showed great improvement. At this Conference he ordained Mather, Rankin, and Moore, not by joining with him in the service two of his own ordained preachers, but two presbyters of the National Church. Did he by this express doubt of his own ordinations even of presbyters, or did he do it to keep in all things as near the Church as possible? Probably the latter; but at his age and the mixed nature of the whole ordaining business, it is impossible to affirm. Stevens says: "The reordination of Mather as a bishop was significant." It was indeed, and when a man has committed himself to a strained view of a transaction, he easily juggles with words. Party bias in Methodism insists that superintendent and bishop, as Wesley understood it, are one and the same. The sequel of these pages will show that nothing is more untrue. Wesley makes no mention at all of this Conference in his Journal. Thomas Taylor, in charge at Leeds, only fifty miles from Manchester, and one of the hundred named in the Deed of Declaration, was not invited to the Conference for the only apparent reason, — he was in favor of separation. He loudly complains in his manuscript Journal: "Mr. Wesley has sent his special summons to each preacher whom he wished to attend Conference, and has expressly forbidden any one else to go. I am unbidden, and think I am ill used. . . . I'll venture to go, let the consequences

did this not in virtue of the deaconship, but of another commission, that of evangelists, which they probably received, not before, but after, they were appointed deacons. And it is not unlikely that others were appointed deacons, or stewards, in their room, when any of these commenced evangelists. . . . It would have been happy for the church had its ordinary ministers in every age taken the same care to act in concert with the people committed to their charge, which the apostles themselves, extraordinary as their office was, did on this and other occasions." This is sound Methodist Protestant doctrine, but not sound Methodist Episcopal.

be what they may." He had ordained Pawson for Scotland several years before who went to his work putting on bands and gowns, and Wesley addressed him as "Reverend." He was brought back to England, and now he was compelled to doff his canonicals and be addressed as "Mr." He was indignant, but submitted; his piety was greater than his love for sacerdotal robes. He wrote to a bosom friend: "Even the Pope himself never acted such a part as this. What an astonishing degree of power does our aged friend and father exercise."¹ These things give us an inkling of the kind of peace the Deed of Declaration and the Ordinations engendered. Yet never was Methodism more prosperous. The net increase for the year in England alone was near four thousand. The doctrines and means of grace were more and more potent, under the blessing of the Lord, with the people. There are not wanting those who couple Wesley's discipline and major proceedings as the cause. It is submitted that proceedings that bring not peace but a sword cannot minister to real prosperity. The Sunday-school work was magnified and the children taught to sing, and their presence in the chapel services vastly improved the singing. Wesley was delighted. William Bramwell, Richard Reece, Joseph Entwistle, and Pearl Dickinson are names now appearing, and immortal in Methodism. All his preachers were now *licensed* to save them from the Conventicle Act; but it widened a breach with the National Church and made ultimate separation inevitable. Wesley had ceased to publish except in the *Arminian Magazine*. Dr. Coke, and principally, Mr. Bradford were now his travelling companions. Everywhere he was received with worshipful respect. His flowing snow-white hair, his ruddy countenance, his searching eyes, which had lost none of their brightness, made him an angel visitant.

The forty-fifth Conference was held in London, July 29, 1788. The prosperity was unabated. Among those received at this conference was John Hickling, who survived till 1859, aged ninety-three, the last of Wesley's "Helpers." He had preached more than seventy years, and at the time of his death was announced for six special occasions. Wesley had passed his eighty-fifth birthday with unusual incidents, and the year was marked with many events of a striking character, which may be found in Tyerman's "Life," but cannot be reproduced under limit of space. March 29 of this year Charles Wesley died. Wesley was at Macclesfield and could not get to London in time

¹ Tyerman alone furnishes the foregoing facts.

for the funeral. Charles had left instructions to be buried in "consecrated ground" and by clergymen of the National Church. Wesley was much grieved, for he wished him to be buried near him in City Road chapel ground. He intended to write his brother's Life, but he could not find the time. Dr. Whitehead, by special request of the family, performed acceptably and successfully the task, having access to his Journal and all his private papers. On Christmas day of this year Wesley preached at City Road chapel, and on the last Sunday in the year at All Hallows church. His attendant while putting on his gown was addressed by Wesley. "Sir, it is above fifty years since I first preached in this church. . . . I came without a sermon. A woman who stood by noticing my concern said, on learning the cause of my confusion, 'Cannot you trust God for a sermon?'" It had such an effect on him that he ascended the pulpit and preached extempore. . . . "I have never since taken a written sermon with me into the pulpit."

1789, and Wesley at eighty-six. In January he sat for a picture by Romney, and he compliments him, "He struck off an exact likeness at once and did more in an hour than Sir Joshua did in ten." His sight and other faculties showed signs of decay, but in March he started on a five months' preaching tour over the kingdom. At Dublin chapel he called on William Myles, his assistant at this place, to aid him in administering the Lord's Supper, and he was not yet ordained. It gave great offence, and a controversy raged for three months over it in the *Daily Dublin Evening Post*. It was pronounced "the greatest innovation that had been witnessed for fifty years." His reason for this step can be conjectured only. Under Dr. Coke's management the Dublin Methodists had service during the Church hours, to keep them from wandering from their own service at other hours, a practice Coke determined must be stopped. It led to farther controversy, and Wesley endeavored to justify Coke, though it was a thing he so often condemned. Notwithstanding these divarications of his own he stickled and insisted that other rules should be obeyed to the letter. At Dewsbury the year before his book steward, Atlay, led a rebellion against his power to appoint exclusively the preacher. Atlay and the chapel were both lost to the connection. Now at Shields the same disaffection appeared. Wesley wrote a peremptory letter to the three circuit preachers, that they demand a settlement of the deed on the Conference plan within three weeks, and if within another week it was not com-

plied with they were to withdraw and not preach in it. In a postscript he says: "I am at a point. I will be trifled with no longer." He was seriously sick during this period—diabetes threatened, but under treatment from his faithful and confidential physician, Dr. Whitehead, it abated, though he suffered more or less with it to his decease. His buoyant spirits at this time were remarked by many. He held his Irish Conference, now numbering some sixty, of whom forty or more were present. He compliments them in the strongest terms, and they have never ceased to be worthy of it. On the Conference Sunday Wesley and his preachers attended service at St. Patrick's, and heard the dean preach, "a serious, useful sermon." The Irish preachers were to a man true to the Church. On the 12th of July he bid adieu to Ireland forever. The scene of parting was most affecting.—"Not a few fell on the old man's neck and kissed him." About this time in a private letter occurs the sentence, "Dr. Coke made two or three little alterations in the prayer-book without my knowledge."¹ It is quoted as a pointer for future use.

On the 28th of July, 1789, the forty-sixth session of Conference began in Leeds. Two hundred and eighty-eight preachers received appointments. The societies continued to grow. Circuits and missions, 109, not including Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, and the numbers in society 74,254. What may be called the Conference sermon was preached by a local preacher, James Hamilton, M.D., perhaps the only instance of the kind in English Methodism. It was an able discourse, met with Wesley's approbation, was printed and widely circulated. About 130 preachers were present, according to Atmore, and of these 115 signed a paper favoring the settlement of the chapels according to the Conference plan, and among them, Tyerman says, William Thom, Henry Taylor, and Alexander Kilham, who were afterward distinguished as Methodist Reformers. Separation from the Church was again discussed as it was at every Conference, and decided unanimously against it. It was resolved that no books should be published without Wesley's sanction, and those to be printed at his press in London and sold by his book steward. Now and for some time before his sermons indicate his growing fears for the Methodists by becoming rich. He saw only the baleful effects, but what would Methodism be to-day but for its consecrated rich men?

1790. Tyerman says: "Wesley's career is drawing to a close.

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. III., for the foregoing facts.

He himself was on the 'Delectable mountains,' basking in the sheen of the celestial city, but all around him, or rather beneath him, was darkness and confusion." The French Revolution impended and England was filled with its alarms and doctrinal divisions. January 1, Wesley wrote: "I am now an old man, decayed from head to foot: my eyes are dim; my right hand shakes much; my mouth is hot and dry every morning; I have a lingering fever almost every day; my motion is weak and slow. However, blessed be God, I do not slack my labor; I can preach and write still."¹ He stanchly holds to every autocratic principle of his discipline. January 13, he writes to John Mason, the assistant at St. Austell circuit: "As long as I live, the people shall have no share in choosing either stewards or leaders among the Methodists. . . . We are no republicans and never intend to be. It would be better for these, that are so minded, to go quietly away."² Historically this is of moment, as the sequel of this work will show, that the principle here reaffirmed should be coupled with another laid down in the Dewsbury chapel case already adverted to; in this, however, the affirmation is a fallacy to be hereafter exposed:—"With respect to Dewsbury House, there never was any dispute *about the property of preaching houses*; that was an artful misrepresentation; but merely the *appointing of preachers* to them." Again, "Observe, here is no dispute about the right of houses at all. I have no right to any preaching house in England. What I claim is a right of stationing the preachers."³ Yet the Deed of Declaration already entered in the High Court of Chancery was enacted principally because all the Methodist chapels and other property in the connection were vested in Wesley in their legal titles, and so remained until after his decease the Deed became operative and entailed the title in the Legal Hundred. Arbitrary power blinds the eyes to judicial distinction. The sentiments severally quoted furnish the keys which were availed of by his successors both in England and America.

On Sunday, February 28, he preached to enormous congregations, at City Road, West Street, and Brentford, and then was off on his annual long journey to the north. He published a circular of his route that all persons might know his whereabouts. The labors were herculean for a man of eighty-seven. Another quotation from a letter of April 4, 1790, will be of use in future

¹ Wesley's "Journal," Vol. II. p. 735.

² *Methodist Magazine*, 1830, p. 251.

³ *Ibid.* 1790.

references: "I did not approve of Dr. Coke's making collections in your or any other circuit. I told him so, and am not well pleased with his doing it. It was very ill done."¹ This and other citations would seem to confirm Whitehead's declaration as to Dr. Coke: "That Mr. Wesley should suffer himself to be so far influenced in a matter of the utmost importance, both to his own character and the societies, by a man of whose judgment in advising, and talent in conducting, any affair he had no very high opinion is truly astonishing."² He was commenting directly upon Coke's letter to Wesley which decided the American ordinations. It will be seen that it was easy for Wesley to condone the faults and even misdoings of his familiars, and give at times very opposite testimony in far apart letters touching them. The ingratiations of Coke with Wesley found the way to this charity of his nature. He and Moore were often in these closing years his travelling companions, while the faithful Joseph Bradburn rarely left him. He was now on his last long itinerary over the kingdom. The incidents as given by Tyerman are touching and marvellous. Tottering up the pulpit stairs at Bradford, the whole congregation burst into tears. While the crowd was assembling at the door, a woman by the name of Wilson mockingly exclaimed, "They are waiting for their God;" no sooner was the sentence uttered than she fell senseless to the ground, and the day following she expired. He was attended by cavalcades of preachers and others escorting him from town to town. On his birthday he wrote: "Monday, June 28th. — This day I enter into my eighty-eighth year. For above eighty-six (sixty-eight ?) years I found none of the infirmities of old age; my eyes did not wax dim, neither was my natural strength abated; but last August I found almost a sudden change. My eyes were so dim that no glasses would help me. My strength likewise quite forsook me; and probably will not return in this world. But I feel no pain from head to feet; only it seems nature is exhausted; and, humanly speaking, will sink more and more, till 'the weary springs of life stand still at last.'"³ The health of Adam Clarke seemed failing and he wrote him solicitous letters.

He kept not only a Journal almost to the very last, but an account of his income and expenditures. The last entry is in a hand difficult to decipher—"N. B. For upward of eighty-six (sixty-eight ?) years I have kept my accounts exactly. I will

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. III. p. 605. ² Whitehead's "Life," Vol. II. p. 256.

³ Wesley's "Journal," Vol. II. p. 743.

not attempt it any longer, being satisfied with the continual conviction, that I save all I can, and give all I can, that is all I have. John Wesley. July 16, 1790." The profits of his publishing house were large, but his income from the society small, though he was not unfrequently made the almoner of others. He told Samuel Bradburn in 1787 that he never gave away less than a thousand pounds a year out of his own pocket. He died as he had lived, without a purse, save the publishing house, and that he bequeathed to the Conference for "carrying on the work of God by itinerant preachers." His Will was largely a trust deed, in which Coke, Whitehead, Mather, and Moore are oftenest named. Whitehead's "Life" gives the Will in full. The forty-seventh Conference, and the last Wesley attended, was convened at Bristol, July 27, 1790. Three hundred and thirteen were recorded on the roll of appointments. The three financial returns, not including salaries, reached £2828. The membership was 76,968, an increase for the year of 2714. The membership in the United States was 57,631, so rapidly was it gaining on that of Great Britain. The last decade of Wesley's life witnessed an increase of more than double the united results of the forty years preceding, says Tyerman. The legislation of the Conference was confined to preachers and the preaching houses. Among the other points insisted on by Wesley and embodied now in a disciplinary rubric, was that no preacher should preach more than twice the same day. Mather, Pawson, Thompson, and others objected. Wesley reasoned the matter, insisting that his own example could not be cited against him as he knew better how to husband his strength than other men, and closed the discussion with the declaration, "And the custom shall not be continued." It has been already found that Whitehead, speaking for Charles Wesley, expressed the opinion that his brother's government of the societies was "approaching a system of human policy that in the end could not be carried on without sometimes having recourse to the arts of misrepresentation and deception." It was a singular prescience, for the incident just referred to ended by the preachers deceiving him after all, by altering the minute when it was sent to the press thus, "No preacher shall preach three times the same day to the same congregation."¹ It is needless to pass a judgment upon the conduct of the preachers. It was highly disingenuous; but it has been the legitimate fruit of Paternalism in Methodist government in both England and America to this day.

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. III. pp. 619, 620.

Those whose predilections and education lead them to applaud and advocate such a system have no words but of unstinted commendation. Stevens, reviewing at the close of this Conference, indulges in such reflections as follows. No individual life was more complete in its results. His popular power was wide as any prelate in the land or even the Sovereign himself. His power could now, in any necessity, reach almost any part of the three kingdoms by the systematic apparatus of Methodism. Through his "assistants," and by them to the 300 preachers, and the 1200 local preachers, by these to the 4000 stewards and class leaders, and by these to 70,000 members. "Such a power, created by himself without prestige, but now wielded with a prestige which secured grateful and almost implicit obedience from his people, would have been perilous in the hands of a weak or selfish man, but in what one historical respect did he abuse it?"¹ It may be answered without qualification: knowingly, in none. As the Father of the Methodists, seeing that constitutionally and educationally he was an autocrat and could not govern otherwise than he did, it may be freely allowed him; and so no doubt his preachers thought in the main; and hence their allegiance: but what parent can transmit his authority to a son? Would it not be "perilous," and sure to distract the household? One of the postulates of this History is, that the fundamental error of Wesley began with the Deed of Declaration, entailing to 100 preachers of 300, to the exclusion of 1200 local preachers, many of them the peers in every respect of the itinerant, and of 70,000 people, all his rights proprietary in chapels and all his personal conferential authority.

October 6, at Winchelsea, Wesley preached for the last time in the open air beneath an ash tree in the churchyard, known afterward as "Wesley's tree." He continued to preach, kept on with the *Arminian Magazine*, and published a translation of the New Testament with an Analysis of the several books and chapters. He bore testimony against the vexed question of separation, "I declare once more, that I live and die a member of the Church of England, and that none who regard my judgment and advice will ever separate from it." In his last printed sermon, on Faith, he has glimpses of the eternal world. In six weeks he had triumphantly entered it.

¹ Stevens's "History of Methodism," Vol. II. pp. 322, 323.

CHAPTER IX

Methodism in other regions — Closing days of Wesley, 1791 — Letters to Ezekiel Cooper and others — Last sermon — Illness and Dr. Whitehead — Religious experience — Buried by torchlight at five in the morning of March 9 — Pictures of Wesley by Whitehead, Haweis, Tyerman — Eulogies by Whitehead, Tyerman, and Macaulay — A lost chapter recovered as to his obsequies — Whitehead's sermon given only in full in Stockton's "Whitehead's Life of Wesley" — Secret reasons of Whitehead's persecution by the Conference party — His full vindication in Appendix A.

DID the design of this work permit, it would be intensely interesting to follow Methodism as a missionary organization in the British Islands, France, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, West Indies, and Africa. Stevens is the best authority here. Dr. Coke is a leading spirit, braving the perils and hardships of the ocean, despising personal ease, and pouring out his wealth without stint in the work of spreading the gospel under Methodist auspices. Duncan Wright, Duncan M'Allum, Nathaniel Gilbert, a layman who was converted in England and returning to his West Indies' home at Antigua, established Methodism in his own house, afterward fostered by Coke and Hammett. Brackenbury, another layman, operated in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, as he could speak Norman French, and also Mahy, De Quetteville, De Jersey, and Toase, to France. John Crook, a local preacher of Liverpool, gave Methodism to the Isle of Man. He is one of the heroes of Wesley. Smyth, a Methodist clergyman, followed up the work. Pierre Le Sueur, Coughland, John Fenton, Captain Webb, afterward notable in American Methodism, Jasper Winscombe, and Alexander Kilham, who was a servant in the employ of Brackenbury, a wealthy layman, took part in the evangelization of Jersey. Adam Clarke also did much faithful labor in the islands, specially Alderney. Elizabeth Wallbridge, the original of the "Dairyman's Daughter," will forever perpetuate Wesleyan piety in the Isle of Wight. Joseph Sutcliffe for the Scilly Islands, William Black for Nova Scotia, with Freeborn Garrettson, an American, as also James O. Crom-

well, did wonders as pioneers in these distant northlands. John M'Geary must not go unmentioned in the same connection. On the 24th of September, 1786, Dr. Coke, with Hammett, who will be mentioned later in other associations, Warrener, and Clark embarked from England for Nova Scotia, but terrible storms and a leaking ship drove them for refuge to the West Indies, where they reënforced Gilbert in his lay Methodistic society at Antigua. They visited and formed societies in other islands. Harry, an American slave who had been brought to these islands, is immortal in Methodism, as Harry of St. Eustatius, to distinguish him from "Black Harry," Asbury's travelling companion and eloquent preacher. Coke made voyages to the West Indies in 1788, 1790, and 1792, and made martyr-like sacrifices in establishing the Methodist faith. Near six thousand members were reported before Wesley's death. In far-off Africa Wesley heard of a society organized at Sierra Leone of 223 negroes. In this instance Stevens does not name the missionaries, a regrettable fact.

The closing days of Wesley. He continued to write letters early in 1791, to Dr. Clarke, Thomas Taylor, Miss Bolton, and Miss Cambridge, pious young Methodists; John Booth, Thomas Roberts, Mrs. Susannah Knapp, and Ezekiel Cooper, then a young American preacher of great ability, who lived a celibate and died leaving a large fortune to his relatives in 1847, the oldest Methodist preacher in the world. His letter to Cooper bears date February 1, 1791, only four weeks before his decease. It contains his dying legacy to the American preachers, and is significant as declaring his ruling passion to die Primate of all the Methodists in his societies the world over. It holds a clear intimation that if, even at this late date, he fully comprehended the nature of the American "separation" at the Christmas conference of 1784, he did not recommend or indorse it. The legacy is in these emphatic words: "See that you never give place to one thought of separation from your brethren in Europe. Lose no opportunity of declaring to all men that the Methodists are one people, in all the world, and that it is their full determination so to continue:—

'Though mountains rise and oceans roll,
To sever us in vain.' "

Under date of February 14, he wrote to Wilberforce encouraging him in his parliamentary labors to abolish the slave-trade and slavery under British dominion. He continued to visit among his friends, and, though rapidly failing, as all observed,

he preached at Chelsea February 18, -at City Road February 22, and on the 23d, accompanied by Rodgers, rode eighteen miles to Leatherhead, to visit a magistrate, and in whose dining room he preached from "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found; call ye upon him while he is near." It was his last sermon. He was brought back to City Road parsonage and requested to be left alone for half an hour. At the end of the time Joseph Bradburn, his faithful attendant, found him so indisposed that he sent for his physician, Dr. Whitehead, to whom the dying patriarch said, "Doctor, they are more afraid than hurt." This was Friday, February 25. On the 26th he spent the day in drowsiness and sleep. Sunday, 27th, he seemed better, got up and sat in his chair, looked cheerful, and repeated:—

"Till glad I lay this body down
Thy servant Lord attend;
And oh! my life of mercy crown,
With a triumphant end."

Afterward he remarked with emphasis, "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth." Miss Wesley, his niece, and Miss Ritchie prayed with him. "When at Bristol," said he, alluding to his illness in 1753, "my words were:—

"I the chief of sinners am,
But Jesus died for me."

Miss Ritchie asked, "Is that your language now?" "Yes," said he, "Christ is all! He is all!" On Monday, February 28, his weakness so increased that Dr. Whitehead wished for assistance, but Wesley replied: "Dr. Whitehead knows my constitution better than any one. I am quite satisfied and will have no one else." The day was spent in sleep; but he muttered at times scripture verses. Tuesday, March 1, after a restless night, he began singing:—

"All glory to God in the sky."

He said soon after, "I will get up," and while his friends were preparing his clothes, he broke out singing:—

"I'll praise my Maker while I've breath."

Once more seated in his chair, he began to sing again, his last song on earth:—

"To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
Who sweetly all agree."

Put back to bed, he said, "Pray and praise!" He saluted each one present and said, "Farewell, farewell." Summoning his failing strength, he said, "The best of all is God is with us!" Scores of times he repeated, "I'll praise, I'll praise." Wednesday, March 2, Joseph Bradburn prayed with him; it was a few minutes before ten o'clock. There were around his bed his niece, Miss Wesley; one of his executors, Mr. Horton; his medical attendant, Dr. Whitehead; his book steward, George Whitfield; the present occupants of his house, James and Hester Ann Rodgers, and their little boy; and his friends and visitors, Robert Carr Brackenbury and Elizabeth Ritchie,—eleven persons altogether. "Farewell!" cried Wesley,—the last word he uttered; and then as Joseph Bradburn, the devoted, was saying, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up ye everlasting doors; and this heir of glory shall come in," Wesley gathered up his feet in the presence of his brethren and without a sigh or a groan was gone. It was about ten o'clock, A.M., Wednesday, March 2, 1791.

As soon as he was dead, those present gathered about his couch and sang:—

"Waiting to receive thy Spirit
Lo! the Saviour stands above;
Shows the purchase of his merit,
Reaches out the crown of love."

They knelt down and prayed that the mantle of the ascended Elijah might rest upon his followers. His remains were kept for one week, for which his chroniclers, not even Tyerman, give no reason. The day before his burial, the body, clad in his gown, cassock, and band, lay in state in the City Road chapel. He had directed in his Will that six poor men should be his bearers, and be compensated with one pound each. While dying, he said, "Let me be buried in nothing but what is woollen; and let my corpse be carried in my coffin into the chapel." Great crowds flocked to see his remains, to look for the last time upon that placid and venerable face. So intense indeed was the excitement that it was found expedient to conceal the time of his burial, and at the early hour of five—his favorite preaching hour—of the morning of the 9th of March, by torchlight, his coffin was interred in its grave prepared in the graveyard of City Road chapel, John Richardson, one of his old preachers, reading the service so impressively at the words, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take unto himself the soul of our deceased *father*," at

the substituted word those present burst out into loud weeping. Tyerman mentions the singular fact that those present were given, "a biscuit, in an envelope, engraven with a beautifully executed portrait of the departed, dressed in canonicals, surmounted with a halo and a crown." That grave has been the Mecca of godly Methodists for more than a century.

Pen-pictures of Wesley agree substantially as to his physique. Whitehead, quoting from one of the contemporary writers, says: "His stature was low; his habit of body in every period of life the reverse of corpulent, and expressive of strict temperance and continual exercise; and, notwithstanding his small size, his step was firm, and his appearance until within a few years of his death vigorous and muscular. His face for an old man was one of the finest we have ever seen. A clear, smooth forehead, an aquiline nose, an eye the brightest and most piercing that can be conceived, and a freshness of complexion scarcely ever to be found at his years, and impressive of the most perfect health, conspired to render him a venerable and interesting figure."¹ Haweis says, "John Wesley was of inferior size, his visage marked with intelligence, singularly neat and plain in his dress, a little cast in his eye, observable on particular occasions; upright, graceful, and remarkably active."² Tyerman says, "In person Wesley was rather below the middle size, but beautifully proportioned, without an atom of superfluous flesh, yet muscular and strong; with a forehead clear and smooth, a bright and penetrating eye, and a lovely face, which retained the freshness of its complexion to the latest period of his life."³ He mentions himself that his standard weight through life was 120 pounds. The late venerable John Chappell, one of the expelled Reformers of Baltimore, and until his decease prominent in the Methodist Protestant Church, St. John's station, and who often heard Wesley preach while he was a young Methodist in London, used to relate, that at the communion, himself below the medium size, standing at the chancel, with Wesley standing inside a step higher, the top of his head was on a line with Chappell's. Prosperity is no bar to any other form of greatness. The eulogistic tributes passed upon Wesley are exhaustive of language without exaggeration. There is none finer than Whitehead's, from whom most other biographers copy, often without credit, notably Moore.

¹ "Life of Wesley," Vol. II. p. 298.

² "History of the Church of Christ," London, 1800, Vol. II. p. 274.

³ "Life of Wesley," Vol. III. p. 656.

Stevens is elaborate, covering about sixty twelvemo pages of his history. It is able and apologetic. Tyerman, for condensation and eloquence, is not surpassed: "He stands alone; he had no successor; no one like him went before; no contemporary was a coequal. There was a wholeness about the man, such as is rarely seen. His physique, his genius, his wit, his penetration, his judgment, his memory, his beneficence, his religion, his diligence, his conversation, his courtesousness, his manners, and his dress made him as perfect as we ever expect man to be on this side of heaven." The panegyric of Macaulay, the civilian, must close our allusions: "He was a man whose eloquence and logical acuteness might have rendered him eminent in literature; whose genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu; and who devoted all his powers, in defiance of obloquy and derision, to what he sincerely considered the highest good of his species."

There are some lost chapters in Methodism. More recent investigators are recovering them to the completeness of historic data. It is necessary to recover one of these chapters in connection with the immediate obsequies of Wesley. After his decease the preachers of London, at a meeting called to consider the situation and make preparation for the funeral, unanimously selected Dr. John Whitehead to deliver the oration or sermon. Whitehead modestly refers to it in these words, found in the genuine edition of his "Life of Wesley," page 281. "March 9 was the day appointed for his interment. The preachers then in London, to my utter astonishment, insisted that I should deliver the funeral discourse; and the executors afterward approved of the appointment. The intention was to carry the corpse into the chapel, and place it in a raised situation before the pulpit during the service. But the crowds which came to see the body while it lay in the coffin, both in the private house, and especially in the chapel, the day before the funeral, were so great that his friends were apprehensive of a tumult, if they should proceed on the plan first intended. It was therefore resolved the evening before to bury him between five and six in the morning. Though the time of notice to his friends was short, and the design itself was spoken of with great caution, yet a considerable number of persons attended at that early hour. The late Mr. Richardson, who now lies with him in the same vault, read the funeral service in a manner which made it peculiarly affecting. The discourse, which was afterward printed, was delivered in the chapel at the hour appointed in the forenoon to an astonishing multitude of

people; among whom were many ministers of the gospel, both of the Establishment and the Dissenters. The audience was still and solemn as night; and all seemed to carry away with them enlarged views of Mr. Wesley's character, and serious impressions of the importance of religion, and the utility of Methodism."

These interesting facts are referred to by Watson only of all his biographers, and he quotes Whitehead's account. Moore and Stevens and Tyerman give no hint of this important section of the obsequies. It may be found in full in Stockton's reprint of Whitehead's "Life of Wesley." It is elaborate, and so masterful that the reader will confirm the judgment of the London preachers in his selection for this responsible task. The text is 2 Samuel iii. 38: "Know ye not that there is a prince, etc." It occupies near sixteen octavo pages in minion type, and must have occupied at least two hours in its delivery. It is divided into four parts, considering respectively Wesley as a man of learning and intellect; his religious sentiments, exhaustively treated; his labors as a minister of the gospel; and his experience with him as his chosen physician in his dying days. The time absolutely necessary for the preparation of such a discourse may have been among the reasons for delaying the obsequies for a full week. Dr. Whitehead had been appointed by Wesley's Will, conjointly with Dr. Coke and Henry Moore, one of his literary executors, and at a formal meeting held in London of all the executors, the preachers representing the Conference, and other friends as representing the societies at large, for the purpose of selecting a biographer, on motion of Mr. Rodgers, the superintendent of the London circuit within which Dr. Whitehead resided and labored, he was unanimously selected to write the Life of Wesley, and the ensuing Conference of 1791 approved the selection, and added a farther distinction of making him, though but a local preacher at this time, a member of the Book Committee. He had also been selected previously as the literary executor of Charles Wesley by his widow and near friends, so that all the data, papers, letters, etc., essential to a thorough performance of such an onerous task were put into his possession. He accepted the trust. How well he performed it the genuine edition of his "Life of Charles and John Wesley," preserved in two editions of it for American Methodists, attests. Strenuous efforts were made in England to suppress it, and bury the author in oblivion if not disgrace, so soon as it was found by Coke, Moore, and the Conference party that it was to be an independent and not a

partisan work from their point of view. Whitehead was a Dissenter in his principles, though in his "Life of the Wesleys" he adheres to Charles's opinions as to the inconsistency of John's departure from Episcopalianism in the Deed of Declaration and the American Ordinations. He was for the most part of the Methodist locality, and an advocate of popular government for the Methodist people. Such principles and views were a red flag to the bovine nature of the opposition now intrenched in the Legal Hundred, and buttressed by all the property of the United Societies. The bitter and unrelenting controversy which raged around Dr. Whitehead and his friends made them the centre of a strife, the inevitable outcome of the Deed and the Ordinations, which has not ceased in its remoter murmurings to this day in British Methodism. The reputation of this man merits the fullest vindication possible, without assuming that he was free from faults, contradictions, and frailties in common with his aspersers. It will be found in Appendix A of this volume.

CHAPTER X

Wesley's death inauspicious for the times — The Poll-Deed in conflict with popular sentiment in the political world — Disfavor of entailed Paternalism — Coke's return to England and his hopes of leadership — His character analyzed — Fermentation over the Legal Hundred — Distraction instead of peace in its wake — Alexander Kilham; agitation under him — Laymen aroused by him — His trial and expulsion; principles involved — Coke's attempt to Episcopalize the Connection; its failure then and ever since — Rev. William Guirey and his exposures as to the Coke-Lichfield secret conference — Demand of the Society trustees — Concessions — The New Connexion Methodists; organization and history — Rev. Joseph Barker; a sketch of this infidel lecturer; his retraction, etc. — The New Connexion Society made a theory a demonstration; individual force against automatic Paternalism — The forerunner of the Methodist Protestant Church in America.

WESLEY'S death could not have been more inauspicious for the civil and political environments of Methodism. The Deed of Declaration, which now became operative,—a legal instrument entailing to 100 preachers out of 300, empire by property over their less favored brethren, 1200 local preachers and 70,000 free-born Methodist Britons, conjointly with the absolute power of conferential control and administration,—was to be subjected to a crucial test. It resolved itself into the question: Can Paternalism as a system of government be transmitted to sons thus arbitrarily selected by the Father and Founder? The answer can be impartially delivered by the historical results of the entailing instrument only. It will be biassed by the point of view of the observer, and its wisdom or unwisdom thus determined. Abstractly there was but little in civil or ecclesiastical history, aside from the precedents of the primitive Christian Church, which had been utterly ignored in the rise and progress of the Hierarchy, in contravention. It was therefore inauspicious for Methodism, thus entailed in its polity, to be tried amid the distraction and division of sentiment which obtained all over England, from the peers of the realm to the peasants in their poverty, as to the merits of the French Revolution. Primarily it was an uprising of the repressed and oppressed people against the transmission of Paternalism, both in Church and State. Its tocsin was Liberty, but under

designing leadership it soon degenerated with the masses into license, which in its insane fury revelled in bloodshed and developed a blind and malicious Individualism more to be dreaded than the Paternalism it dethroned. Its principles were nevertheless so strikingly true in the abstract as to win their way triumphantly at the last, so that liberty-loving Englishmen espoused them, and it brought on the age of pamphleteering, and the British Islands were flooded with the discussion on both sides. For the first time popular gatherings in England discussed the issues, and, as might be expected, the Methodists were not idle spectators. Not a few of them, both preachers and people, espoused liberal principles. The American Revolution,—a revolt against the dictum: non-resistance and passive obedience to the monarchical claim of taxation without representation,—and its result in the independence of the colonies, was a thing of recent memory. On its merits the English people were likewise not a little differenced in opinion. Thus saturated, it is no marvel that religious society felt the influence of the liberalizing movement, and it aroused the conservative and non-progressive elements to stern resistance. The Deed of Declaration was in their favor, and so far as the British Methodists were concerned those who held the keys of power set themselves in opposition to all innovations on Wesley's plan. But the sands cannot prevent the rising of the sea. The outcome will show that the opening statement of this chapter was true; the times could not have been more inauspicious for the Deed of Declaration as a peace measure among Methodists. Stevens's opening chapter for this period admits in most eloquent sentences the inauspiciousness, but for opposite reasons. The bias of his point of view leads to a denunciation of the French Revolution as a refutation of the political apothegm that revolutions never go backwards. It serves his argument in a contrast he institutes with England securing her Constitution by reformation, seemingly overlooking the revolution of Magna Charta, seminal of all her liberty; and the world will be slow to admit that the principles of the French Revolution, maugre its horror and blood, were a retrograde movement for popular enfranchisement. He sees in the agitations of the times only the discipline of adversity, and a derivation of strength for English institutions and Methodistic preservation through the Deed of Declaration. If indeed history is philosophy teaching by example, the example cited, it is confidently affirmed, cannot be claimed as demonstrating the wisdom of entailed Paternalism.

Stevens mentions as standard-bearers whom Wesley had left, Coke, Benson, Moore, Hopper, Mather, Taylor, Creighton, Dickenson, Brackenbury, Pawson, Bradburn, Bramwell, Olivers, Adam Clarke, Reece, Entwistle, and scores of others. Properly enough, he names first Dr. Thomas Coke. He had gone again to America, one of a number of voyages he made to the far-off Republic, in October, 1790. Wesley died March 2, 1791, and the news reached Coke while travelling with Asbury at Port Royal, Va., April 29, and not the 20th, as Drew states it. In proof Asbury's *Journal* says: "Friday, 29th April. The solemn news reached our ears that the public papers had announced the death of that dear man of God, Rev. John Wesley. . . . Brother Coke was sunk in spirit and wished to hasten home immediately. . . . Dr. Coke, accompanied by Brother C—— and Dr. G——, set out for Baltimore in order to get the most speedy passage to England; leaving me to fill the appointments, . . . at Alexandria Dr. Coke had certain information of Mr. Wesley's death."¹ Stevens says he reached England May 14, 1791, but Drew, his biographer, says he embarked from Newcastle, Del., in America, May 14, for London direct. Drew is not reliable as to dates, but Stevens gives no proof that he is right, so that the exact date of Coke's arrival is uncertain, but it is not material. Stevens, commenting, quizzically adds, "He quickly perceived the public danger, by the 'severe and irritating trials' which he met from some of his ministerial collaborators, who unfavorably suspected the motive of his sudden return."² He is borrowing from Drew, and what he says is, remembering that he is always partial to Coke, "The supposed occasion of Dr. Coke's arrival in England at this particular crisis of the Methodistic connection, though pleasing to some, was by no means gratifying to all the preachers; . . . the wounds which were inflicted by his associates at home were in a measure healed by the balm which grew in the western world."³ Why his return should make such a sensation is thus adroitly parried.

An explanation might have been ventured; he was one of Wesley's literary executors, etc., but it is evident that something else could be said, but is not. Drew knew what it was, and Stevens is not so dull that he fails to see it, and after the manner of historians who have a preconceived theory to maintain, he

¹ Asbury's "*Journal*," Vol. II. p. 115.

² "*History of Methodism*," Vol. III. p. 25.

³ Drew's "*Life of Coke*," pp. 232, 233.

ventures a general remark as a justification for the skip-over, "It would be neither interesting nor relevant to record the details of the internal strifes of Methodism which followed the death of Wesley." Entwistle, one of the standard-bearers Wesley left, lets out the secret. The same week of Wesley's death he wrote: "My soul trembles for the ark of the Lord. There are men of so many different judgments in our Connection, all of whom now claim an equal authority, especially the senior preachers, that I fear we may have divisions."¹ Not a few of them had special and positive reasons for fearing Dr., now Bishop Coke, the title having been assumed by him and Asbury some four years prior in America, but never worn in England, where it was most distasteful to the Conference preachers. In his piety, evangelical spirit, self-sacrifice, and entire consecration to Methodist religion they had unqualified confidence; but his overweening ambition to succeed Wesley as primate of the Methodists he could not conceal,—it thoroughly dominated the human side of him. In many elements he was the best qualified among them all, and he was conscious of it. He was now all the more anxious by reason of the fact that his bishopward ambition had been thwarted by Asbury by his superior tactics and force of character, and he had been compelled to step down from the equality of even a "joint superintendent," as Wesley intended him to be in America.

In that tentative letter to Wesley of April 17, 1784, from which citation has already been made, he says, "If the awful event of your decease should happen before my removal to the world of spirits, it is almost certain that I should have business enough, of indispensable importance, on my hands in these kingdoms." When Wesley appointed him, as Superintendent, to America, he expected him to remain there; no other supposition is congruous with the purpose of it. And it must be assumed that Dr. Coke expected himself to remain in America; but six months' traveling with Asbury taught him that there could be no primacy for him in that land. He returned in June, 1785, and from that time to Wesley's death he flitted from shore to shore washed by the broad Atlantic a number of times. As has already been found, he was Wesley's appointee as President of the Irish Conference, a position in which he was very popular, and efficient as well, for a series of years. During Wesley's life he presided alternately with him, and after his death for twenty-two succes-

¹ Stevens's "History of Methodism," Vol. III. p. 15.

sive years he was President, except four times. No man had so successfully ingratiated himself into the confidence and affection of Wesley, though he knew his weaknesses and often rebuked and corrected him. About a year after he was received, Wesley wrote of him to Walter Churchy, a legal friend, "He has hitherto behaved exceeding well, and seems to be aware of his grand enemy — applause."¹ He was also rash, impetuous, and meddlesome; it was his nature. In the matter of the Dublin Methodists, who were in the habit of attending Dissenting service at Church hours, he ordered changes without Wesley's knowledge or consent. Tyerman says of this episode, "Coke's assumption to act as Wesley's vicar gave great offence, and the new arrangement had to be abandoned."² It had overridden Henry Moore's authority as assistant on Dublin circuit, and Wesley wrote him an appealing letter under date, "Leeds, May 6th, 1788. The Doctor is too warm. He ought to have had more regard for so respectable a body of men as applied to him."³ He countermanded Coke's order in the same letter. The reader is requested to note these estimates of Coke, and the evidence from under Wesley's own hand, supported by abundant contemporary opinion, as future use will be made of them in an important connection. Too much significance, therefore, cannot be attached to Coke's precipitate return to England. He honestly believed that he was in the succession, and he sincerely hoped he would be named by the Conference for Wesley's chair.

The fermentation throughout the United Societies was extreme. The Deed of Declaration was attacked with severity by nearly all not included in its provisions, and popular liberty was rife in civil England and could not be tabooed in ecclesiastical England. Paine's "Rights of Man" was the opposite of Wesley's "Thoughts on the Origin of Power," as it grounded authority in the will of the people, and was as influential for human progress as his "Age of Reason" was mischievous to all religion, though it was designed as an antidote to hierarchal priestly rule and the superstitions of Romish doctrine. These were the causes of the fermentation in the Methodist societies. The Legal Hundred of the Poll-Deed were secure enough, and men seldom voluntarily part with power once secured. Two hundred out of three hundred preachers were excluded. If the one hundred were content, conceding that Wesley had the right to make any selection he

¹ Wesley's "Works," Vol. XII. p. 406.

² "Life of Wesley," Vol. III. p. 542.

³ *Ibid.* p. 543.

liked, it is equally true that those rejected had the same right to grumble and dissent, and they did it.

Antecedently one would surmise that his selection would be made by seniority, seeing he had determined to limit the number; but among the seniors rejected, as Tyerman shows,¹ were John Hampson, 31 years in conference; Thomas Lee, 36; John Atley, 21; Joseph Thompson, 25; John Poole, 25; William Ashman, 19; Jonathan Hern, 15; Williams Eels, 12; Thomas Mitchell, 36; Joseph Pilmoor, 19; Thomas Wride, 15; Thomas Johnson, 31, and others; while among the included were, Joshua Keighley, 3; Joseph Cole, 3; Jonathan Cousins, 3; William Green, 3; Joseph Taylor, 6; William Hoskins, 1; William Myles, 6; William Simpson, 4; James Wray, 2; and Henry Foster, 3. An apologist will at once say he wanted some young men as representatives. If so, having rejected Hampson, it would have been a kindly thing to have named his son, six years in conference; but he rejected him with his father. On what apparent principle, then, did he act? He sifted out all the suspects. All who entertained liberal principles, and all whom he suspected of disloyalty to any part of his plan for perpetuating Methodism as he understood it. Hampson was a republican in politics,—it was sufficient to exclude him; and so through the list of conference names. In this, from Wesley's point of view, he did just what any other man would have done in like circumstances and imbued with the same purpose. He intended his Poll-Deed to be a cohesive, peace measure,—a band that would hold together the people and the preachers. Future investigations will show that it held together the Legal Hundred and their successors, thus perpetuating a Wesleyan party through the power of property to this day; but it was the direct incentive of perpetual strife, distraction, and division among the excluded preachers and people.

William Thompson was a leading man among those named by Wesley, cautious and far-seeing. He took in the salient points of the almost tumultuous situation after the Father and Founder's death, and within a month he issued a private circular addressed to "the preachers in general and the assistants in particular." It set forth the dangers impending to Methodism, declared the impossibility of a personal substitute for Wesley, and proposed that vacancies in the corporate body of the Legal Hundred should be filled by seniority, a president, secretary, and stewards to be elected for one year, a member designated to preside at the Irish

¹ "Life of Wesley," Vol. III. p. 422.

Conference, the whole work to be districted, and committees authorized to manage their affairs in the intervals of Conference. It was intended as a compromise measure, and was favorably received by the Wesley party. Private meetings of leading preachers were held at Halifax and at Leeds a few weeks after. The preachers in Bristol and vicinity approved, as did also those of Wales, and Adam Clarke influenced those of Dublin to the same purpose. These private meetings were an interesting object lesson to the 1200 local preachers and the 70,000 members who had no part or lot in the disposal of the authoritative remains. Stevens says: "The lay members of the societies, unwilling that their pastors should have the exclusive control of the question, were soon in motion. An important convention of Cornish Methodists was held in Redruth on the 14th of June, and sent to every preacher of the Conference a private account of its proceedings, which virtually pronounced the Halifax circular defective in the most essential points, and proposed revolutionary changes respecting the appointment of leaders, local stewards, circuit stewards, the admission and expulsion of members and preachers, the alteration of circuits, and even the powers of the annual Conference that Wesley himself had fixed by his Deed of Declaration.

Meanwhile the officers of the Birmingham societies met, and issued a printed circular opposed to all these changes, and to any important modification of the economy of the body as left by Wesley. Stevens says: "The diversified opinions of the Connection were, in fine, resolving themselves into three classes, and giving rise to as many parties, composed respectively of men who, from their attachment to the Establishment, wished no change unless it might be greater subordination to the National Church by the abandonment of the sacraments in those cases where Wesley had admitted them; of such as wished to maintain Wesley's plan intact, with official provisions which might be requisite to administer it; and such as desired revolutionary changes, with a more equal distribution of powers among laymen and preachers."¹ This is a fair statement of the situation, and his chapter upon the period intervening from Wesley's death to the ensuing Conference of 1791 is a sad commentary upon its truth, and in demonstration of the utter failure of the Poll-Deed to accomplish what its author intended. Meetings and counter-meetings of preachers and laymen distinctively, like Jews and

¹ "History of Methodism," Vol. III. pp. 25, 26.

Samaritans, were held throughout the societies. Leading members of the Conference, and even those who had been named as the Legal Hundred, differed as to expediency and polity. The ordinations and the sacraments were the bones of contention, but beneath it all, as is seen, the unbalanced government Wesley left could not be brooked by the laity, while the locality were eager to secure some more pronounced recognition. A preference is given to Stevens's account, as he cannot be suspected of a leaning towards the dissentients and the disaffected. Indeed, he construes this hurly-burly of discontent and dissensions and expulsions and secessions into a providential moral discipline necessary to prepare the Legal successors of power and property for a prosperous career. It is an easy philosophy of the situation to be accepted by those who can so view it.

"Early in this controversy a man of great energy, and destined to become historically distinguished as the founder of a Methodist sect, began a course of persistent agitation on the subject by printed pamphlets." In this way Stevens formally introduces Alexander Kilham. He gives full space and treatment to his biography, but it cannot be followed under the limitation of the objective of this History. He was born at Epworth, July 10, 1762, and at eighteen years of age was converted among the Methodists. He was of impetuous, resolute temper, and accompanied Brackenbury, an irregular itinerant of wealth and social position, as his servant, and shared with him in the preaching during the Channel Islands' labors for Methodism. He was received by Wesley as a regular itinerant in 1785. He was a Dissenter in his principles from the beginning, and three years before Wesley's death designed to petition the Conference, "Let us have the liberty of Englishmen, and to give the Lord's Supper to our societies." He was a stranger to the thrall of sacerdotalism; and better would it have been for the unity and success, great as the latter has been, of Methodism the world over, if the whole hierarchal figment of a divine touch—a tactual succession of preaching grace—had been thrown to the winds and the simple New Testament practice followed of self-government for local churches; preachers called of God, and elected by the people, with an instalment of laying on of hands of other preachers; an itineracy of evangelists, with the apostles as exceptional rulers of the Church, whose special functions ceased with their death. There are but two consistent systems of Church government,—the Presbyterian and the Episcopalian. It will be seen in the

sequel how the Wesleyan Conference came at last to the former as a system essentially, and thus swung away from the National Church and Wesley's preference; and how the American Methodists were organized as an Episcopal Church through the preference of Coke and Asbury, despite the same natural tendency to Presbyterianism in the people,—a government analogous both with the New Testament ideal and the civil *régime* under which they lived. Kilham was of heroic mould and met the violence of mobs as he afterward met his opponents polemically. Rough-hewn and rugged both in physique and intellect, and an untamed eloquence which frequently bore his audiences away with him, he comes conspicuously into notice from the fact that in May eighteen laymen of Hull issued a protest against the allowance of the sacrament in Methodist chapels, and to the same effect in other places, while counter-declarations were frequent from many towns and often from the same societies. The Hull petition aroused the lion in him, and he wrote a reply which he signed anonymously. It produced great excitement, for he had put the case of the popular rights of the people against the National Church so forcibly that it rallied as a party those who were of his way of thinking, and engendered the resentment of the opposite party.

Amid the turmoil, the forty-eighth Conference met at Manchester, July 26, 1791. It was attended by over three hundred preachers, being the whole body, with few exceptions, as there was now no discriminating selection as under Wesley's reign. It remained in session thirteen days. Perhaps the same number of preachers never before met with so devout a spirit, and in sentiment so divided. William Thompson was elected President; it was the first exercise of the voting privilege for such a purpose. He was an Irishman of sixty years of age, cool, conservative, and in his opinions of church government moderate, so that all parties regarded him as a safe man. Dr. Coke was elected Secretary. He was a ready scribe, and the Conference by this act showed their respect for him personally, but cooled the ardor with which he was generally charged as an aspirant for headship. Organized, the first act was to receive from Joseph Bradburn, Wesley's travelling companion, and to whom he had intrusted it, the letter already adverted to, he wrote the body as a posthumous legacy. It was addressed to the Legal Hundred, and besought them to take no advantage of their position as discriminating in the appointments and to preserve the order he had left them. It

had a moving effect upon the Conference, and they resolved to follow the advice of their sainted father and founder. The suggestions of Thompson for districting the work, etc., were adopted. Seventeen districts in England, five in Ireland, two in Scotland, and one in Wales. The preachers within these bounds were to elect a chairman and a committee of their number, who were to prepare a plan of appointments, the whole to be submitted to the annual Conference when it assembled. They determined that the appointments should be restricted to two years and not three, as Wesley proposed, but with a proviso, that in case of revivals it might be extended. One from each district was to meet the delegate of the British Conference two days before the Irish Conference for the same purpose. Thus was inaugurated the "Stationing Committee." All the preachers were heard through their chairman of the district, and the final "plan of appointments" was submitted to the Conference for adoption or to be referred back and amended. It included the preachers' right of appeal. Coke was designated to preside at the Irish Conference. The statistical returns showed the year to have been prosperous; fifteen candidates were put on a probationary list, a new feature of business, as they were not immediately needed in the work. The Wesleyan Conference of 1791 adjourned without division, and in much outward peace.

No sooner, however, were the preachers back to their appointments than the old controversy broke out afresh, each party contending that the resolve of the Conference "to follow strictly Mr. Wesley's plan" meant that their plan should prevail. Kilham was a leader in the renewed polemical fray, and pamphlets and circulars filled the air with dissentient views. He did not mince his language, for he wrote like a mountain torrent. Strong men of the Conference sided with him and others against him, and another year was spent in jangling over the sacraments, preaching in Church hours, etc. The forty-ninth Conference met in London, July 31, 1792. Alexander Mather, who had been preaching thirty-five years, and had been set apart by Wesley as a "Superintendent" for Scotland — a fact of which little account was taken by the preachers after his return to England, as the "bishop" fiction was scouted by them — was elected President and Dr. Coke Secretary. The controversy opened in the Conference, and Kilham was censured by a formal vote for the violent language of his pamphlet. On the merits of the question itself they were "profoundly embarrassed by its difficulties, and unable

to reach its solution by discussion, so an extraordinary measure was proposed by Pawson as the only means of concluding the debate, and as affording a common ground of mutual concession, at least till time should bring them nearer to unanimity. They resolved to determine it for the present by lot, 'for or against the sacraments this year.'" Dr. Clarke drew the lot, and it was against it. All were either satisfied or submitted. The act met with severe animadversions afterward, and the fact that the following Conference showed a decrease in members was construed unfavorably. "The Conference sent an address to the societies on the course it had taken. It was the first address to them ever issued by that body." Perhaps it was not so much a condescension to the laity thus to confer with them, as it was an expedient to keep them in sympathy with the Conference. It was progress, however, in the direction of equal rights. The body seemed bent on a surcease of paternalism, so they "ordained that the same person should not be chosen President of the Conference more than once in eight years, and also that the President's power should cease so soon as the Conference ended." The last provision directly contravened the provision of Wesley's Deed, which declared that the President should continue in office "until the election of another President at the next or other subsequent year." Stevens says of this act, "It was doubtless an inadvertence,"¹ but he gives no evidence, and the fact that at the ensuing Conference it was not amended is in proof that it was intended. The paternalism of Wesley was so extreme that they swung in departure from it to the other segment of the circle. Radicalism was at work. "Regulations were adopted requiring all the preachers of any district, who should be present at the Conferences, to meet, after the appointments were settled, and choose their district chairman; also authorizing the chairman to call district meetings at the demand of preachers or people, for the purpose of trying complaints against any preachers; and making the chairman himself subject to trial and suspension, or deposition from the chair, or from the office of superintendent, by the district meeting to be called by a circuit superintendent, should the chairman be charged with any crime, misdemeanor, or a refusal to call a district meeting when there were sufficient reasons for it."¹ All these were advances for liberal government. There was a net increase of the home work of 1659 members. The Conference of 1792 adjourned with solemn vows and

¹ "History of Methodism," Vol. III. pp. 42, 43.

covenanting, but the "lot" decision did not settle the sacramental questions. Pawson, Adam Clarke, and other leaders were restive, the latter declaring that "he would have liberty of conscience if he had to go to the ends of the earth for it." The controversy raged through the year; Kilham, as usual, was in the van of it. He issued another circular under an assumed name, and submitted a new system for the government of the Connection, which more than ever set at odds the progressive and the conservative forces of the societies and Conference.

The fiftieth Conference met at Leeds, July 29, 1793. John Pawson was elected President and Dr. Coke Secretary. The discussion came on and ended in a compromise that, "in places where the members were unanimous in their desire to have the sacraments administered by their own preachers, it should be conceded; that all distinctions between ordained and unordained preachers should cease; that being received into full membership by the Conference, and appointed by them to administer the ordinances, should be considered a sufficient ordination, without the imposition of hands."¹ The vote was eighty-six to forty-eight in favor, so at one fell swoop they wiped out the fictions of Churchism. The spirit of the Conference was excellent, and more unanimity than ever before since Wesley's departure was exhibited. Kilham, who had been sent to Scotland the previous year, did not attend the session, but so soon as he heard of its action he issued other circulars, "detesting some of the steps that had been taken respecting the sacraments." But he was also engaged in a noble fight against horse-racing and theatres, so that his time and attention were divided. Pawson, the President who had been ordained by Wesley for Scotland, as has been seen, and put on bands and gowns while ministering, recoiled from the radical steps of the Conference, and led a party of which Coke and Mather and others of their way of thinking were confederate. In the latter part of the year he wrote, "At present we really have no government," and proposed a revamp of Wesley's plan, as Pawson construed it. The gist of it he set forth in these words: "In order therefore to preserve all that was valuable in the Church of England among the Methodists, he ordained Mr. Mather and Dr. Coke bishops. These he undoubtedly designed should ordain others. Mr. Mather told us so at the Manchester Conference; but we did not then understand him. I see no way of coming to any good settlement, but on the plan I mentioned

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 46-51.

before. I sincerely wish that Dr. Coke and Mr. Mather may be allowed to be what they are — bishops. We must have ordination among us at any rate.”¹

Dr. Coke had in the meantime made another tour upon the American continent and looked after his missionary interests in the West Indies. He returned again to England in June, 1793. Once more on British soil, he conferred with his friends, and now reappears as the “little magician.” The suggestions of Pawson, Stevens concedes, “probably originated with Coke.” He farther informs that: “Mather, Taylor, Pawson, Bradburn, Rodgers, Moore, Adam Clarke, and Coke met for consultation on the subject at Lichfield, a town in which there were no Methodists, and where they supposed their interview would not be attended with any excitement. Coke addressed them on the agitated state of the Connection, and the perils which menaced it; he referred to the success of Methodism in the New World under its Episcopal organization, and the relief which Wesley’s establishment there of this form of government (?) had given to a similar controversy. He offered ordination to the brethren who were present. . . . Most of the meeting approved his proposition; but Moore, who had been ordained by Wesley, very wisely suggested that they should confine their proceedings to the discussion of its practicability, and defer its decision to the next Conference. He, however, pronounced the measure a scriptural and suitable expedient for the government of any Christian Church. Mather concurred with Moore. They adjourned after adopting a series of resolutions, which were to be submitted with all their signatures to the Annual Conference.”² A parenthetic interrogation is inserted by the writer in this statement at one point in bar of its truth. Tyerman says of this critical episode in English Methodism: “In 1794” (neither Stevens nor Tyerman gives the precise date, but the Pawson letter was written “in the latter part of 1793,” and the Lichfield meeting no doubt took place early in 1794, and so the events dovetail) “he (Coke) secretly summoned a meeting at Lichfield of the most influential of the English preachers, and passed a resolution that the Conference should appoint an order of bishops to ordain deacons and elders, he himself of course expecting to be a member of the prelatical brotherhood.”³ Drew, Coke’s biographer, makes no mention of this transaction; possibly Coke thought it discreet

¹ Stevens’s “History of Methodism,” Vol. III. p. 51.

² *Ibid.* p. 52.

³ “Life of Wesley,” Vol. III. p. 434.

not to leave any note of it among his posthumous papers. It recalls the vaticination of that far-seeing and character-reading man of God, Charles Wesley. August 14, 1785, he wrote his brother one of his most beseeching letters against ordination. The paragraph most pertinent to the present purpose reads: "But when once you began ordaining in America, I knew, and you knew, that your preachers here would never rest till you ordained them. You told me they would separate by and by. The doctor (Coke) tells us the same. His Methodist episcopal church in America was intended to beget a Methodist episcopal church here. You know he comes armed with your authority to make us all Dissenters. One of your sons assured me that not a preacher in London would refuse orders from the doctor."¹ So, if he finally failed to have a Methodist episcopal church in England (to follow Charles Wesley's capitalizing of the title) it was not for the lack of honest intention and sincere preference as well as consummate ecclesiastical intriguing and a wily diplomacy with his brethren.

Nothing more unfortunate could have happened to the Connection than this Lichfield meeting. Again let Stevens tell the story. "This private consultation, so cautiously conducted, did not escape public animadversion. Its very cautiousness excited suspicion."² Kilham referred to it as a conspiracy to place pre-

¹ Tyerman's "Life," Vol. III. p. 444.

² "The History of Episcopacy from its Rise to the Present Day." In four parts. By William Guirey, minister of the Gospel. 12mo, 381 pp., pasteboard. A copy in the library of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md., which the writer has thoroughly examined. Before quoting from it, it is proper to give a statement as to Guirey, as other quotations will be made from this work in treating of American Methodism. He says that he embraced religion under Dr. Wrangle, of the Reformed Church of Sweden, who held a successful meeting in Philadelphia, but subsequently returned to Sweden, leaving his converts without a shepherd. He names himself and six others as welcoming Captain Webb when he first came to Philadelphia to preach, and this seems to have marked his connection with the Methodists. He was a "trial" member of Conference in 1795-96, and travelled in Virginia. In 1797 his name disappears. He sympathized with, and soon became associated with, O'Kelly, and was one of the most prominent of his preachers, finally, fraternizing with one section of the "Christian Church," he separated from O'Kelly on a doctrinal difference, which will be exposed in the American history of 1792-1803. His "History of Episcopacy" bears no imprint either of the publisher or of the date of publication, but it exhibits internal evidence that it was written and issued before 1800. He furnishes some specific information anent this Lichfield secret meeting of 1791, of Coke, Taylor, Clarke, Rodgers, Bradburn, and Moore. It was held at a tavern. "An accidental traveller discovered their meeting and spoiled their intended secrecy. 'Tis said they attracted the attention and suspicion of the persons at the inn, and that if they continued their meetings any longer the magistrates would have interfered on the

tentious prelates over the people. . . . The public excitement became again intense, as the session of the Conference approached. A new element of discord appeared. The conservatives included most of the trustees of chapels, as these were generally chosen from the most wealthy members of the society, and were therefore most likely to be influenced by their social position in favor of the National Church. They were indeed the 'High-Church' lay aristocracy of Methodism, distinguishable as such from the mass of the people, who demanded the sacraments, and from the ultra-democratic party represented by Kilham. By extensive consultations and correspondence they prepared to exert their influence, if not their official power, against all liberal changes. They met by delegation at Bristol, before the session of the Conference there. They claimed a larger control than had been conceded them over the affairs of the societies, and particularly the right of a veto on the sacraments in the chapels. They denounced the meeting at Lichfield, demanded that the preachers should abandon all ecclesiastical titles, cease to administer the sacraments, abjure ordination, and divide more equally with the trustees the administration of the affairs of the Church."¹ Two comments only on this statement seem called for: the insistence that laymen are always conservative, and therefore to be trusted and not mistrusted by the preachers, and if Stevens tells the story correctly, how it stands in proof of the venturesome suggestion that if Wesley had added one hundred of them to the Legal Conference his plan of perpetuation might have succeeded. The Deed of

suspicion of their being engaged in seditious consultation," p. 189. Taylor afterward exposed the meeting in a letter of April 29, 1794, which he gives, see pp. 189-190. Their principal deliberation was to form a kind of Episcopacy, Superintendents of Districts, etc. Sometimes Guirey dips his pen in gall as the following sentence in continuation, "This induced that little man Coke (who runs with the hare and holds with the hounds) to write the following lines to Mr. Kilham (the Kilham controversy occurred soon after, and was violently opposed openly by Coke) — Hitherto we have been, since the death of Mr. Wesley, the most perfect aristocracy existing, perhaps, on the earth. The people have no power, we the whole in the fullest sense which can be conceived. If there be any change in favor of religious liberty, the people certainly should have some place." Signed and dated, "Angrim, April 29, 1795, Thomas Coke." Another of the Wesleyan preachers of that time, and who subsequently came to America and wrote "The Portraiture of Wesleyan Methodism," New York, 12mo, 1813, by Jonathan Crowther, defensive of it, wrote to Kilham on the same subject of Episcopacy, "I told them plainly at the district meeting last week that I would as soon see the devil at the head of the connection as seven bishops." Written from Plymouth Dock, February 26, 1796. See pp. 199, 200. Letter-writing is a serious and trick-some business when freely indulged by inconsistent men.

¹ "History of Methodism," Vol. III. p. 53.

Settlement, sometimes so called, would then, indeed, have settled something. It is also difficult to see, in the light of the facts, how he can make a distinction between "the mass of the people who demanded the sacraments, and the ultra-democratic party represented by Kilham." The same demand was a chief plank in his platform, and the sequel will show that the people were with him.

In the face of this new demand for an enlargement of lay-participation in the administration of the societies, the fifty-first Conference met at Bristol, June 28, 1794. Thomas Hanby was elected President. He had travelled forty years and was eminently fit for the post, devout, quiet, and yet courageous. Dr. Coke was elected Secretary. A representation of the delegated trustees attended, and the Conference at once, as the urgent business of the session, entered into negotiations with them. It must have been a formidable movement, or this deference would not have been paid it. Stevens's slur is hardly called for, if substantially true, that they were the High Church aristocrats of the societies. Their principal contentions at least were tantamount to the claims of the "mass of the people" and the "ultra-democratic party of Kilham." Through respective committees the parties met, and a compromise was effected. First, the Conference voted against the Lichfield resolutions, and so relegated to the rear the Coke party and their Episcopal Church. It never successfully revived in British or Irish Methodism. The temporal and the spiritual concerns of the societies were separated, the latter put under the control of the laity and the former under that of the ministry. The power of the keys was severely limited, in that it was determined that "No trustee, however accused, or defective in conforming to the established rules of the Society, shall be removed from it, unless his crime or breach of rules be proved in the presence of the trustees and leaders."¹ The sacraments were allowed to be administered wherever the society preferred. A list of such was published in the minutes and numbered forty-eight. Dr. Coke was appointed to attend the next Irish Conference, reported disaffection not proving true. It was a prosperous year despite the disputations and broils. A net increase of 8343 in the British Islands.

One cannot but pause and inquire as to the source of this prosperity in such circumstances. It is the fancy of those who espouse the governmental Parentalism of Methodism, both in Wesley and Asbury, to attribute a special providential blessing

¹ Stevens's "History of Methodism," Vol. III. p. 55.

upon it,—God was in the machinery as much as in the doctrine and the means of grace. But the spectacle just presented is a Methodism prospering amid almost revolutionary inroads upon Parentalism, and Providence seems to smile upon it. The truth is, the vitality and power were in the doctrines and the means of grace, the unifying feature of Methodism the world over. Atmore, one of the leading preachers, says of this Conference, "It was the most painful I ever attended." He refers to the severe disputations, while the concessions made did not pacify, but were merely concessions to the liberal party. Extremes beget extremes. The conservatives, perceiving that what they had yielded had no effect, retracted, and soon the societies were again thrown into "one continued scene of turmoil and strife" down to the Conference of 1795. It broke out in Bristol, where the trustees were opposed to the Conference measures to pacify. The preachers took sides, and the conflict raged. Henry Moore was in charge at Bristol, and, armed with the authority of the Legal Hundred, he took steps that eventuated in a division. A new chapel was built. Finally Thompson devised a Plan of Pacification for the whole Connection, which was approved by the contending parties and the matter referred to the ensuing Conference. Kilham waded into the fray up to his lips. He issued pamphlet after pamphlet, dealing in invective and scolding the conservatives without stint. They were signed under pseudonyms and scattered broadcast.

The fifty-second Annual Conference was at Manchester, July 27, 1795. Joseph Bradford was elected President, and Dr. Coke, as usual, Secretary. Never before had it met under such prayerful anxiety. A whole day was spent in devotions. A delegated meeting of trustees was held at the same time in Manchester, and Stevens says: "It was an imposing assembly, both by its numbers and the respectability of many of its members. Thomas Thompson, a man of commanding influence, was their president." A committee of nine was appointed, composed of the president, Pawson, Mather, Coke, Thompson, Bradburn, Benson, Moore, and Adam Clarke. It was found to be about equally divided in sentiment on the pending questions. For six nights the committee met, and finally Thompson's Plan of Pacification, after some amendments, was adopted, referred to the Conference, and agreed to by the preachers and most of the trustees. Its principal features Stevens cites briefly: "The sacraments, the burial of the dead, and divine service in 'Church hours' must be deter-

mined, thereafter, in any society, by a majority of its trustees, stewards, and leaders, the consent of the Conference being also necessary; that the Lord's Supper must not be administered in the chapels on Sundays on which it is administered in the National Churches; that it must be administered according to the National ritual; that the Liturgy, Wesley's abridgment of it, or at least the lessons appointed by the calendar, must be used wherever, in England, divine service should be performed on Sundays in Church hours; that the appointment of preachers shall remain solely with the Conference, and no exclusion of them from the pulpits by trustees be allowed; and that preachers shall be subject to trial, under accusation, at the instance of a majority of the trustees, or stewards and leaders, before a meeting of the preachers of the district and all the trustees, stewards, and leaders of the circuit, and can be removed from the circuit if found guilty."¹ The Conference adjourned with mutual congratulations. The net increase was 6188. Three hundred and ninety-one preachers were on the roll. The Plan of Pacification had a tranquillizing effect, but did not arrest the discussion. Kilham was not satisfied,—he could not be with any half measures. He issued a pamphlet signed with his own name: "Progress of Liberty among the People called Methodists." It outlined a "Constitution" for the Connection, which meant a revolution of its government. Coke, Adam Clarke, and Richard Reece demanded that he be brought to trial. Kilham defied them. If he pushed matters to an extreme,—and in view of the concessions already made this must be admitted,—it will be presently seen that the Conference also pushed matters to an extreme by his expulsion.

The fifty-third Annual Conference assembled in London, July 25, 1796. Thomas Taylor, a Conference hero, was elected President, and Dr. Coke Secretary. The notable event was the trial of Kilham. Taylor, just elected president, Bradburn, Crowther, and other leaders who had been in full sympathy with his ideas, now forsook him in his extreme measures, as they explained. Taking Stevens's account of it, as not being colored in favor of Kilham, the trial is summarized as follows: "On the first day Mather arose and asked, 'Is Mr. Alexander Kilham here?' The reply being in the affirmative, he resumed, 'Before we proceed to business I wish, by permission of the President, to put a few questions to Mr. Kilham.' The request being granted, Mather

¹ "History of Methodism," Vol. III. p. 61.

asked him, 'How long is it since you were received into full connection?' 'Eleven years.' 'Who received you?' 'Mr. Wesley.' 'Did he not at the same time give you a copy of the large Minutes with these words written on them, and signed by himself: "As long as you walk by these rules we shall rejoice to receive you as a fellow-laborer?"' 'He did so.' 'Do you retract that agreement or covenant?' 'I desire time to consider that question.' It was unanimously conceded, and he retired until the next morning, when he presented a paper repeating the charges contained in the pamphlets, but not replying to those brought against him by the Conference, nor answering Mather's question. Before his paper was read the Conference resolved to abide by the large Minutes of the Manchester Conference, or Mr. Wesley's Plan as contained therein, both with respect to doctrine and discipline. Kilham voted for this pledge." Stevens is a little obscure here, whether he means that Kilham voted for the pledge when made in 1791, which he certainly did, or that he voted for it now in its reaffirmation; for he was immediately asked after his paper was read if he fully concurred with them respecting the rules of the Minutes, and he replied, "I agree to them as far as they are agreeable with the Scripture;" to which vague answer Moore replied, "We all agree with the Koran of Mohammed with the same limitations, namely, as far as it is agreeable with the Scripture, but we agree to these rules because we believe them to be agreeable with Scripture." Kilham offered no reply. The Secretary, Dr. Coke, then cited passages from Kilham's various publications as charges which he made against the preachers and the church government; respecting the former, he gave vague answers, and to the latter he raised objections in accordance with his own more liberal political sentiments; after long discussion he was desired to withdraw, and the Conference, having considered the case, ordered, "That any letters sent in Mr. Kilham's favor should be read, but that no letters against him, in reference to the new rules or plans which he desired to introduce, should be read." This has the appearance of being so ultra-fair to Kilham as to cast suspicion upon it. "The charges of the pamphlets against the preachers were then read over, and pronounced 'unproved and slanderous.'" It was voted that, "Whereas Mr. Kilham has brought charges against Mr. Wesley and the body of the preachers, of a slanderous and criminal nature, which charges he declared he could prove, and which, upon examination, he could not prove even one of them, and also considering

the disunion and strife which has been occasioned in many of the societies, we adjudge him to be unworthy of being a member of the Methodist Connection." This decision was unanimous. Stevens gives as his authority for these proceedings a letter in Henry Moore's "Life," p. 144. Kilham's biographer gives quite another coloring to it, as might be expected. The Conference sent out a "Circular" to the societies, giving a statement of the trial, which lasted three days. About a week after, and before the Conference adjourned, Kilham wrote the body, affirming that, if he was in error, he would submit to its counsels, and protesting his regard for the Connection, adding, "It is probable that before another Conference our views on these subjects will be the same." The Conference interpreted this as a disposition to return and conform to its requirements, and appointed a committee of Mather, Pawson, Thompson, Bradburn, Benson, Bradford, and Moore to confer with him. He refused, however, to sanction the Plan of Pacification, and the Conference finally voted that, "He could have no place in the Connection while he continued in his present opinions." The Conference did not exceed its authority in this act. The sixteenth section of the Deed of Declaration, heretofore cited, gives it power to expel for any cause deemed by it sufficient. The seeming unanimity of the Conference is in proof of the cohesive power of entailed church property. It was a serious thing openly to dissent. The effect of it was a reaction on the part of the ruling majority against the concessions made, of which a farther test took place at the ensuing Annual Conference, the fifty-fourth, which met at Leeds, August 1, 1797.

The Plan of Pacification did not pacify, and the old issues were discussed in the principal societies through the year, and another meeting of delegated trustees, to the number of sixty-seven,¹ assembled in the same town just before the Conference. An evidence of the Conference reaction is exhibited in the election of Dr. Coke as President. Samuel Bradburn was made Secretary. The previous year there had been a net increase of 6977; this year the net increase was 4293. The assembled trustees were conferred with, and some modifications of the Plan of Pacification made in the line of a completion of the plan. The Conference addressed a circular to the societies, in which it says, "Thus, brethren, we have given up the greatest part of our executive government into your hands, as represented in your different

¹ Smith says 200 from every section, and this is confirmed by other authorities.

public meetings.”¹ The reactionists took alarm. Moore declared that “they were sapping the ecclesiastical foundations of Methodism and was strongly tempted to retire from it in despair.” A proposition was made to fortify the executive power of the Conference after these great modifications. Coke, Mather, and Moore spoke strongly in favor of what they called “Wesley’s plan, which was to appoint twelve ministers or bishops, two of whom should be in Scotland, three in Ireland, and seven in England. The suggestion was promptly resisted.”¹ It was a death-stroke to the aspirations of Coke, and sealed the record that the British Conference would not have any form of an Episcopacy, firmly as it held to the powers entailed to it by Wesley. They have maintained it to this day, though there have not been wanting men like Dixon² in later years, and even as late as the second Pan-Methodist Conference of 1891, a few who gave out hankerings after they returned home for the Methodist Episcopal system. Stevens also says that this Conference of 1797 sent an address to the American General Conference, in which they reverently give thanks for the preservation of the body and their covenant to keep the “rules of doctrine and discipline,” etc. It is a fact that such an address was sent, and it is also a fact that despite Dr. Coke’s presidency the Conference would not allow the title “the Methodist Episcopal Church,” but addressed it instead “To Mr. Francis Asbury, and all the conferences of the people called Methodists in America.”³ If it is either a marked discourtesy or a purposeful correction to answer any address otherwise than as claimed by the addresser, then this discourtesy or correction was frequently made, as will be evidenced later in this History. Stevens also says of these last modifications, “The changes admitted were purely ecclesiastical; they touched not directly the moral discipline of Methodism.” The sentences are pregnant. Well would it have been for American Methodism if the same liberality had been exhibited in the days of O’Kelly and of the Reformers of 1820–30. All either asked was ecclesiastical changes. The “moral discipline” is a catchphrase, and occasion will offer for its analysis and interpretation, specially by its wrongful application in 1820–30.

Another effect of the expulsion of Kilham was the organization of the “New Connexion Methodists.” After his separation from

¹ “History of Methodism,” Vol. III. pp. 74, 75.

² Dixon’s “Methodism in its Origin,” New York edition, 1853.

³ English Methodist Minutes for 1797.

the Wesleyan Conference his indomitable energy and pious zeal sent him up and down the British Islands, everywhere arousing "the people called Methodists" to an assertion of their equality of representation in all the departments of church work. His residence in Scotland had imbued him with the Presbyterian polity as most scriptural, and he was bold in its advocacy. The Dissenters opened their houses of worship to him, while the Wesleyans shut him out. It divided societies and made parties everywhere. The Conference leaders set themselves against him with all their power and influence. Kilham was now reënforced by William Thom and others of the preachers, who established at Leeds, the very headquarters of Methodism in Yorkshire, a periodical organ, called *The Monitor*. In the thick of his aggressive fight, his devoted and saintly wife died a triumphant death, and it was noised abroad, much to his advantage, so small are the circumstances sometimes that further allied ideas. He preached three times on the day of her interment. One hundred and sixty-seven leaders and other Wesleyans of Leeds espoused his opinions and issued a defensive address. It spread to other towns, and the agitation shook the old Connection to its foundations. Smith says: "There is a great appearance of disunion in the body now. How these things will terminate God only knows. We are like chaos. But He can bring order out of confusion." The unwisdom of Kilham's expulsion was thus demonstrated, but it was too late to recall it; and the success of the movement he and his coadjutors inaugurated was in proof that the principles for which they contended were not inconsistent with Methodism, and that no such disaster, as was firmly believed and honestly declared by the Conference party, would have ensued if it had acceded to this popular demand.

Let a friendly pen tell the history briefly. It is from Rev. J. C. Watts, D.D. (an honorary degree conferred by Western Maryland College of the Methodist Protestant Church), in a symposium in the New York *Independent* of March 5, 1891, on the Centenary of Wesley's death. The New Connexion Methodists, or the New Itineracy, as it was first called, was organized by a Conference held at Leeds in 1797, of which William Thom, a Wesleyan minister of twenty-three years' standing, was elected President and Alexander Kilham, of eleven years' standing, Secretary. "the former the Nestor, and the latter the Achilles,¹ of the great struggle for popular rights which then ensued." The

¹ And like Achilles, vulnerable only in his heel.

Conference started with seven ministers and 5000 members. The foundation principle of the organization is thus formulated: "That the Church itself is entitled, either collectively in the persons of its members, or representatively by persons chosen out of and by itself, to a voice and influence in all acts of legislation and government." "Its notable characteristic is *equipoise of power*, cleric and laic; and this is demonstrated in the regulations that all committees, district meetings, and conferences shall be composed of ministers and laymen in equal numbers." "In the Conference no pastoral questions are reserved for the ministers; and in ministerial discipline laymen sit with ministers on the tribunal." "The legal instrument of incorporation guarantees the privilege to revise its rules every seven years, yet no revolutionary change has ever been made; no doctrine has ever been altered; no important rule has ever been revoked; no Methodist institution has ever been abolished; neither the position of the ministry, nor the rights of the laity, have ever been assailed."

"In 1848 a serious defection took place. The Rev. Joseph Barker adopted and propagated Socinian doctrines, which soon degenerated into open infidelity, and he was expelled after much agitation; he was a man of popular eloquence and personal influence, and the loss of 5000 members was involved, directly and indirectly, in his exclusion." The writer adds a brief to this history. After traversing the United States in infidel lecturing, often in challenged debate, he returned to England, retracted his errors, repented, confessed, and died in the faith of his earlier years. After the Connexion recovered from the shock of his expulsion, it devoted itself to ministerial training, to evangelistic work at home, and to missionary enterprise abroad. It has prosecuted four missions proper: in Ireland, where returns have fluctuated greatly, owing to losses by emigration to the United States and British dependencies; in Canada, where a mission was established in 1837, and prospered to 30,000 adherents, now coalesced with the "Methodist Church of Canada," — "upon a platform in which every essential principle of the New Connexion was adopted and recognized, and is now a magnificent demonstration of the successful application of those principles on a large scale;" in China, where it has all the requisite appointments for the work and some 2000 Chinese converts; in Australia, where good work was done for a time, but, the China mission taxing all the resources of the Connexion, they were advised to identify themselves with other Methodist communities in that quarter.

Statistically, this branch of Methodism reports 202 ministers, 1249 local preachers, 515 churches, and nearly 35,000 communicants, 467 Sunday-schools, 11,345 teachers, and 88,761 scholars; \$30,000 raised for the mission in China, and an equal amount for Connectional funds independent of the sums raised for the education of the ministry, the erection of chapels and schools, and the defrayment of all other local expenses. The cost of the Connectional College at Ranmore has been about \$100,000, and the total value of Connectional trust property is estimated at \$4,900,000. These figures are for 1891. Its principal strength is in England. Its numerical increase has not been so great as is wished. "The reason of this is not that its polity was mistaken, but that its policy was at fault." Dr. Watts thinks they should have paid more attention to home extension, while they rather consumed their resources in foreign work; but if a mistake, it could not be more commendable. It stands to-day a model Methodist denomination, refuting all the antecedent predictions of failure, inadequacy, dangerous experimenting, lack of personal force and collective power. It has a ministry the peer of any in the Methodist world for piety, education, and culture; a laity unsurpassed for zeal and liberality. It made of a theory a demonstration. It developed an individuality in its ministry and laity the guarantee of personal force and the converse of that automatic movement, the resultant of centralizing power, which absorbs the individual in the organization. It was the forerunner of the Methodist Protestant Church in America, begotten of birth-throes notably akin to it.

CHAPTER XI

Heroes of early Methodism common property — Power of the Poll-Deed in quelling and preventing liberal sentiments — The noble dead of this period — Coke's letter to the Bishop of London, 1799 — Failure of the plan — Committee of Privileges of 1803 — Lay-delegation *vs.* lay-representation — Foreign Mission work of the Conference and Dr. Coke its exponent — Jabez Bunting and Robert Newton — Great revivals — Jonathan Seville; no other form of Christianity ever developed such characters — Prosperity of the Connection — "Providential" favor; but equally so with the Reform bodies.

It will relieve the mental strain of these seven years of internal strife to turn reflection upon the bead-roll of moral heroes and spiritual giants who came into view during this eventful period. They belong alike to a common Methodism. Aside from their individual biographies, where published, the deft and graceful pen of Stevens has pictured them for the admiration of the religious world and the imitation of all who would do and dare and die for Christly service and scriptural doctrine. Limitation forbids anything but glimpses of these sainted men as they pass in review. Richard Treffry was received during this stormy period. He was an able theologian, and his standard *Lives of Benson and his son and namesake, Richard*, are valuable works. For near fifty years he was a devoted and successful preacher and died in the triumphs of faith. James Townley was received in 1796. He was a biblical scholar and for a number of years one of the secretaries of the Wesleyan General Missions. He was elected President of the Conference, and ranks with Benson, Clarke, and Watson. He suffered much in his last days, but overcame all through the blood of the Lamb. Richard Watson was placed on the roll also in 1796. He was morally great and intellectually gigantic. He succeeded Coke in the management of the Foreign Missions. He became one of the greatest preachers of his day, and his vigorous intellect was fruitful in his imperishable "Theological Institutes" and "Bible Dictionary." English Methodism never produced a nobler character. Richard Newton, Jabez Bunting, Daniel Isaac, and Gideon Ouseley were among those who entered upon the stage of itinerant and laborious life.



RICHARD WATSON.

Methodist Theologian.

The first rose to commanding eminence and the second was a conspicuous figure, often elected to the Presidency, with a magnetic, awesome presence which subdued the average preacher in Conference discussion; esteemed arbitrary, he moved a majestic councilor among his brethren and did more than any other man, despite this overbearing reputation, to bring the laity into official Conference recognition.

While the Conference bloomed with this promise many of the veterans were passing away. In the seven years thirty-four obituaries are recorded. As was the custom from Wesley's time a few lines often dismissed a half-century laborer of eminent usefulness and pronounced ability. "These all died in faith." Let me link together the names of Hester Ann Rodgers, Mary Fletcher, Elizabeth Fry,¹ Sarah Crosby, Ann Cutler, and Dinah Evans, for the sisterhood of Methodism has never been a whit less noble than its brotherhood, and was honored in these days with official position, so that largely the controversy of to-day is but a return to ancient usage. Benson was a mighty preacher in these times, and Adam Clarke, as revivalist and writer, won a high place among his peers. His Commentary is an imperishable monument. He was instrumental in the conversion of Joseph Butterworth, afterwards member of Parliament and the associate of Wilberforce, and enrolled with Thornton, Buxton, and Thompson as leading laymen. William Bramwell is a name known to the sacred biography of Methodism. "At one time," says Stevens, "he sympathized much with Kilham, in his projects of 'reform,' but his deep piety saved him." Comment is forborne. Extraordinary scenes attended his revivals. Samuel Hick, the "Village Blacksmith," is a memorable name in the ranks of the local preachers. His career, as depicted by Stevens and by his biographer, reads like a romance. He died in his seventy-first year in triumph, having spent more than fifty years in labor as a blacksmith and service as a Methodist preacher and exhorter. Under such auspices the United Societies increased in these seven years from 76,968 to 108,261. The itinerant ministry increased from 313 to 399, and during the same time some 250 new chapels were erected.²

The eight Conferences from 1798 to 1806, being respectively the fifty-fifth to the sixty-third, were presided over in order by

¹ She was a Friend, but her work and piety identified her with these Methodist women.

² Myles's "Chronological History of Methodists," Chap. II.

Benson, Bradburn, Wood, Pawson, Taylor, Bradford, Moore, and Coke. The excision of Kilham, the retirement of Thom and others from the Conference to join him, and the secession of five thousand members left the old Conference in a condition of acquiescence in the dominant party, the Legal Hundred and their supporters. There is no question that not a few of them were in earnest sympathy with a more liberal form of government. Indeed, so widespread was the espousal of such sentiments that, but for the Poll-Deed and its intrenchment of property power with the minority, the insistence of the advocates of liberal views and the force of their logic would have prevailed. It happened, as it always will in like controversial issues, that social ties, personal pecuniary support for dependent families, the risk involved in a system yet in theory, the recusance of the timid, and the uncertainties that loom up in such a venture quelled disaffection and, at least outwardly, tranquillized the main body of Methodists. It must also be remembered that, besides the coign of vantage enjoyed by the adherents, their convictions were quite as intense, so that any innovation on the plan of Wesley meant destruction to the itinerancy and the decay of Methodism. He had so proclaimed years before his departure. The title of all property must vest in the Conference; there must be an absolute and unquestioning obedience to its behests in all matters, specially that of the appointments, or ruin impended to the societies despite the vitality of its doctrines and the piety of its members. The potential element was the machinery. That nothing of the kind happened in the New Connexion body and the other offshoots in England, in the Methodist Protestant Church and other offshoots in America, served to dispel the illusion, and demonstrate that, when leaders are wedded to power, they are blind and deaf, not to the logic of theory only, but to the logic of facts as well. Much had been conceded, however, as has been found, and more probably would have been but for the imperatives of the Poll-Deed, thus evidencing the truth of one of the fundamentals, that it was responsible, directly or indirectly, for all the divisions in English Methodism.

At least two important events took place between 1798 and 1806 in the Wesleyan Conference history, which must receive passing notice as outcroppings of the quiet struggle which still went on between the men of extreme views within it. On the 29th of March, 1799, Dr. Coke, having conferred with his confidential friends, and secured their approval, wrote to the Bishop

of London one of those remarkable letters which remind us how thoroughly hierarchal he was in his convictions of church polity, and how little value he attached to his third ordination by Wesley. The full text is found in Drew's biography of Coke, pages 284-286. See Appendix B. The address is of the highest consideration for his Lordship and the deepest humility for himself. The gist of it is the necessity, as he saw it, of "securing the great body of Methodists in connection with the late John Wesley to the Church of England." Various considerations are urged. The increasing number of the Methodists, their dissatisfaction with receiving the ordinances from clergy not spotless in their moral reputation, yet friends of the liturgy and the episcopacy. He asks for ordination at the hands of the Bishop of a sufficient number of the preachers to administer the ordinances, or universal separation will take place from the Established Church. Dr. Coke feels sure that he commands the situation as to the Conference. At the same time his confessions are naïve and diplomatic. He had become, he says, "warped in his attachments to the Church of England, in consequence of my visiting the states of America, but, like a bow too much bent, I have again returned. But I return with a full conviction that our numerous societies in America would have been a regular Presbyterian church, if Mr. Wesley and myself had not taken the steps which we judged necessary to adopt." He suggests an interview with the Bishop, etc. In a short time he received an answer to the effect that he would turn it over and consult the archbishops. In a few weeks the Archbishop of Canterbury gave final answer, which was a simple rebuke to Coke for insinuating that any of the clergy were immoral, with his regrets that he had nothing to suggest. The correspondence never came formally to the notice of the Conference. Much of the zest of Dr. Coke's movements in directions like this depended on secrecy, the assumption of responsibility: he loved to surprise his friends by discoveries of his adroitness; but every one of his ventures ignobly failed except his organization of the Methodist Societies in America as an Episcopal Church, of an anomalous type, with the aid and concurrence of Francis Asbury. The methods then employed will receive full attention in regular course.

The Wesleyan Conference of 1803 was notable for the first appointment of the Committee of Privileges. As Methodism spread in the English realm and ramified through the colonies, there was frequent interference by the civil authority with the

missions and the rights of worship among Dissenters, with whom the Methodists were politically classed. It was found necessary to protect the rights of the denomination from encroachment. The first Committee of Privileges consisted of Dr. Coke and Benson, with six of the principal laymen.

Stevens gives the names of three, Butterworth and Bulmer of London, and Thomas Thomson of Hull. A general solicitor was also appointed. The committee was named annually and was to be consulted before resort to lawsuits should be made. This preponderance of laymen was the result of Bunting's effort to bring this element, so long repudiated and neglected of recognition, to the front. Stevens, commenting on this advance in liberal principles, says, "The innovation was destined to go on peacefully, but successfully, until Wesleyan Methodism should virtually have the fact, without the theory, of lay-representation." The expression is vague with a confusion of terms. It is understandable how a theory may exist without the fact, but the fact can obtain only by the materializing of the theory. What was conceded by the Conference was a lay-delegation. A lay-representation can only be by the election of such by the same class. It is this differentiation that constituted the very ideal of representative Methodism. It has not lay-delegates selected by the suffrages of another class, the ministers; but it has lay-representatives elected by the suffrages of their own class. This essential difference remains in the Methodisms the world over. Neither in Wesleyan Methodism, nor in the Episcopal Methodisms, north and south in America, notwithstanding the advances made, is there lay-representation, and they simply juggle with words, or labor under a confusion of ideas who make the contention for them.¹ Not until lay-representation is a fact in these parent bodies will the mission of the liberal Methodisms on this line be accomplished. At the Conference of 1803 the question "Should women be allowed to preach?" was revived. Without denying the right, restrictions were placed upon them which guarded the privilege from possible abuse.

The mission work of the Conference from 1799 onward received increasing attention. In its management and enlargement Dr. Coke shines with zealous splendor. In meeting his personal

¹ "The History of Methodism in the United States," by James M. Buckley. Two volumes, small quarto. The Christian Literature Company, New York, 1896. Illustrated and embellished. A notable instance of this confusion of ideas is found on page 211 of the second volume as well as a misunderstanding of Snethen's meaning as cited.

expenses and in liberal contributions to this cause he expended all of his private fortune of £1200 or \$6000 a year. In labors he was abundant, in sufferings he endured hardness. He was practically the originator of the West India missions. After thirteen years, from 1799, 11,000 communicants were reported with 50,000 or 60,000 islanders under instruction. In 1801 he was appointed treasurer of the Mission Fund. He overlooked the work in Ireland and Wales. In 1804 the first missionary committee was appointed, Coke's single agency not being sufficient to compass it, unflagging as he was in his efforts and attentions. The collections were made permanent and annual. Coke was made superintendent of all the missions. The financial support of the ministry, a kindred interest, received special consideration. Laymen like Butterworth, Bulmer, Marriott, and others devised 'The Preachers' Friend Society. It was begun, says Myles, "without solicitation from the preachers, and has been attended with the happiest effects."

During the eight years under consideration, the obituary column of the Conference was greatly enlarged. The notices, as was the vogue from Wesley's time, were short and pithy. William Hunter departed in 1798, in his seventy-fourth year. He was a favorite with Wesley. His labors were marked with success and his departure singularly triumphant. In 1799 William Thompson was sainted after forty years' labor. His death was painful, but victorious. In the seven years' controversy he was the balance-wheel of the Conference. Also, John Murlin and Thomas Olivers had deceased. The former, a gritty Methodist preacher, the latter an able controvertist with a genius for poetry and music. A number of his lyrics will never cease to be sung while Methodism and piety live. Alexander Mather passed away in 1800. He had been ordained by Wesley superintendent for Scotland with probably the same form and with the same purpose as he had ordained Coke superintendent for America jointly with Francis Asbury, but he did not carry a bishop's bee in his bonnet, and even opposed Coke's episcopal scheme at the Lichfield meeting, though a superintendency he believed both wise and expedient. He was universally respected, and died after much suffering the death of the righteous. He received the longest obituary notice ever inserted in the minutes to this time. In 1802 Christopher Hopper, a noble veteran, was added to the eminent dead. Many others, old and young, died in the faith, whose record is on high, if well-nigh forgotten among men. During these eight years no

less than 213 were received by the Conference, an average of twenty-six for each year, as Stevens summarizes. Edward Hare was entered upon the roll in 1798, and after twenty years' service died in the flush of manhood. He was esteemed the ablest controvertist of English Methodism. 1799 two names were added to the probationary list of the Conference which shine as bright particular stars in its firmament: Jabez Bunting and Robert Newton. The former was a prince in Israel, a master spirit, of marvellous personal magnetism and authoritative force for nearly sixty years. He was the first man elected by the Legal Hundred to fill a vacancy, was made Secretary of the Conference ten times, and President four times. After the death of Coke he was the chief representative of Methodist missions. He was President of the Theological Institution for a series of years. While he was intensely conservative, he did more than any other man to bring the laymen into recognition through much opposition from the elders of the Conference. He was a master debater, and when he rose, after all had expended their logic, he swept away the cobwebs and brought into such powerful relief the salient points as to carry the body with him almost invariably. His literary abilities were of a high order. Stevens says, "Adam Clarke excelled him in learning, Newton in popular eloquence, Watson in theological analysis and sublime and speculative thought, but he surpassed them all in counsel, in administrative talent, in varied practical ability." His leadership was supreme. Robert Newton was of fine physique, commanding a musical voice, deeply spiritual, he swayed his audiences with an air of sanctity and power difficult to describe. He was the popular platform speaker of his day in Methodism. For forty years he was known all over England by the crowds that gathered when he preached or delivered addresses. He labored nearly fifty-five years and died in triumph. Add Watson and Clarke, and you have a quartette who brought Methodism into singular eminence. Other historic names may be added — Joshua Marsden, Daniel Isaac, Thomas Jackson, and Gideon Ouseley. Great revivals took place, some of extraordinary power. On the Penzance circuit more than two thousand were added in the course of a year. Stevens says: "Kilham's secession had devastated some of the societies on Nottingham circuit. They had lost a chapel and three hundred members in that town. A new edifice was erected in 1798, and Bramwell's ministrations the next year repaired the entire loss of members." This really means that another form of Metho-

dism was demonstrating its right to exist and was prospering under the same doctrines and means of grace.

Smith relates that during 1805 there was a most remarkable outpouring of the Spirit on Bradford circuit. There were immediate conversions under almost every sermon preached. For nearly three months the doors of the chapel were seldom closed, day or night. The house was filled by anxious, worshipping crowds by turns as room could be made for them. Love-feasts were held in the open air. About nine hundred persons were received during the year. Some of the lay-preachers were prominent in these revivals. William Dawson, a Yorkshire man, and typical of his class, had a career of marvellous power and usefulness. Jonathan Seville was another of these immortal names. He was a poor cripple, cruelly treated by his trade-master in his youth; he survived to be a shining light among the lowly. His more than abject slavery is a sad commentary on indigent life at a period when Wilberforce and others were pleading the cause of the black slave in British colonies. Stevens's depiction of his treatment makes the blood run cold, and much deserved space is given to his memory. He developed into a genius, a marvel of piety and intellect whose name is as ointment poured forth in a large section of rural England. Perhaps no other form of Christianity ever created such characters. The societies under the Wesleyan Conference increased at an average of four thousand a year for this period. Much importance is attached to this prosperity by those who see a smiling Providence in it over the Wesley régime now so largely amended, as has been seen; but the Providence thus rightly recognized did not discriminate, but favored the New Connexion Methodists, with whom extensive revivals also occurred and strong personalities were developed not inferior to the best of the old Connection. It contributed to the history of a common Methodism much that will never die.

CHAPTER XII

The decade of 1805-15—Extorted modifications of the Poll-Deed—Dr. Coke and Foreign Missions—Committee of Privileges acts—Revivals and their leaders—Lorenzo Dow; sketch of his history—English camp-meetings under Clowes and the Bournes; Conference opposition—Expulsions of the leaders—Origin of the Primitive Methodists in 1810—History of this organization as the second liberal Methodism in England—Another fruit of the Deed of Declaration as enforced by the Conference, and of entailed Paternalism—Marvelous success of the new movement under liberal principles.

THE next decade, from 1805 to 1815, will furnish material for another chapter of English Methodism. The minutes do not record any special changes in the polity of the Conference, except such modifications as were found expedient and quietly incorporated through the influence of the New Connexion system which was growing side by side with its parent. Wesley would hardly have recognized the system he enforced and which he endeavored to entail by the Poll-Deed, so radical were the changes made in deference to popular demand and the superior forecast of such men as Bunting. This freedom, the equality of personal rights guaranteed under the British Constitution, exerted its reflex influence upon the minds of Methodists, and the fallacy that church government to be effective must be something different from constitutional civil government, the precedents of the New Testament being ignored, could not be concealed under the plea of Wesley's name as an excuse and justification of arbitrary methods. Even the loyal Wesleyan preacher did his own thinking, and learned that personal rights must be extorted either by the method of reform or revolution. One of these quiet movements within the Conference in 1814, brought about another modification of the Deed of Declaration more in consonance with these personal rights of Christian manhood. That instrument restricted the election of a President and Secretary, annually, to the Legal Hundred. It was a spectacle of class, close-corporation government when a Conference of 850 ministers and preachers sat in their seats awaiting the choice of 100 of their number as to who should preside over them. It



ADAM CLARKE.
Methodist Commentator.

could not be perpetuated, and a less autocratic mind than Wesley's would have foreseen it. The pressure upon the Legal Hundred wrought the change, but like all bodies, time immemorial, who hold securely vested powers, they doled out concession in scant measure. It was conceded that preachers of fourteen years' standing might vote for President and Secretary, but the election to be subject to the separate vote of the Legal Hundred, thus circumventing the Poll-Deed, and all vacancies in the Legal Hundred were to be filled three out of four by themselves by the old rule of seniority, but the fourth by ballot without restriction as to age. Stevens suggests that the change was made that Bunting might be elevated. This desire was likely a factor in the modifications. There were a few cogs less in the revolving wheel of exclusive authority. The liberty-loving English preacher breathed a little freer. It served to quiet that discontent which a parental or oligarchic system is sure to foment perpetually.

Dr. Coke (for as such he was always known, and never in England as superintendent or bishop) lost no opportunity to further missions in Methodism. He kept the foreign work well in hand, constantly devising new plans for its extension and prompting liberality by his own generous contributions. He also formed a plan for Home missions which was adopted by the Conference in 1806. It is claimed by Smith as the beginning of modern Home missions and the claim is well established. It has been a useful auxiliary in all the Methodisms ever since. As a kindred work, the British and Foreign Bible Society was organized, and immediately English Methodists espoused it and were conspicuous in its furtherance, such laymen as Lundius and Butterworth prompting it, and Adam Clarke lent his invaluable services as a translator of the Scriptures into Oriental languages.

In 1810 it became apparent that the Committee of Privileges would have responsible work on its hands from the increased disposition manifested of political interference with the Dissenters of every name. It was enlarged, the laymen being conceded a majority representation. The National Church was growing intensely jealous of the growth and power of the non-conformists, it was even intimated by the traducers that the Methodists were aiming at a revolution of the supreme government of the country. A bill was introduced into Parliament which, if it had passed, would have struck down the dearest rights of all the dissenting organizations. Even Wilberforce

favored it, so intense was the prejudice of Churchmen against Dissenters. It aroused the Methodists, New Connexion and Wesleyan Conference alike, who joined forces with the other Dissenters. Thomas Thompson, who was a member of the House of Commons, did yeoman service, and the obnoxious bill was finally defeated. Then an attempt was made to severely interpret the Act of Toleration, but it resulted in sweeping away the "Five Mile Act" and the "Conventicle Act" together, thus securing liberty of worship for all alike. During this decade the Connection increased ninety thousand, an average gain of nine thousand a year. The obituary column was enriched with the names of not a few of the veterans, John Crook, John Pawson, Thomas Rutherford, John Baxter, and in the closing year, as a cap-sheaf to this stack of the sainted, the name of Thomas Coke.

The revivals of the period were numerous and extraordinary, specially among the Home missionaries, who labored hard and suffered much toiling among the coal miners and lowly peasantry. The names of Entwistle, Farrar, Patrington, Welwick, Burton, Pidsea, Ottringham, and Roos, Joseph Marsh, John Hughes, Owen Davies, and William Bramwell, the last a burning torch, an evangelistic flame. In Cornwall, William Carvosso merits distinct mention as a type of the fervent and successful class leader. His biography has been published, covering sixty years of humble piety and exceptional usefulness. Mary Fletcher and Lady Mary Fitzgerald closed careers of memorable piety and activity. Among the useful laymen who were evolved out of this revival period were William Clowes and Hugh and James Bourne of Staffordshire. Their names are coupled with an epoch in the history of the Wesleyan Conference. The movement calls for the introduction of Lorenzo Dow, who became an American itinerant under Asbury in the latter years of the last century and traversed a large circuit in Vermont and other arduous fields. He was cast in an eccentric mould, an original genius, of some mentality and unquestioned piety. He followed his impressions at whatever cost of time and labor and suffering. One of these impressions led him at the close of the century to abandon his home field and make his way to Ireland by the way of Canada, embarking in a leaking canoe with a brush sail down the Misisquoi river, that he might preach to the Irish papists. He thus became an independent itinerant, whose fame covers the Methodist world which he compassed in his travels. His pub-

lished writings, mostly against Calvinism, form a large volume, and thousands claimed him as the instrument of their conversion. He found a congenial companion, his other self in everything, in Peggy, his wife, for a number of years. He closed his remarkable career in Georgetown, D. C., at the home of George W. Haller, a sympathizing Methodist Protestant friend, in 1834, dying peacefully, aged fifty-six years. He was buried by personal friends, after a funeral sermon by Rev. T. H. Stockton, in the Holmead graveyard, and a suitable slab of marble recorded his memory. After the cemetery was removed, on the solicitation of some kind Methodists, the philanthropist W. W. Corcoran of Washington had his remains transferred to an eligible lot in Oak Hill Cemetery, Georgetown, D. C., and covered with the antique slab lettered more than fifty years before. During his visit to Ireland he labored hard and was favorably received by the common people. He returned to the United States and travelled widely as an independent itinerant, and in 1807 returned to Britain, visiting Staffordshire. He suggested to the zealous people under Clowes and the Bournes the plan of the American camp-meeting, then in successful operation in the rural districts of America, and officially recognized by Asbury and promoted by Sneathen, one of the originators, borrowing the hint from some Kentucky Presbyterians, who, like these English lay-preachers, departed from church "order," and, being persuaded that they were right and favored of God, persevered and were expelled the regular Presbyterian Church, forming the Cumberland Presbyterian Church under a modified Calvinism.

The English camp-meetings were very popular and successful, and the religious excitement of the early Methodists was revived in their conduct. They were criticised and attacked by the Conference preachers. Hugh Bourne vindicated them in a pamphlet, and counter publications were issued. It came before the Conference, and the regulars in authority pronounced that they were "highly improper in England, and likely to be productive of considerable mischief, and we disclaim connection with them." Hugh Bourne, who was a chapel trustee and not a local preacher, but full of zeal and courage, travelled to and fro over several counties besides Staffordshire, arousing the people and holding during the clement season the camp-meetings. To be recalcitrant to authority, even to quarterly meeting authority among Methodists, is to commit unpardonable offence. It is an adage with some people, that the worst use you can make of a man is to

hang him. All history has proven that the worst use you can make of a Methodist, either minister or layman, is to expel him for other cause than immorality. A year after, Clowes raised his flag on Mow Hill for the first English camp-meeting and the circumjacent people flocked to it, and, in 1808, Hugh Bourne was expelled the Wesleyan connection by the Burslem quarterly meeting. Two years after, Clowes, who continued to use the camp-meeting, met with a like fate. He at once gave up his temporal business and entered upon a crusade of defence and missionary labor. Thus was organized, by the necessity of their situation, the Primitive Methodists in 1810.¹ Stevens dismisses his account of the movement without one word of disparagement, all the more creditable to him as it was a palpable case of mal-administration. At least indirectly the Deed of Declaration is again responsible for a schism in Methodism by its sixteenth section, which invests the Wesleyan preachers of the Conference with power to expel from the visible Church of God for any reason deemed sufficient, other than immorality. Thus martyrs for opinions' sake are made, and their figurative blood becomes the seed of secession and new church organizations.

A glance at the history of the Primitive Methodists. For the data recurrence is made to the symposium in the New York *Independent* of March, 1891, on the Centenary of Methodism. The sketch is furnished by Rev. D. Hallam, then President of the Primitive Conference. Hugh Bourne in his conduct of the prayer-meetings in Staffordshire closed them at an early hour on the principle that the wage-earner needed rest, but in the white heat of their spiritual quickening the spirit of complaint burst out, and one Daniel Shubotham declared, almost prophetically, "You shall have a meeting upon Mow, some Sunday, and have a whole day's praying, and then you'll be satisfied." And so it proved, as already discovered.

The meeting was held May 31, 1807, by Hugh Bourne and his associates. Four preaching stands were surrounded by thousands of hearers. Two other such meetings were held, and in August one at Norton-in-the-Moors. Between the first and the fourth meeting the Wesleyan Conference met and decided against the camp-meetings. At the Norton meeting neither Shubotham nor Clowes appeared — they bowed their heads to the storm of ecclesiastical authority. Even Hugh Bourne wavered, but rose to the occasion, and the meeting was held. His expulsion followed

¹ "History," by Hugh Bourne, near Tunstall, England, 1823, 12mo, 68 pp.

within a year without notice of charge or trial. He paid up his class money and retired peacefully. Three years later, William Clowes was denied his ticket of membership because he attended the camp-meetings and would not promise to desist. The excluded had formed no idea of a new Church, they were simply intent upon saving the souls of the people. Ten such converts, at a place called Stanley, met in fellowship and were offered as a class to the Methodist circuit, but were rejected because connected with the Bournes. It was of the first importance that nursery provision should be made for those who were thus converted. In May, 1810, that class organized in March became the nucleus of a new organization. In 1812 the first preachers' plan was issued, the name Primitive Methodists adopted, and a separate existence and work were fairly begun. It did not set out as did the New Connexion Methodists, with any considerable secessions from the old societies. "Many long years of pioneering followed. Men like John Oxtoby, John Flesher, William Harland, Thomas Dawson, John Petty, W. G. Belham, John Ride, Thomas Russell, Joseph Spoor, and a host of others went forth with meagre, often empty, purses, but hearts full of enthusiasm for Christ; and this new electric force exerted its transforming power over the moral and spiritual life of the nation, from the miners of Northumberland to those of Cornwall. There are many chapters of heroism in this long period of pioneer labor; not a few have been told, but many are unrecorded, for the workers were mostly modest men who praised not themselves." They soon felt the need of a Book Room and a literature of their own. The second Annual Assembly, which was in 1821, established a Book Room at Bemersley, under the management of the two brothers, Hugh and James Bourne. Twenty years afterward it was removed to London, and for many years has done a flourishing business. In 1890 it issued 102,580 copies of its magazines, and 1513 of its *Quarterly Review*. For ten years past it has made an annual grant to the Superannuated Preachers' Fund, varying from £3200 to £4400, with grants of smaller sums for other connectional interests.

In 1825 a General Missionary Committee was formed, but did not become effective until 1843. It has done much in fostering struggling interests in the rural districts of England, in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Missions were established in various parts of Africa, the laborers enduring much suffering, imprisonment, and death. The large cities and towns of England were more recently brought under the Missionary Committee, and

fresh ground broken. The work of alleviating the distressed and gathering in the poor is one of the brightest chapters in the denominational history. The revenue at the disposal of the Missionary Committee in 1890 was £18,456. In Great Britain and Ireland it employs 72 missionaries, with a church membership of 6538; in the Australian colonies, 41, and 2184 members; in Africa, 7 European missionaries, 2 native assistants, 4 native teachers, and 1 native artisan assistant, with 44 white and 486 colored members. A college for training young ministers was opened at Sunderland in 1868, under Rev. W. Antliff, D.D., and after serving a good purpose for some years was removed to larger and more respectable buildings in Manchester. The Connection has also two educational colleges for boys, York and Birmingham, which are successful. The Orphan Home is the latest and most popular of its institutions. Its premises at Arlesford, near Winchester, are free of debt. The Connection has its own insurance company to protect its property against loss from fire; its general Chapel Fund to relieve distressed chapels; its Chapel Aid Association to assist trustees in cancelling debts; its Metropolitan and Chapel and School Building Fund, to meet the increased needs of London; its Sunday-school Union; its Superannuated and Widows' and Orphans' Fund. Temperance is interwoven with the very texture of its church life. As early as 1840 it shut out fermented wines from its sacramental occasions, and its chapels are always open for promoting the cause. It has found its sphere as an organization among the workmen of England, as did the Wesleys and Whitefield, and its success is due, Thomas Burt, member of Parliament, has declared, to the fact that "it represented the democratic and progressive side of religion." "In its highest court, the Conference, the ministry is represented by one-third, and the laity by two-thirds of the delegates, while the same proportion is maintained in district meetings. Elsewhere there is no recognition of this proportionate representation. The democratic element is seen in the fact that the occupancy of the chair in every court, from the Conference to the leaders' meeting, is not claimed as the right of any minister, but is determined by vote, and may be occupied by laymen. The conservative element is found in there being no direct representation of the membership in the higher circuit courts, thus causing the official element to be the ruling element in a circuit. This combination of opposites has, however, worked well and satisfactorily." In Eastern and Western North America they have two

Conferences with 5639 members, 61 ministers, 171 local preachers, 99 Sabbath-schools, 1354 teachers and officers, 96 churches, 38 parsonages, with a probable value of church property of \$231,565. They are not under the Presidency of the English Conference, and recent suggestions have been made of their organic union with the Methodist Protestant Church. They had in Canada, when the union of the Methodist bodies took place under one "Methodist Church," 8223 members, 99 ministers, 246 local preachers, 237 churches, 169 Sabbath-schools, 1253 teachers, and 9343 scholars. This union cost them no sacrifice of fundamental principles, as it is a lay-representation, voting Church with an elective, limited superintendency. In the British Islands the statistical returns are for 1890: 193,658 members, 1049 travelling preachers, 16,315 local preachers, 10,563 class leaders, 4234 Sabbath-schools, 61,724 teachers, 431,868 scholars, 4460 connectional chapels, 1398 other chapels and halls, 580,746 hearers, and estimated value of church property, £3,291,192.

This brief history is a demonstration of the fallacy of all arguments in favor of the oligarchic system of government for Methodism as essential to its conservation and success. Numerically, other things being equal and length of organization specially considered, the Primitive Methodists have exceeded the parent body by a decided percentage. If in pecuniary values they are not on an equal footing, the poor class of people from whom they have so largely drawn their recruits must be the explanation, while in liberality their superiority must be confessed. In allegiance to the doctrines and means of grace of Wesleyan Methodism they are not excelled. And yet to this day they are subjected to disparagement and obloquy, in common with other dissenting Methodist churches, from those in the parent bodies of England and America who make for themselves exclusive Wesleyan claims as "the temple of the Lord." A late instance of the kind was during the second Methodist Ecumenical Conference in Washington, D. C., in 1891, which the writer witnessed, when Farmer-Atkinson, member of Parliament and delegate from the Wesleyan Conference, in open debate so wantonly insulted the representatives of the Primitive Methodists that they appealed for protection to the chair and threatened to withdraw from the Conference unless the offensive allusion was withdrawn. The matter was subsequently satisfactorily adjusted. Such a personal departure from Christian civility and gentlemanly courtesy would not deserve record, save that it was typical of kindred slurs and

minifications, which unfortunately abound in most of the standard histories and current monographs of the Wesley-Asbury Methodisms, when allusions are made to other and more liberal Branches. With not a few who thus offend, it is simply crass ignorance, and it would be a relief if as good an excuse could always be framed for them.

CHAPTER XIII

The heroes of Methodism common property — The decade from 1815 to 1825; the Wesleyan system essentially Presbyterian in England — Efficiency of the hierarchy not denied — Dr. John Emory's visit to the British Conference — Their foreign missionary movement under Dr. Coke — Coke and Asbury in contrast — Sketch of Coke's career — Letter to Wilberforce and the bishopric of India; analysis of it — Coke's last mission to India; his associates; death and burial at sea — The Irish Primitive Methodists of 1814 — Its growth under Averell, and its gradual decay — Notable Irish preachers.

As the purpose of this review of English Methodism in its various branches and phases is to bring into relief the facts and data which will substantiate the fundamental as set forth at the close of the first chapter, namely, that the Deed of Declaration which imposed an oligarchy upon Wesleyan Methodism was directly or indirectly responsible for all the divisions in the parent body on governmental lines, while the world over unity has been preserved in its doctrines and means of grace, it will not be expected that the history of the Wesleyan Conference shall be outlined except in the most cursory manner. The grand results of its inspirational truths as set forth by the Wesleys; its means of grace as calculated to keep alive the flame of experiential religion; the deeds of heroism it provoked in its preachers and people; the infallible sign of its apostolical genius in its foreign missionary propagandism; its ever burning zeal and open-handed liberality, — all these belong to a common Methodism and as such are appropriated as germane to this historic plan. Those who would have fuller details are referred to Stevens's "History of Methodism" and Grindrod's, or Smith's, "History of Wesleyan Methodism."

The decade from 1815 to 1825 is pregnant with events marking the rapid growth at home and abroad of the parent body with its occasional wise concessions to the laity in its polity, thereby distinguishing it from the iron-clad policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America in its dealings with Reformers and their measures. Indeed, though claiming the closest affiliation and kinship, there are but few points of agreement of the two systems.

Except in its entail of property rights and the absence of lay-representation as differenced from lay-delegation, Wesleyan Methodism is essentially Presbyterian, and so akin with the structure of the Methodist Protestant Church, while Episcopal Methodism in both its divisions is hierarchal, and so akin with the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Roman Catholic Church. Let it be observed, once for all, that in these pages no contention is made that this polity is not efficient, and, in given circumstances, more efficient than its more liberal associates in evangelism. What is claimed is that the hierarchy is anti-scriptural, finding no support in New Testament precedents under critical interpretation, and utterly incongruous with the brotherhood of Christians as defined by the Master, and the necessary equality of brotherhood, man with man generically understood, not to speak of natural rights, as inhering in the individual as defined under civil republican codes. It is claimed, that if violations of these rights are allowable and justifiable on the score of the efficiency of a hierarchy, then logical consistency demands that there is no place for such advocates to stop, short of its paragon, the Pope, and his train of subordinates drawing the people after them: "Behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads, and his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven." Ignorance is not pleaded for the fact that hierarchism is disclaimed by the officialism of the Methodist Episcopal Church in emergencies, and under the exactions of criticism. Its true genius will come under review at a later period. The objection lodged against it is, that to the degree of its hierarchal complexion, however neutral the colors as to administration under the modifying influence of surrounding ecclesiasticisms, its law-structure classes it as a hierarchy, and this is inconsistent with the basic principles of the primitive Church and apostolical methods. It is efficient and potential, and those who are wedded to it have their rights of preference, and a hail of "God-speed" is sincerely sent them and exultation indulged with them over the magnificent results which the old glorious doctrines have achieved under it throughout the world.

During this decade of Wesleyan Conference history, like tall oaks amid the smaller growths of the forest, stood Newton and Watson and Clarke and Bunting, while Bramwell and Dawson and Seville and Hicks and Carvosso, in humbler spheres, gave proofs of the power of a heart religion in winning men to Christ. Reference has already been made to these stalwart leaders, each

supreme in his sphere. The Conference itineracy, or restrictive rule, was three years, one year more than prescribed by the Deed of Declaration, and its virtual extension beyond three, was a necessity pressing upon the ever growing connection. Evasion of the spirit of the law was the consequence. Newton spent thirty-five years on five circuits, being transferred from one to the other and back again in technical obedience to the three-year rule. Twenty years of his ministerial life were spent in London and Manchester. Bunting spent the whole of this decade in London; during one year he was President and during three, editor at its Book Room. Like Newton, he was also incessantly engaged in special missions in the counties. Adam Clarke's failing health compelled a virtual location. In 1815 he purchased a rural home near Liverpool. There he pursued his learned labors and preached as opportunity allowed. Among those whose names and deeds will not die were John Smith and Hodgson Casson. The shifts of the Conference in evading the restrictive rule that foremost men might be utilized where most needed, is an adverse commentary upon the unwisdom of irrevocable and inflexible legislation binding upon a new generation amid new environments. It will receive frequent illustration in the course of this History.

It seems in order in connection with the English restrictive rule to take brief notice of the fraternal visit of Rev. Dr. John Emory of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Wesleyan Conference in 1820. He will be a conspicuous figure in American Methodism. His visit to the British Conference was the first of such interchanges. He was charged with an adjustment of the Canadian question, a contention between the missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church and those of the English Conference. He was cordially received, and made the most of the occasion. He was struck at the Conference session with the essential and radical differences of the mode of appointments as modified since Wesley's time. Stevens says: "The discussion of the appointments was a novel fact to the visitor, and in contrast with the American usage. A list prepared by a committee before the meeting of Conference was reported to it and published throughout the country, and preachers and people had opportunity of petitioning or remonstrating."¹ "This," Emory remarks, "is often done in strong terms and gives not a little trouble; a preacher of any standing is seldom sent where he is not willing

¹ "History of Methodism," Vol. III. p. 306.

to go." During his Address to the Conference, he ventured upon a laudation of the Episcopal system which he represented. It was not altogether palatable, and, despite his presence and the courtesy due him, was thought too pronounced to be passed uncriticised, and open exceptions were made to what appeared invidious comparisons of the two systems. Clarke and Watson came to the rescue and made eulogistic remarks upon the American Episcopacy as "of a truly apostolic and primitive character." He was delighted with his reception, and made a most favorable impression by his eloquent preaching and social intercourse, for he was a scholarly Christian and a courteous gentleman. The almost inspired vaticination he made in his address as an expression of human forecast deserves embalment here. He said: "We hope the time is not far distant when we shall join hands on the Asiatic shores of the Pacific Ocean. We are constantly advancing in our labors toward the West and you are extending to the East, not only on the continent, but over the islands of the sea. Is it chimerical, then, to suppose that at some future day we shall have compassed the earth and girded it round with glorious bands of gospel truth? Oh, no; faith says it shall be done." And it has been done. The sun in his course is now followed by Methodist evangelism around the world.

This leads to consideration, briefly, of the missionary movements of the Wesleyan Conference for this decade. From the beginning it was a characteristic; for a heart religion cannot be content with a concealment of its treasure. If the Great Commission had not been uttered, it must "go into all the world" and tell the marvellous story. Methodism stood for universal evangelization, and it has proven true to it to this day. Beginning in the West Indies, under that devoted layman Gilbert, in 1760, and in Nova Scotia, by Coughlin, in 1765, it came to America in 1760-66, through Strawbridge and Embury, local preachers. Dr. Coke, the personification of missionary zeal and activity, projected a mission for Asia as early as 1786; also in the Dutch, Swedish, and French islands. Notably, at St. Eustatius, for which Coke ventured to ordain William Mahy in 1791, the only ordination he ever attempted out of America, and for which he was severely rebuked by the Wesleyan Conference of 1792, so little virtue and authority did they attach to Wesley's third ordination of Coke and others; but nothing dampened his ardor for the cause of missions, neither rebuke nor rebuff nor failure could deter him from pushing the work. In 1796 a small

colony was despatched by him to Africa, but it failed. It was fitting that this man should wind up his eventful career by becoming a missionary himself and dying in pursuit of his great India mission.

His most successful labors were in the West Indies. Here he fairly revels amid spiritual trophies and aggressive conquest. In his "History of the West Indies" he gives the religious experience of the blacks, so genuine in spirit and so devoted in life. He bears testimony to their wonderful fidelity to their masters amid uprisings and plots. Restrictive legislation was attempted in Jamaica, but an appeal to the Home government thwarted the design. Wilberforce's great Emancipation Act was pressing to a successful issue, and in 1807 it was proclaimed for all England's dependencies, dating from the 1st day of August, 1834, \$100,000,000 being paid to the masters for this species of property. Neither Coke nor the Conference behind him gave any countenance to inflammatory appeals or indiscreet measures by the missionaries. Stevens quotes from the official instructions: "Promote the moral and religious improvement of the slaves without in the least degree, in public or in private, interfering with their civil condition." He italicizes a sentence of his own: "No Methodist slave was ever proved guilty of incendiarism or rebellion for more than seventy years, namely, from 1760 to 1834." In 1791 there were Methodists in West Indies: 12 missionaries and 5645 members; when Coke died, 1814, 31 missionaries and 17,000 members; in 1839, 83 missionaries and 42,928 members.

The crowning incidents of Dr. Coke's career are at hand, and it is fitting to notice some of them before tracing his final missionary efforts for Methodism and the world. From about 1796 to 1804, when he retired from the American continent to visit it no more, an interesting correspondence was kept up between Asbury, Coke, and the Wesleyan Conference as to the respective claims of the two countries to the services of Coke. From the time Asbury met him at Barratt's chapel in Delaware, and embraced him in the pulpit, in November, 1784, this keen-sighted and discerning man had measured his co-superintendent in all the strong and weak points of his character. From that period until his superior strategy and prudential wisdom had won from Coke all the coöperation needful for his own preconceived plans of Episcopal organization for America, and then allowed his personal mistakes of an official nature to limit his influence with

the American Methodists until he withdrew, having been shorn of the prerogatives Wesley designed him to wear jointly with Asbury, their personal relations were often strained, as will be seen when this period is under direct examination. In his declining years and as the infirmities of the body grew upon him, Asbury turned to his old friend and helpful ally in the one questionable transaction of their respective lives: the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the Christmas Conference of 1784, in that phase of it only which connects John Wesley as an authority for it or as recommending it in his instructions to Coke, either written or verbal. It was a just if not a generous impulse that would win him back to America. Stevens does not notice this correspondence, but Drew furnishes snatches of it with one full letter.¹ Asbury knew the worth of Coke and now wished his aid; and for 1803-04 outlined an itinerary of five thousand miles among the Conferences for him, but he pursued it but in part. The letter in its full text referred to is found in Drew's "Life of Coke," pp. 299, 300. It is subscribed, "Signed by order and in the behalf of the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Francis Asbury, Richard Whatcoat." The significant fact is not noted by other historians, that in this correspondence under official seal the foregoing subscription is never acknowledged; neither the title, bishop, nor the name, Methodist Episcopal Church, occurs in it. Dr. Coke before leaving America, finally, in 1804, preached, by invitation, in the Capitol of the United States before the assembled Congress an eloquent discourse.

Arrived in England, Dr. Coke, now about sixty years of age, gave himself up to the great missionary operations of the Wesleyan Conference. A missionary was sent to Gibraltar in 1804, and another, on the decease of the first, in 1808. In 1805 he married Miss Penelope Smith, a maiden lady of piety and wealth, but of delicate constitution. It was Coke's first marriage. She lived but six years. Coke found in her a congenial spirit, and their united means made their liberality lavish. He contracted a second marriage in December, 1811, with Miss Loxdale, an elderly maiden. December 5, 1812, she died. Meantime he was

¹ This whole correspondence has been exhumed by Alexander McCaine, as well as letters of Coke to McCaine subsequently which give the inwardness of the transaction; and an *exposé* will be made in its proper connection. See McCaine's "Letters on the Methodist Episcopal Church," 8vo, 206 pp.: Boston, Olive Branch Office, 1850.

busy in the Master's work, much upon the wing, while carrying out the literary labors of his life: the great Commentary which the Conference imposed upon him as a task, and his "System of Philosophy," and his "Recent Occurrences in Europe." It is an open secret since his death that nearly all this labor was performed by Samuel Drew under compensation, and is so acknowledged by him, though he seems to feel it an obligation to carry the details of it as secret to his grave. It would have been better for the memory of both if the whole truth of a simple business transaction had been told. It is known that the Commentary was plagiarized almost bodily from the work of the unfortunate Dr. Dodd, though it bears Dr. Coke's name on the title-page as author. It has been found, however, that it was an age of easy manners as to literary purloining. John Wesley was not free from it, Henry Moore was conspicuously guilty, and Coke notorious. Later on, Watson and Adam Clarke redeemed Methodist literature from the stigma. Dr. Coke was his own publisher, and, like Wesley, betrayed his ignorance of business methods, and was fleeced by selfish friends until he surrendered his whole copyright to the Conference for a nominal sum before he set sail for India.

Bereft of his last companion, approaching his seventieth year, much of the missionary work of the Conference now consolidated and settled on a secure basis; as he saw the sun of his life nearing its setting, he turned his face resolutely toward its rising in the east. A mission to India had long been a favorite idea with him, and he had secured much useful information bearing upon it. He appeared before the Conference of 1813, and Stevens says, "pleading even with tears to be sent himself as a missionary to Asia." No one may doubt the perfect sincerity of this proposal, separated from all other considerations, for he gave proof of the singleness of his purpose by his final arrangements for the India mission. It will not be forgotten, however, that he was an extreme Churchman, and at heart attached no importance to his third ordination by Wesley. An aspiration to the bishopric he believed legitimate, nor did he doubt his qualifications for it. The expiring embers of an almost extinguished ambition flamed up once more only to die into the white ashes of a hopeless desire. He had learned that the British Foreign Office proposed to send a Bishop to India that this great empire of the Crown might have the benefits a National Church is supposed to confer upon a country; but he had also learned through Wilberforce that

Parliament was "set against granting any countenance to Dissenters or Methodists in favor of sending missionaries to India." But Dr. Coke could not be deterred by such trifles. He pressed his application. He wrote to the Earl of Liverpool, but received no answer. He next addressed Wilberforce, then in the bloom of his Parliamentary career, a letter characteristic of him. It is not given by Stevens except such fragments as answered the bias of his "History" in favor of all that Coke did and apologetic of his "imprudence" and "weaknesses," as his apologist calls his proposals to Wilberforce. Drew, his biographer, does not refer to it at all, though a copy must have been found among Coke's papers, unless, like his letter to the Earl of Liverpool, he would have had to make the confession, "I have either mislaid the copy of it, or destroyed it at the time, for fear of its falling into improper hands." It was the misfortune of Dr. Coke in this as in kindred previous transactions — his letter to Bishop White of America suggesting his ordination as a true Bishop, and the union of the American Societies with the Protestant Episcopal Church, as another example — to make the conditions with his correspondents, "burn this letter," or "let this be kept secret." Nothing of the kind can be found in all the correspondence of the Wesleys, of Whitefield, or of Asbury. It is not forgotten that charity demands that of two constructions of another's language or motive the extenuating one should be followed, or, as Stevens puts it as to the letter to Wilberforce, "his life and character forbid any ungenerous interpretation of the correspondence."

Church historians are squeamishly sensitive to the charge of ambition against their favorites, as though it could have no excusable place in the career of a Christian man. An American statesman has aptly said, "When you eliminate ambition from the human soul, you shut out the visions that entice men upward." This letter to Wilberforce did not see the light until the Correspondence of that eminent British statesman was published, and it must stand upon its own merits.¹ The full text of it is given in Appendix B. A digest of it may be given. It was written at Leeds, April 14, 1813. The opening paragraph makes it plain that Coke entered upon it with some misgivings lest its exposure should involve him with the British Methodists in an inconsistency that could not be explained. Two sentences must be set over against each other; to wit, "Could I but close my life in being the means of raising a spiritual church in India, it would

¹ Wilberforce's "Correspondence," Vol. II. p. 114.

satisfy the utmost ambition of my soul here below." "I am not conscious, my dear, respected sir, that the least degree of ambition influences me in this business." He can be spared at home in the Wesleyan body, and India furnishes an "extensive sphere for preaching the gospel." The gist of it is, "I enlarged on the earnest desire I had of closing my life in India — observing that if his Royal Highness the Prince Regent and the Government should think proper to appoint me their Bishop in India, I should most cheerfully and most gratefully accept their offer." "I should, in case of my appointment to the Episcopacy of India, return most fully and faithfully into the bosom of the Church, and do everything in my power to promote its interests." "I sincerely believe that my strong inclination to spend the remainder of my life in India originated in the Divine Will, whilst I am called upon to use secondary means to obtain the end." This opens to us his heart and explains his theory of Providence — a persuasion that God was in it and a farther persuasion that to be Bishop of India would command him influence that would further his work. He needs no apology by his friends, — he needs only the frank treatment he does not receive at their hands. He thinks a hot climate would peculiarly agree with him, as he judges from his experience in the West Indies; but his physicians did not think so as to India, and his bosom friend, Drew, expostulated with him; but he overruled all their arguments and entreaties. Two or three times in the course of the letter he prays Wilberforce not to expose him, as it might affect his usefulness among the Methodists if his purpose to abandon them utterly and return to the National Church, if they would make him Bishop of India, should become known. "If Mr. — were acquainted with the steps I am taking, he would, I am nearly sure, call immediately a meeting of our 'Committee of Privileges,' and the consequences might be unfavorable to my influence, etc." Stevens, in a foot-note upon the whole matter, sums it up in a sentence, "The whole case is highly creditable to the heart, however it may detract from the head of Coke." A careful reader will not fail to peruse the full-text letter as given in the Appendix.

Wilberforce gave him no encouragement — indeed, there is no evidence that his proposal was ever officially considered; he was simply tabooed. He kept the secret himself and his friends of the National Church were too magnanimous to disclose it; so when it came before the Conference a few months later in the

form of a mission to India, it simply startled by its gigantic character. Benson said with vehemence, "it will ruin Methodism." The number of men called for, and the initial expenses, and the chance of failure were more than the denomination could stand. The opposition greatly afflicted Dr. Coke; he spent a night in tears over it. He returned to the Conference, eloquently defended the plan, and offered as a guarantee to lay down \$30,000 himself toward it. Strong men came to his relief and the measure was carried. He was authorized to take seven men, including one for southern Africa, and go to India. He at once made his additional preparations. The volunteers were James Lynch, John M'Kenny, William Ault, George Erskine, William M. Howard, Thomas H. Squance, Benjamin Clough, and the wives of Howard and Ault, and these with Coke, made the missionary company. They assembled at Portsmouth, well furnished, including a printing-press and type.

Coke rose with the occasion and all his Christian manliness asserted itself. He preached his last sermon at Portsmouth. A divine afflatus comes upon men in great emergencies, and their utterances are prophetic. "It is of little consequence," said he in it, "whether we take our flight from the land of our nativity, from the trackless ocean, or the shores of Ceylon!" The last sentence of the sermon was equally so, "God will give us our part in the first resurrection, that on us the second death may have no power." On the 30th of December, 1813, they set sail in a fleet of six Indiamen, more than twenty merchant vessels and three ships of war for convoy. On the 10th of February the wife of Ault, a delicate woman, died and was buried at sea. In the Indian Ocean Coke's health rapidly declined. He kept himself busy reading and writing in his cabin. He was on board one of the Indiamen with two of the missionaries. On the morning of the 3d of May his servant knocked at his cabin door, but received no response. He opened it and beheld the lifeless body of Coke stretched upon the floor. He must have died before midnight. It is supposed that he rose to call for help, when he was stricken with apoplexy. The news was signalled to the fleet. A coffin was made, and at five in the afternoon, with the usual impressive ceremonies, the body was borne to the leeward gangway, where it was covered with signal flags; the soldiers were drawn up in rank on the deck, the bell of the ship tolled, one of the missionaries read the burial service, and, at the moment the sun sank below the rim of the Indian Ocean, the coffin, laden

with four cannon-balls, was cast into the deep. It was fitting thus that his requiem through the ages should be sung by the waves of the sea as they wash the shores of all continents. He died in his sixty-seventh year.

A pen-picture of his personal appearance has already been furnished from Drew. An appropriate motto for his life would be, "In labors more abundant." He crossed the ocean eighteen times when it meant peril and suffering of an extreme nature, the voyages in that age covering from forty to eighty or more days. When on shore, both in England and America, he was indefatigable and unceasing in work, so that neither Whitefield, nor Wesley, nor Asbury, considering years of service, was more diligent and devoted to the cause of the Master. His biography by Drew is a noble tribute, but unreliable as to dates, inasmuch as his papers which were left with Drew were not chronologically arranged, and a number of errors, specially in the matter of the Address to Washington, which is so associated with 1785 when it took place in 1789, as to produce an anachronism which in a later controversy was seriously misleading, as will be seen. Etheridge has furnished a Memoir, and numerous monographs have done all that generous eulogy could do in his honor. Asbury, who read him between the lines as well as through them, and whose superior tact and diplomatic genius used him to further his own convictions of hierarchal churchism; who repelled him or attracted him as the positive or negative poles of his own magnetic nature elected, — when he heard of his departure left in his Journal a sincere, if extravagant, estimate of him: "The greatest man of the last century as a minister of Christ in zeal and labors and services."¹

This decade of the Wesleyan Conference history must take note of the secession and organization of the Primitive Methodists of Ireland. As early as 1814 there was dissatisfaction in the Irish Wesleyan Conference over the Plan of Pacification which had been adopted. The sacramental controversy continued to disturb them. Adam Averell, a clergyman of the National Church, early espoused the views of the Methodists under Coke and others and united with the Irish Conference. He was socially well connected and a man of large influence and devoted piety, with peculiar views of the relation the Methodists should sustain to the National Church, holding to Wesley's original plan. As the President of the Irish Conference he was alarmed in 1814 at

¹ Asbury's "Journal," Vol. III. p. 452.

the petitions from trustees and others for the administration of the sacraments by their own preachers. The Irish Conference adopted the English plan, but, to conciliate the opponents, postponed its operation for a year. In 1816 Adam Clarke was President and succeeded in having passed a Plan of Pacification. But the opponents were many and influential, and they set themselves in array against it. A war of pamphlets came on. Seventy-five hundred members united in a schism. Twenty-six chapels were wrested from the old connection. Lawsuits followed, and the cases decided under Wesley's Deed of Declaration against the seceders. Averell was applied to by the dissentients to organize them more effectively. He consented, and addressed a circular to the Irish preachers, but only one responded. The contention raged and bad feeling was engendered on both sides. A Convention was held in Dublin, January 5, 1818, and the "General Principles of the Methodist Constitution" were adopted. Another was held at Clones on the 27th of the same month, and ratified the Principles, and again at Dublin the succeeding month, and so were organized the Primitive Methodists of Ireland, which both by its abnormal history and its ecclesiastical plan differed essentially from the English Primitives. They consider themselves a Society and not a Church, and like all secedent bodies adopted the features of lay-delegation fully in their constitution with a liberal polity. In 1819 they reported 53 preaching places; in 1836 these had increased to 107. They established a bi-monthly magazine and a Book Room, and formed a Home Missionary Society. In 1819 they reported more than 12,000 members. In 1830 their increase was but 2000. In 1839 they reported 16,000. In 1861 they reported but 14,247 members, 85 ministers, and 61 circuits. Tyerman calls it "A senseless schism." Perhaps it was. Numerically they have decreased, and in the absence of data the causes cannot be declared. They were not represented in the Methodist Ecumenical Conference in London, September, 1881. There was no response from them in the Centenary of Wesley's death, 1891. In common with the Irish Conference they no doubt suffered from the unparalleled emigration to America during the earlier, and even later years. Averell lived until 1847, and Stevens pays a high tribute to his worth and records his triumphant death. The Irish Conference largely recovered from the shock of this controversy and have maintained the high character Wesley gave them. Ouseley, Graham, Reilly, Hamilton are names, and specially Thomas

Waugh, their "Bunting," which shine in the constellations of Methodism. James Morgan, Richard Boardman, Andrew Blair, James M'Mullin, William Robertson, William Peacock, Thomas Edwards, John M'Adams, Thomas Johnston, George Brown, Samuel Steele, John Hamilton, James M'Gee, Walter Griffith, Thomas Barber, Matthew Langtree, Matthew Tobias, and William Stewart—all were heroes, and did much for the revival of Protestantism in Ireland. An Irish Methodist carries his credentials with him over the world for Christly fidelity and witty instruction. They have furnished its ministry on both sides of the ocean with brilliant orators and successful revivalists.

CHAPTER XIV

1825 to 1839, the centenary of English Methodism—Its hierarchal system compared with liberal forms—Stevens's astronomical figure defective—Perpetual warfare of the two systems in both Church and State—Ultimate result not problematical—The English Conference propagandism—The defection under Dr. Warren; merits of the case—Policy of expelling first, and then granting concessions accounted for—Early American fraternal delegates to the Wesleyan Conference—Growth of the body—Thomas Vasey; a sketch—The centenary of Methodism celebrated on both continents—Clerical pretensions of English preachers; examples—Priesthood of the people claimed for the Parent Methodisms; how not illustrated—What a hundred years of protest has accomplished.

THE division of Stevens is so good a one that it may be followed for the next period, or from 1825 to 1839, the centenary year of English Methodism. He extols the Wesleyan system, or what remained after the numerous and quite radical emendations of it in some matters, in a trend to a more liberal polity, and he uses a scientific figure for illustration, which unhappily proves too much as a parallel. The Wesleyan polity of the Conference, he says, underwent no material revision in this period except in a single instance. It will be seen that it was a very important instance. Then he eulogizes it: "It was found to be thoroughly organized, and effective for the great moral ends of the denomination. Disturbances under it could arise only from such cases of personal discontent, ambition, or caprice as must attend the best devised schemes of government; but it proved itself capable, by the regularity and energy of its operation, of readily expelling all causes of serious discord; for, with a centripetal force which gave it unity and power, it had also a centrifugal tendency, which, while continually enlarging its range, speedily threw off incompatible men and measures." Nothing could be more apt as an illustration of the oligarchic system, but it is untrue to the law of nature, the principle of magnetic gravitation. In the starry heavens and the solar systems the centripetal force holds all the planets of the system to its central sun, and thus secures unity and power; but its centrifugal force is intended by an exact balance of attraction to hold the planets in their orbits at their

respective distances from the sun. It is never exercised to "throw off" planets of the system. It represents exactly the civil code of a well-balanced republic, like that of the American Union, in secular government, or of the New Connexion Methodists of England, or the Methodist Protestant Church of America, in ecclesiastical government. An autocratic or oligarchic system would promote its own destruction but for this power, found in this case in its confederal authority based upon proprietary rights, both elements of expulsive energy. It has been described as a great iron wheel, of wheels within wheels, which work smoothly enough, cog fitting to cog, until a foreign substance comes between, and then they crush and throw off the incompatible matter. It is effective and potential, it may be emphasized, but at what cost let the divisions in Wesleyan and Asburyan Methodism record. This whole History will be a frequently recurring illustration, while the successes of Church polity, which are true exponents of the balance of the spheres, centripetal and centrifugal working in coördination, stand as evidential beyond question that the paternal, autocratic, aristocratic, or oligarchic systems were never either necessary or expedient to the highest development of doctrinal, operative Methodism.

The respective theories are working out along their own lines in the history of the world. The civil governments are thus demarkated: czars and emperors and kings in civilized communities, and despots among the barbarous peoples, in all gradations of the paternal idea. Akin to these are the Church governments,—the Roman Catholic Church, the Greek Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church (national in England, but a sect among sects in America), the Methodist Episcopal Churches of various names and degrees of episcopacy,—all expressions of the same paternal idea. Over against these are the republics of ancient and modern times, notably in the van the United States of America, which is beckoning the oppressed peoples of all lands, either to share individually in its blessings of civil equality, or educating them to throw off the galling yokes of anti-republican systems. Over against these also are the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations, both Calvinistic and Arminian doctrinally, but agreed that the New Testament methods of the primitive Church are to be accepted as the model for Christ's visible Church in all ages. The conflict between these, it is confessed, is not an equal one; like the forces of good and evil, the preponderance is with the ideally wrong and the practically evil.

It is consonant with the depravity of human nature. There is something in it that loves lordship. It has been forcibly expressed in vulgar phrase, "Every man has a pope in his belly." Even the oppressed take the cue, and in their station begin to oppress others. The acute Snethen has luminously set it forth, "One of the deplorable effects of power is, that those who feel oppressed by it without resisting it have a strong propensity generated by it to oppress others." It must be confessed that the ideally true can only prevail among men as intelligence and virtue make them self-governing. In the measure this is not the case men must be governed by others through brute force or arbitrary authority. There can be no question, however, on which side final victory lies in this irrepressible conflict. God reigns above and Christ is to be King of this world. His ideal kingdom is to become actual. Beginning in the hearts of men, it rules by love, and so supersedes the restraints of law. "All ye are brethren" holds the germinal truth for all ultimate governments in State and Church. For the former it is found in constitutional monarchies like England, and constitutional republics like the United States. In the latter it is found under Presbyterial and Congregational *régimes*. The fatal and sufficient objection to all hierarchical systems, however attempered and limited, is that their trend is in the wrong direction, and should be discouraged to the point of opposition by every friend of civil and religious liberty. These positions are held to be logically irrefutable and practically established. No claim that under arbitrary and irresponsible rule there is greater efficiency, potentiality with numerical and material extension, even if shown to be true, can be allowed. The republics in State and Church are demonstrating that it is not true. Limiting the demonstration to the objective of this History,—the Methodist Protestant Church,—this review of English Methodism and this formulation of principles is part of the task which, if successfully accomplished, will vindicate its fathers and founders with its right to exist and to perpetuate itself.

Eminent men presided over the Wesleyan Conference during these fourteen years: Watson, Stephens, Bunting twice, Townley, Morley, Marsden, Newton, Treffry, Taylor, Reece, Grindrod, Jackson, and Lessey. Stevens says, "Foreign, universal propagandism has now become the characteristic idea of the denomination." And it was so. Missionaries were sent into most parts of the world. It sent out ten, twenty, and thirty missionaries

in a year. The work was systematized through the Board of Managers, composed of the most distinguished of ministers and laymen; of the latter may be named Thomas Thompson, James Wood, Thomas Farmer, Thomas and William Merriott, Launcelot Haslope, George and James Heald, Thomas Allen, and Joseph Butterworth. Its Mission House became tantamount in importance with its Publishing House. Twenty-five thousand pounds were contributed by the people for its erection and the building of a mission ship for the South Sea Islands. For the Home work various funds were organized, to which the Methodist people contributed their wealth. The Superannuates were better cared for, and most of these measures are to be traced to the lay co-operation, which Bunting advised, defended, and successfully established in the face of the old party of preachers, who still held that the trinity of lay virtues, as already set forth, was to pray, pay, and obey, as Wesley also held for his Societies. If he had ever seriously contemplated a Church for the Methodists in either England or America, he would probably have found a place for laymen, taking his cue from the National Church at home and its congener in America, in both of which, despite extreme conservativeness, in their lower houses of legislation there is full lay representation and coöperation. Higher education, both for the preachers and the children of the people, was pressed, and schools established at various points. This very educational movement was, directly or indirectly, the occasion, if not the cause, of that serious disturbance which eventuated in expulsion and secession and the organization of another branch of Methodism, and also of important revision of the Wesleyan polity, "the one single exception for this period," as Stevens notes it.

He says of this defection: "Not a little agitation accompanied the initiation of this important measure. Many devoted members of the society and some members of the Conference suspected that its tendency would be deteriorating to the simplicity and purity of the ministry; others, restless under the government of the Church, or disappointed in their ambition for places in the management or offices of the new institutions, availed themselves of the occasion to disturb the peace of the Connection." Perhaps these reasons are fairly enough stated, though the parties implicated tell another story, as might be expected. Dr. Samuel Warren, a prominent member of the Conference, led the way. Stevens says that he at first fully agreed with the educational

plan, but "finding that his own name was not reported in the nomination of its officers, he opposed the institution with extraordinary animosity." He wrote against it with severity, and organized the "Grand Central Association" for combined attack. He was in consequence suspended from the district meeting of Manchester. He threw the case into the courts, and it was decided against him, as he might have foreseen, and possibly did, as there could be no doubt about the legal validity of the Conference polity under the Poll-Deed of Wesley. He appealed to the Lord Chancellor, but the opinion of the Vice-Chancellor was confirmed. Warren then appealed to the next Conference against the district meeting which had suspended him. The Conference heard him, and then expelled him.

The Association became the basis of a new Methodist sect, "The Associated Methodists." A schism had taken place at Leeds over a church organ question in 1829, and these now joined the new body. At its second assembly it reported 20,000 members, but in the coming twenty years it had advanced numerically but about 2000. Warren labored energetically to promote its success, but finally took refuge in the National Church. No explanatory data are at hand, so the case must be left as Stevens reports it. It occurred in 1835. The gist of it is, however, that, as in other cases, the parent body had a way of first excising the disaffected and then conceding in its law about what had been contended for; for it is unreasonable to assume that all this agitation was without real grievances. The effect of the movement was considerable, but by the centenary year the old Conference had fully recovered. The result was that farther concessions were made to popular and liberal Methodism. Bunting, the sagacious, prepared a "Special Address" of the Conference to the Societies, "embodying," Stevens says, "explanations and some emendations of discipline, especially of rules or usages which had been most assailed by the seceders. This document recognized decidedly the propriety of 'Mixed Committees' of preachers and laymen in the administration of the funds and other temporalities of the denomination, a policy already in practice, but now more uniformly applied. It made new provisions for accused members under trial, granting them farther opportunities of appeal. It authorized applications from the people through the 'June quarterly meeting of every year' for any changes in the government of the Connection not incompatible with its constitution as left by Wesley."

A careful consideration of the concessions as thus outlined by Stevens will disclose how vital to lay rights are some of them, and the query recurs, why the parent body should expel first and afterward concede. The reason, perhaps, is not far to find. Intrenched in authority backed by property, no serious thought is given to the unbalanced government, until an uprising demands changes by the people. Acquiescence would have acknowledged superior wisdom in the discontented. It would look too much as though rights withheld had been wrested from the power party. Hence expulsions for "moral discipline." Then in the Conference wisdom rights are voluntarily surrendered. But no one is deceived by such procedure. It remains true that men, as individuals or corporations, do not part with power except under coercive stress, and hence also the fact that reforms from within are rarely, if ever, successful, for the reason that reforms work from above downward. Revolutions work from below upward. The destiny of the Associated Methodists will be given later.

In 1828 Dr. William Capers of the South Carolina Conference was sent by the General Conference to the Wesleyan Conference. In 1835 William Lord was sent by the Wesleyan Conference to the General Conference in America. Dr. Wilbur Fisk was sent with fraternal letters in return in 1836.¹ The slavery question was under discussion in both countries, and the British brethren had made some pointed allusions to it in their former address. An effort was made to prejudice the Wesleyans against Dr. Fisk on this score. But explanations were made, and he was cordially received, and by "his influence," Stevens says, "the form of ordination by imposition of hands was adopted for the first time by the Conference, he himself sharing in the ceremony." It was a reactionary step and marked the influence of the American Episcopacy over them.

During the period just closed the Wesleyan Conference increased by an average of forty a year. Three hundred and forty-nine had passed to their reward, among them notable names. Charles Atmore, David Stoner, Thomas Vasey, died in this period. The latter was sent to America with Coke and Whatcoat to assist Asbury in 1784. He remained in the American Connec-

¹ Buckley, in his "History of Methodism," Vol. I. p. 451, says "William Fiske and Dr. Capers were elected fraternal delegates to the British Conference." In the light of the facts found in the running text as just given, this statement is misleading. It must be put down to the haste of composition.

tion a few years, but grew dissatisfied, probably with the Asburyan rule, as no other has ever been assigned, when he entered the Protestant Episcopal Church, receiving ordination at the hands of Bishop White. He returned to England, accepted a curacy, Stevens says "with Wesley's approbation," proof that he had good reasons for his course in America, and in 1789 he resumed his place as a Methodist itinerant under Wesley. He lingered to his eighty-fourth year and died in 1826. John Smith, the revivalist, also died triumphantly. In 1833 two of the greatest lights of English Methodism departed,—Richard Watson and Adam Clarke. A volume to each of them would not suffice for memorial. Among honored laymen were Butterworth, Thomas Thompson, and Samuel Drew, who from a shoemaker's bench rose to literary eminence as editor of the *Imperial Magazine* and as a metaphysician of high rank. Samuel Hick and William Carvosso also departed, leaving testimony to the saving power of the faith they taught and exemplified.

The Centenary of Methodism was celebrated both in England and America with appropriate ceremonies and excusable exultation over the marvellous spread of a heart-religion on both continents. A layman, Butterworth, had suggested the commemoration. An imposing assembly met at Manchester, 1838, comprising about 250 preachers and laymen. It was resolved to raise £80,000 as a centenary offering. The actual sum raised was £216,000. In October, 1839, the Methodist world united in the celebration. Nothing like it for munificent giving was ever before known in a denomination. Wesley died at the head of 550 itinerants and 140,000 members in all quarters of the globe. A half century later these had grown to an army of 6080 itinerant preachers and four times as many local preachers, and 1,400,000 members, including the various bodies claiming to be Methodists. It had about 350 foreign missionaries, and about 3000 unpaid assistants, occupying some 300 stations. Perronet wrote years before Wesley's death, "I make no doubt that Methodism is designed by Providence to introduce the approaching millenium." Wesley caught its true spirit some twelve years before his death, regarding it not as a sect, or as a party in dogmatic theology, but a revival of spiritual Christianity designed to uplift the Christian world and furnish a lever for the moral betterment of the ungodly masses. It is doubtful whether in after years it can be claimed as an improvement, or even as a necessity, when it became in the parent bodies of England, and specially America, a pronounced

sect with some exclusive pretension,¹ and too largely intent upon denominational aggrandizement as well. Meantime most of the evangelical churches have affiliated with it more closely in the preached modification of doctrine, and particularly in experiential piety. Its career for one hundred years has been succinctly traced; fifty more are to come, within which half-time it has fulfilled the promise of its beginning by tripling its numbers, girdling the world, and searching out its hidden corners. What remains for it no one cares to anticipate, lest the realized exaggerations of the past should make incredulous the hope of the future.

Nothing can better conclude these reflections than the words of Stevens as to a distinguishing peculiarity of this the greatest moral and spiritual force of modern times. "It has practically restored the primitive 'priesthood of the people,' not only by the example of its lay or local preachers, more than twice as numerous as its regular ministry, but by its exhorters, class leaders, prayer leaders, and the religious activity to which it has trained its laity generally." But how regrettable is it that this noble record is marred by the stultifying blindness of the founders of the parent bodies in England and America, the latter, it is true, but the echo of the former, in studiously and persistently excluding that priesthood of the people from all participation in its governmental structure. In the primitive Church nothing was done legislatively but by the consent of the people congregationally assembled. But antichrist—the overslaughting of the people by the preaching class—early appeared, soon consolidated, and erected itself into a hierarchy of little and big popes. That the favored class should be enamored of it is consonant with all the exhibitions of human nature, fettered in this, if

¹ Among the signs of this pretentiousness about this time, 1840, to the amusement of the English Christian world, and the grief of not a few Wesleyan Methodists, was the donning of full episcopal canonicals by leading and lesser lights of the Conference. Even the brainful Jabez Bunting was afflicted with this mania for clerical millinery, and appeared in his pulpit arrayed in all the toggerly of an episcopal priest. The *London Wesleyan Magazine* for the period has a frontispiece, for one number, of Rev. Matthew Richey of the Conference, stationed at Toronto, Canada, arrayed in all the glory of canonicals. There were not a few other instances. It was Wesleyan enough, it must be admitted, as was the Sunday Service, abridged by him for the use of his societies when he had no thought of their ever becoming a Church; but now that they were clearly Dissenters in fact and law, it was pitiable to see them aping the style of the National Church, which had spurned them, and which was spurned by them in turn. It did not last long, however, but died with other episcopal plumings, which were too grotesque for a serious Methodist congregation, even in England.

nothing else, with the selfish spirit. It has taken one hundred years of better education, restive agitation, demand and denial, with its precipitation of expulsions for opinions' sake, to awaken the old bodies to a sense of its high inexpediency, not to say its wrong. Slowly, but surely, the great reform has gone forward, and it is manifest destiny for it to continue to go forward, until Methodism, not only its protesting bodies living and thriving side by side with the parents as object-lessons and modifying forces, shall emancipate itself from a false interpretation of a laity without parallel for its loyalty to the ministry, its devotion and liberality, its conservatism, its high average intelligence, and all the qualities that make Christian manhood a coveted patent of nobility. The words of the Apostle shall be accommodationally true in this also: "For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery (lest ye should be wise in your own conceit) that blindness in part is happened unto Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved."

CHAPTER XV

Wesleyan Methodism from 1840 to 1890; a mere glance — The great Reform in 1877 of a Pastoral and a Representative house in the Conference — Another attempt to episcopalize the Conference, by Riggs and Hughes, an utter failure — The Bible Christians; O'Brian and his case 1809 to 1814; his expulsion — Organization of a new Methodism; its marvellous success under a liberal polity — The United Methodist Free churches; a coalition of secedent bodies — Sketch of its polity and growth — Expulsion of Messrs. Griffith, Everett, and Dunn, originates the Free Methodists in 1849 — Comparative growth of liberal and autocratic Methodism.

It would demand more space than the scope and intent of this History could allow to treat with even the same discursiveness the half-century of English Methodism from 1840 to 1890, nor is it necessary. In the symposium for the centenary of Wesley's death, 1891, in the *New York Independent*, the Wesleyan Conference is treated by James M. King, D.D. The sketch is meagre considering its importance, and much of its contents has been anticipated. Of course, it takes no notice of the expulsions and secessions from the body, specially of a later date than the Associated Methodists under Dr. Warren. These have a separate history in this symposium and shall occupy most of the space of this concluding chapter on transatlantic Methodisms. Notice is taken of a few aphoristic sentences of Dr. King's: "No great religious movement known in history is so thoroughly personal in conception, development, and manner of its ramifications as the Wesleyan movement." "The separation from the Church of England was brought about by gradual steps, and was never the subject of formal declaration."

The leaven of lay-recognition, as has been found under the educational force of secessions, continued to work from the last in 1835 down through others to be mentioned until the year 1877, when the widest stride was made in this direction. Dr. King epitomizes it: "In 1877 the constitution of the Conference was so amended as to admit lay-representatives to a participation in certain parts of its proceedings. The Pastoral Session of the Conference, composed of ministers only, deals with ministerial

and pastoral questions; and the Representative Session of the Conference, composed of ministers and laymen, manages financial and general matters. But these sessions of the Conference possess no functions interfering with the constitutional rights of the Legal Hundred." It outlines the deepest inroad yet made upon the exclusiveness of the ministerial class, and when Dr. King says "lay-representation" he means lay-delegation. Two houses, one for ministers, and one for ministers and laymen, is a favorite idea, borrowed from these brethren by not a few Episcopal Methodist ministers as they see the inevitable crowding upon them. It is a plausible scheme, and if adopted would satisfy, for the time at least, not a few of the thoughtful laymen of that Church. But it is seriously objectionable, and will never be received as a finality by the self-respecting lay element; but this is not the place for its discussion. It shows also how the Poll-Deed stands as a bar to generous enlargement, and is the responsible factor for these makeshifts of a liberal polity. Every such movement also is sure to alarm the class, typical among the ministers, of the old paternal idea, and reactionary steps are ever and anon suggested. In 1891, when the large delegation of the Wesleyan Conference mingled with the paramount element of the Episcopal churches at the second Ecumenical Conference in Washington, D. C., its features of strength and centralization appealed to the admiration of some of the foremost of these brethren, and they returned home full of the purpose to embody modifications of them in the Wesleyan Conference. They secured at the last Conference a committee to consider the subject of strengthening the executive department. It originated with Rev. Dr. Riggs and had the support of Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, and other prominent men. The plan is not fully matured by the committee having it in hand, but it is in brief: to create a body of thirteen administrative officers, who for the present shall be styled "Separated Chairmen," each of whom shall have administrative charge of some sixty circuits as a superintendent, preside over meetings of the district conferences, etc. These officers are to be elected for a term of six years. It is a recrudescence of Coke's plan at the Manchester Conference nearly one hundred years ago, though this does not appear to be confessed, as it might prejudice the case. It is the mildest approach possible to a reestablishment of the paternal idea, and would probably be helpful, but the lurking danger of something else it might generate has turned upon it already in its incipency a storm of opposition from lay-

men and ministers. The English Methodist press reports R. W. Peeks, a member of Parliament and a layman, as saying: "It is a new scheme for the creation of a bench of Methodist bishops. . . . I earnestly appeal to my fellow Methodists not to be misled by poetical similes and adulatory phrases; but to recognize the plain and naked fact, that the new clerical order will be nothing more or less than a Methodist episcopate." Rev. W. H. Coradine says, "The whole affair, to sum up, is too autocratic and bureaucratic for the 'times' and for the Methodist Church." Rev. W. G. Hall says: "Will the game be worth the candle? I call it a game, for I cannot but see it in the light of playing a pretty little game at bishops . . . the powers of such brethren, chairmen or bishops as we might call them, would soon grow beyond that of the President. . . . I think it likely the thirteen so appointed would be known as the thirteen Methodist tyrants, and their government as the Methodist Reign of Terror. The toadyism to which this would give rise would be most degrading to the ministerial character, and the partiality to which the bishops would be tempted would soon show itself." Nothing comparable to this severity of language can be found in the whole range of the Reform controversy of 1820-30 in America, and yet for milder protests laymen and preachers in no small numbers were expelled the Mother Church. Will this man lose his clerical head? No. The time for the excision of men for opinions' sake and denying freedom of speech is past in Methodism. The Riggs proposition will probably be disastrously defeated.¹ "In founding the United Societies of the people called Methodists, John Wesley founded a Church." The statement must be unqualifiedly denied. There is not a single fact to support it, and such reckless avowals confuse true history. Such annalists deliver themselves in an occult sense, and if critically pressed could justify their assertions only in a refined transcendental meaning. There is a purpose, however, in linking Wesley's name with Churchism both in England and America, as will hereafter be seen. Wesleyan Methodism under the immediate supervision of the Conference is accredited with the following statistics for 1891. Members in Great Britain, 423,615; in Ireland and Irish missions, 25,365; in Foreign missions, 34,287; French Conference, 1411; South African Conference, 28,776; West India Conferences, 45,928; total, 559,382. Ministers, total 2224. Dr. King furnishes no property values for this period.

¹ The plan has since been abandoned by its advocates.

It is necessary to retrace steps to notice the Bible Christian denomination, originating in the expulsion of William O'Brian, a lay-preacher, from the Wesleyan society in 1810. It is remarkable that Stevens takes no account of this transaction.

O'Brian was born in Cornwall in 1778. His mother was a deeply pious woman, and, with her family, joined the Methodists when they organized in her neighborhood. Her son was converted in his eighteenth year, and at once began to exhort his companions and establish meetings in various places, which were marked with converting power. In 1804 he suffered a severe illness, and promised the Lord that if restored he would give himself fully to the ministry. He consulted the circuit preacher, but was not encouraged. In 1809 the circuit preacher was absent and O'Brian was called upon to fill his appointments. He did so acceptably, often walking twenty and thirty miles and preaching three and four times on the Sabbath. Scores were converted and united with the societies. For six years he hoped to be engaged by the Conference. He attended the annual district meeting and begged to be heard. He was not heard, and was requested to return home. No data are before us explaining the reason for this persistent refusal. He kept up his irregular services, and in November, 1810, he was expelled from the local society where he held his membership, and in a chapel built upon a piece of land he gave. He quietly submitted, but worked and preached, as the way was opened to him, into distant and destitute neighborhoods. His mother began to hold services also, and a deep prejudice was created against both of them. In 1814, O'Brian gave up his business that he might devote himself wholly to the work. He heard that in the east of Cornwall there were thirteen parishes destitute of evangelical preaching. He went among them in 1815. He was greatly persecuted by the parish priests and was threatened with the jail if he continued. He made repeated overtures for work under the Conference. He was as repeatedly rejected. In 1815 he formed the first society of a new cause in a farmhouse in the county of Devon. Twenty united with the Thorne family, who opened their farmhouse to him. He was much maligned, but, disproving all the calumnies, grew more popular than ever. A first quarterly meeting was held January 1, 1816, at Holsworthy, Devon, where his mother had come to live. The number in society was now 237, all of them O'Brian's converts under God, none having been received from the old societies. They held their first love-feast and

prospered. A storm of persecution beat upon them from the viler sort of sinners. Johanna Brooks was converted. She began to tell her neighbors what great things God had done for her. This she did in the parish church, and a warden turned her out. O'Brian was sent for and began working. Many influential families were brought to Christ under his crude, but powerful preaching. James Thorne at twenty years of age began to preach, his parents consenting. He set out upon what proved to be his life-work of eminent usefulness. He sought for and professed to find the full salvation, and in consequence "a fervor and a zeal burned through all his life." Making the Bible alone their guide-book, wonderful results attended their word. Their persecutions were akin to all the early Methodist preachers. The first church, or chapel, was built on the Thorne estate. It was twenty by forty feet, and opened May 29, 1818. On the same estate has since been built the Connectional College. At the quarterly meeting, held October 6, 1817, the membership had increased to 1146. There were now six travelling preachers and three circuits.

The first Conference was held at Baddash Launceston, in Cornwall, and about twelve preachers attended, August 17, 1819. The form of a deed for the conveyance of property was made and duly enrolled in the High Court of Chancery. The subject of women preaching was discussed and unanimously agreed to. The printed minutes of the Conference showed sixteen men and fourteen women on the roll. A Home missionary society was organized, and the work much enlarged under it. The second Conference was held at Baddash in 1820. There were six ordained ministers, nineteen on trial, and nineteen women, making a total of forty-four. There were seventeen circuits. The third Conference was held at Shebbear, in Lake chapel, in August, 1820. An Annuitant Society was formed, whose capital fund is now £4212. It is for the superannuated and their families. A connectional magazine was established in 1822. It is now a sixty-four page monthly. In 1822 a mission was opened in London and in the Channel islands. In 1831 a missionary was sent to Canada. In 1850 two were sent to South Australia; in 1855 one to Victoria; in 1866 a mission was opened in Queensland, and in 1877 in New Zealand. In 1885 two missionaries were sent to China, which have been increased to eight. It is therefore a truly missionary Church, thus showing its credentials as of Christ. In 1883 their Canada Conference of 71 ministers, 168

local preachers, 181 chapels with 6918 members, and their Sabbath-schools, went into the union of Methodisms. Its statistics for 1891 are: 271 ministers, 1899 local preachers, 1011 chapels, halls, and rooms, with a membership of 30,000. Its polity is liberal, and, on the question of women preaching, radical. These facts are gleaned from the paper of Rev. William Higman, President of the Conference, in the symposium of the New York *Independent* for 1891, the centenary of Wesley's decease.

The United Methodist Free Churches now demand attention. They embody the most recent and numerous secessions from the Wesleyan body with their own increase under a prosperity that scouts the idea that a favoring Providence is on the side of Wesley's paternal polity as embodied in the Poll-Deed and the Wesleyan Conference. The Union was formed in 1857 between the Associated Methodists of 1835, whose history was left incomplete in the notice of their organization under the lead of Dr. Warren; the Wesleyan Reformers of 1849; the Protestant Methodists originating in the Leeds organ question, and the last secession resulting from the expulsion of Rev. James Everett, Samuel Dunn, and William Griffith, with the sequel of the loss of one hundred thousand officers and members to the Wesleyan connection. These sections, or branches of Methodism, finding that their principles of church government and administration were identical, after friendly negotiations, met by representation in the town of Rochdale, Lancashire, and in July, 1857, the Union was consummated, and for more than thirty years it has worked with undisputed satisfaction to all the contracting parties.

It is under an Annual Assembly. Its constitution is found in a legal instrument called the "Foundation Deed." The Annual Assembly is purely elective, and that directly from the quarterly meetings of the circuits. The ratio is one to every circuit having under 500 members, two for every 500 and under 1000, and three for every 1000 members and upward. No qualification is required for election but membership in the circuit, and no distinction is made between ministers and laymen, and there is nothing to bar the eligibility of a woman, if elected.

The Assembly has four ex-officio members, the President, the Connectional and Corresponding Secretaries, and the Treasurer, who form the connecting link between the Annual Assemblies. A Connectional Committee has charge of the interests of the denomination during the interval of the Assemblies. The ministry is connectional, and in principle itinerant, but without a

restrictive rule as to limit of pastoral service. Its ministry is also under the absolute control of the Annual Assembly. It controls all the connectional institutions and funds. "The fundamental principles of the body are circuit independence and free election to the Annual Assembly, which, however, has no authority to interfere with the internal affairs of the circuits or to make laws for their guidance. The district meetings have no judicial or legislative functions, but are the medium of communication between the circuits and the Assembly." The circuit strength of the denomination lies principally in the mining and manufacturing counties of England; it has also large interests in the agricultural provinces. Lately attention has been given to London.

In the earlier years of the Union its resources were taxed to depletion in building chapels and consolidating itself, a factor in all these secedent branches, of which too much account cannot be taken in comparative estimates. Then it took up Home and Foreign missions, and collections must be taken up for them under penalty of forfeiture of membership in the Assembly. Its foreign missions are in Jamaica, West and East Africa, China, Australia, and New Zealand. The income for the Mission Fund is £12,000. They are prosecuted at great expense and martyr devotion from its young preachers. The denomination has a publishing house in London which issues its connectional literature. The profits are distributed among the connectional funds. A new congregational hymn-book was published in 1890. A Relief Fund for indigent chapels and a London Chapel Fund are among its creations. In 1877 a college was opened at Harrogate, Yorkshire, for the education of ministers and for commercial life. It has other funds in common with the Methodisms, special attention being given to its "Temperance League." Its statistics are as follows: 417 ministers, 1608 chapels and preaching-places, with a roll of 85,461 members. There are also 3341 local preachers, 3889 class leaders, 1367 Sunday-schools, 26,689 teachers, and 203,883 scholars. The value of church property is about £2,037,384. "Such is Free Methodism as at present organized and administered. It constitutes the fairest and fullest opportunity ever given in Great Britain for testing the problem, whether the peculiar genius of Methodism can be successfully worked on purely democratic principles. At present Free Methodism is robust and vigorous."

It is proper for a better understanding of the origin of the Free

Methodists that notice in more detail should be taken of the expulsion of Messrs. Griffith, Everett, and Dunn at the Manchester Conference, August 3, 1849. Several years before suspicion was aroused among not a few of the prominent ministers and laymen of the Wesleyan body that the management of the temporalities of the denomination, specially in the Mission House, was not as careful and judicious as might be, and under the reasonable checks which business affairs always demand. The proceedings had been conducted after the genius of paternalism, with a degree of secrecy deemed impolitic by those who wished the conduct of affairs to be above suspicion. It will be remembered that even the proceedings of the Wesleyan Conference itself were still conducted with closed doors, as had been the fashion from Wesley's day, and as to the internal management through committees and secretaries little was ever disclosed except in the annual reports. Inquiries were met with brusque answers, only serving to heighten the suspicion of the wide-awake investigators. Finding themselves thwarted at every turn, they began to issue anonymous circulars and pamphlets, which were widely distributed and extensively read, thereby arousing the connection and bringing the subject-matter to the immediate attention of the laity. Great excitement was created by the accusations on the one hand and the denials on the other, the controversy waxing warmer as it became acrimonious and personal. All the efforts of the Conference authorities proved abortive in discovering the authors of the circulars, which came to be called "Fly-sheets," those engaged in the work proving themselves as capable of keeping a secret as those managing the close corporation concerns of the Conference in the Mission House, etc. A Mr. Osburn was designated by the Conference to ferret out the authors, and with much adroitness and not overscrupulous methods he proceeded to his work, travelling from place to place and nosing into the confidence of unwary people until he secured some inklings suiting his purpose. But this information was too indefinite for judicial proceedings, and the Conference finally issued a Test, or Declaration, in the form of an inquisitorial paper, which was presented to the preachers for signature as their avowal that they were not the authors of the fly-sheets and were not in sympathy with the new Reform movement. Osburn carried it about, and, under penalty of accusation, within two years about a thousand of the Conference preachers had signed the Declaration. It was a new application of the doctrine of

exclusion in the diagnosis of the case by the Conference doctors. If it is not you and you and you, then, after narrowing the circle to a remaining half-dozen who refused to sign, it must be you. Out of the fly-sheets it was not difficult to secure ample material for charges and specifications against the hidden malcontents. In one of the circulars the President of the Conference was styled a "pope," and one of the agents most suspected of malfeasance in office, if not worse, was dubbed an "archfiend." On the other side, the denunciation of the Reformers was not a whit milder.

At the Manchester Conference the issue was joined. Expectation was on the tiptoe. The adherents of the Conference were out in force and almost at the opening of it, Thomas Jackson, President, the matter of the fly-sheets was brought before the body. The name of James Everett was called, and he was requested to present himself before the platform. He promptly complied, and at once a scene of the deepest interest and intense excitement was opened. Men in their anxiety to see stood upon the seats and craned their necks, while a suppressed murmur rippled over the Conference room. Dr. Hannah proposed the questions, which were of a nature to criminate Everett by self-confession, if answered, as to any complicity of his in the fly-sheet publications. He requested to be presented with formal charges and disciplinary law under which the demands were made. He was informed that he was arraigned to answer categorically the questions of the Conference. He farther demurred and protested amid cries from the accusing body of "plead, plead." The question was finally put, after a long verbal bout with Dr. Hannah, "Brother James Everett, are you the writer in whole or in part of a certain publication called fly-sheets?" After a pause Everett answered with deliberation, "I will not answer that question for reasons elsewhere assigned." He was requested to take his seat. The name of Burdsal was called, and he took his place before this modern inquisition. The same form was gone through with, though he was not so contumacious in the eyes of the accusers as Everett. He took his seat. Daniel Walton was summoned and responded. After a long parley his case was deferred. Samuel Dunn was called and took position before the bar. He was as uncompromising as Everett, and pressed to answer as to the fly-sheets "Yes" or "No." He refused to answer. The name of George was called and he was more gently dealt with. The case of Bromly was the last, and by this time some apprehension seemed to steal over the Conference that

matters were going too far, and his case was virtually abandoned by the accusers. Action was subsequently taken, with the result that Everett, Griffith, and Dunn were expelled. Burdsal, Walton, George, and Bromly were censured and degraded.

But the Conference was not through expelling. T. S. Stamp, ex-editor of the *Watchman*, an organ of the Conference, and treasurer of the Children's Fund, one of those who had been accused by the fly-sheets, was detected in embezzlement by his own associates, and so palpable was his guilt that he decamped before the Conference assembled. Investigation was made into the affairs of the Fund, and it was found that he had embezzled over £2500. Most of it was expended, as the evidence showed, in feasting at high dinners where expensive wines were served his close Conference friends and official associates. He was expelled; so the Conference purged itself of its virtue and its vice alike—the detectives and the detected were both pronounced guilty. It is not affirmed that the body made no distinction between moral turpitude and official contumacy, but it is one of the intrinsic weaknesses of the parental system under close corporation auspices, that it makes slow discovery of misdemeanors in its agents and often in its haste punishes those who are friendly to discovery of wrong-doing. Instances might be multiplied. One will be cited in its proper connection of the same moral complexion, but of greater damage, in the history of the Book Concern of Northern Episcopal Methodism. The Conference adjourned after issuing an address to the United Societies, in which the best construction possible is put upon their action with assurances of more careful administration of the temporal affairs, but admonitory also not to sympathize with the expelled or further their methods of reform.

As never before under the fly-sheet controversy, the whole denomination was convulsed from centre to circumference. The laity now rose up and demanded participation, at least in the temporalities, such as would make impossible such fraud and scandal as had developed. The expelled and the censured were centres of interrogation and sympathy. They were requested to tell all they knew, and meetings were held by the laity, the public often taking part as in a common cause for honest methods and that fair play which always appeals to a free-born Englishman. In the town hall of Birmingham, holding six thousand persons, a meeting was called to hear the expelled give their version of the dispute, and it was filled to overflowing. After hearing the

case the meeting unanimously, except a few Wesleyan preachers who had come that they might report proceedings, passed a resolution the sum of which is, that the action of the Conference in the expulsion of Everett, Griffith, and Dunn was "a gross violation of New Testament principles." It was a sample of numerous other meetings, larger and smaller, all over the kingdom through which the pent-up indignation expended itself. The secular papers took it up and almost without exception sided with the expelled. The Dissenters and their periodicals took part arrayed on the same side. Meanwhile, blind to the popular sentiment, the Conference authorities exercised discipline upon the offenders. The local preachers came forward and asserted themselves. An Association for Mutual Aid was formed in London, six hundred being present at the organization. Four hundred lay delegates met in London, April 14, 1850, to consider the situation. Then expulsions of the local preachers began, a Mr. Heritage being the first to undergo discipline. The London *Wesleyan Times* was established and grew in circulation as the organ of the Reformers. A fund was raised for the support of the expelled. Finally, around them immense secessions gathered, and the Free Methodist denomination crystallized with a loss to the parent body, as the outcome of the whole controversy, of one hundred thousand members, or approximating one-third of the English Methodists. It may be safely estimated that a large number, while approving the movement, for the cogent reasons always operating in such emergencies, remained with the old body in silent submission. Their final union with the other smaller secedent bodies of like polity and views, in 1857, has already been noticed. Granting all that may be alleged for the Conference party, such a movement as this against it stands as an impeachment of its methods and of the Deed of Declaration which made possible such an oligarchy in the Church of Christ.

After this review of British Methodism, it is for the impartial reader to decide whether or not the first fundamental has been sustained; to wit, that the Deed of Declaration was the cardinal error of English Methodism in giving corporate form to an oligarchic entail of governmental power. It has been the direct or indirect cause of all the divisions in it, rendered all the more conspicuous by the singular unity of all Methodists as to doctrine, means of grace, and its great operative forces—"a revival church in its spirit and a missionary church in its organization." The several offshoots from the parent body, numerically and

materially, nearly equal in their aggregation the Wesleyan body at an estimate for 1891 of 550,000. Thus, but for the disintegrating tendencies of a polity which was sincerely, but erroneously, proposed to unify, transatlantic Methodism would to-day be a million strong. True, its divisions are far from being an unmixed evil, if an evil at all, in view of the zeal provoked and the restraints imposed upon the parent body. Precisely in the measure of the legal imperatives of the Poll-Deed, all else having from time to time been wrested from it as concessions to a popular demand under the educative influence of the secedent bodies, it has preserved Wesleyan conferential authority and proprietary rights in chapels and vested funds, and so perpetuated a system which many admire and loyally uphold as the wisest and best. Largely, it is a matter of type and temperament in the human personality. Many prefer to be governed in that way for the privilege in their grade of governing others themselves. The protesting bodies have no right to complain of their preference. What they claim is a right to their own preference and the undisturbed privilege through their own liberal methods of demonstrating that they are most consonant with primitive and apostolical precedents, and in line with the religious and civil liberties of God's people, and so the wisest and best.

A closing fact needs clear enunciation. In comparative estimates of the numerical success of English Methodism, as set over against American Methodism, it must not be overlooked that, through all the years of the last century, at least, the former have been constantly and vastly depleted by foreign emigration, thus feeding the latter, so that the American Methodist web has not only been spread to catch all who come within its radii, but to an extent not fairly acknowledged heretofore, the web itself is spun out of the bowels of the British spider. Another fact needs emphasis: the respective losses and gains by home migration. It is asserted, as a fair calculation, that the Wesleyan Conference and the Episcopal Methodisms lose by migration of their members not more than one in four as accretions to the secedent bodies, while these bodies lose by accretions to the parent denominations not less than three of the four. It is specially true of America. The Episcopal webs are spread all over the country, and the migrating Liberal Methodist falls into them by the necessity of the situation three cases out of four, because the webs of the secedent bodies are so territorially circumscribed; and for the same reason they catch in turn not more than one in

four from the parent bodies. These facts may be farther enlarged when the statistics of Methodism are under particular consideration at a later period. Thus a concise view of English Methodism in all its phases has been given, first as historical information, which all Methodists may claim in common, and second as it bears upon the struggle between the oligarchic and democratic systems of government, respectively defended and maintained by their adherents.

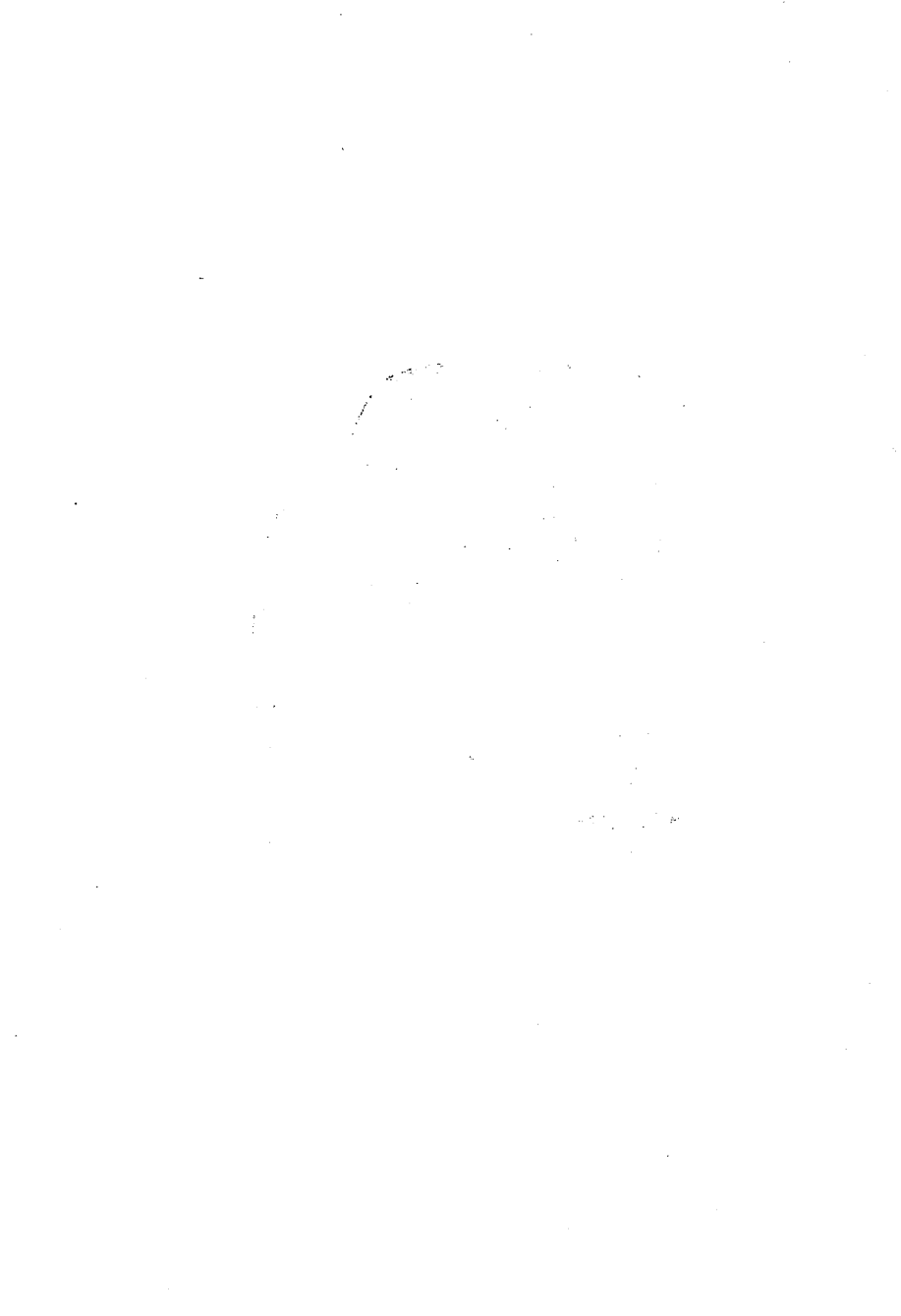
CHAPTER XVI

Methodism in America — Robert Strawbridge and Philip Embury; the pioneer preachers of Maryland and New York — The priority of their arrival and preaching considered, 1760 or 1766? — Captain Webb in the New York rigging loft, 1767 — John Street chapel, 1768 — Strawbridge's log chapel in Frederick County, Md. — Richard Owens and William Watters — Boardman and Rankin — Robert Williams and John King — Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor — Asbury and Richard Wright — Asbury the monumental man; descriptions and characteristics; original pen-sketch of him; arrival in Philadelphia, 1771; appointed "Assistant," superseding Boardman, and is in turn superseded by Rankin; jealousies among them; effects of the autocratic principle — Snethen's view — Shadford.

METHODISM in America now demands our investigation and study. It has been found that the Wesleys were no strangers to the virgin land of civil and religious liberty a quarter of a century before the first Methodist pioneers landed upon her shores. The two brothers, under the missionary impulse which followed them through life, labored in Savannah and its vicinage, Charles for about six months or from early in 1736 to July of the same year, and John from the same period to the close of 1737, or about twenty months. In 1739 they began their evangelical work in England under a new experience of saving grace, regeneration, assurance, and sanctification, doctrines as old as the Reformation, but overlaid with the thick crust of formalism, except in the case of a few devout pastors and spiritual people scattered among the Reformed churches. There is no stimulation to the human mind and heart like the love of God shed abroad therein through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ by the power of the Holy Ghost. It unlooses the tongue of the stammering, and the joy of the new birth must be uttered, it cannot be hid. All else is trivial, and it runs to the ends of the earth that the gladsome story may be told. It breaks down the barriers of sacerdotalism and inaugurates a priesthood of the people, which, like that at Pentecost, fulfilled the prophecy of Joel: "Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, . . . and on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit, and they shall prophesy."



BARBARA HECK.



Among the converts of Wesley and his helpers in the early days were Robert Strawbridge and Philip Embury, the former from the county Leitrim, and the latter from the county Limerick, Ireland. They became class leaders and local preachers in their respective neighborhoods, and were eminently successful in their work of preaching the gospel while laboring for a living for their families. They turned their gaze toward the new land of promise in the wilds of America and emigrated thither. The question of the priority of their arrival in America has perplexed Methodist antiquarians and is not fully settled to this day. Embury arrived with a small company of Methodists, notably Paul and Barbara Heck, on the 10th of August, 1760, in the harbor of New York. It is claimed that Robert Strawbridge and his company arrived in the same year. This is the view of Lednum, Dr. Roberts, who made careful investigation, and Dr. Hamilton, who also sides with them. On the other hand, Wakeley and Shillington, an Irish authority, hold that he did not arrive until 1764 or 1765. Embury and his company, under the stress of their surroundings, became lukewarm, and some of them fell into evil ways. Barbara Heck kept alive the flame of her early love, and, rebuking Embury for his want of zeal, aroused him to a sense of their spiritual need. In 1766 he opened preaching in his own house, having but four to attend the first service. They continued their meetings, and the peculiar services were noised abroad, considerably increasing the attendance. Three musicians from a neighboring barrack became converted and joined the little company. In February, 1767, they were surprised, if not alarmed, at the appearance in one of their meetings of a military stranger in full dress. He soon made himself known as Captain Thomas Webb of the King's service, but also a soldier of the cross and a spiritual son of John Wesley. He was a local preacher. He was offered their humble desk or pulpit, and thenceforth became one of the founders of American Methodism. He had lost his right eye at Louisburg and was wounded in his right arm at Quebec. He was an impassioned preacher, and on his final return to England often officiated at the Old Foundry, and was a favorite with Wesley, who makes mention of him in his Journal, for some ten years. He lived to a good old age. He continued to labor with Embury, and so successful were they, that it was found necessary to rent a rigging loft sixty feet by eighteen on William Street in 1767. Here they preached thrice a week until it also became too small for the congregation. Barbara Heck, not behind either of them in zeal

and labors, conceived an economical plan for building a chapel, and it was at once put into effect. A site was leased on John Street in 1768 and purchased in 1770. They appealed for assistance to the people, and a stone chapel was built sixty feet in length and forty-two in breadth, faced with blue plaster, and provided with a fireplace and chimney to avoid the law, as Dissenters were not yet allowed to erect a church. Embury worked on it with his own hands, being a carpenter by trade. He dedicated it October 30, 1768. Within two years at least 2000 hearers crowded it and the area in front.¹ At this time the city contained about 20,000 inhabitants and the colonies about 3,000,000. Webb was very generous in its construction. He became an itinerant preacher after his army retirement with the title and pay of a captain. At Jamaica, L. I., Pemberton, Trenton, Burlington, and other places in New Jersey he formed classes and established preaching-places. He was the founder of Methodism in Philadelphia, again started in a sail loft. He aided in the purchase of its first church, St. George's, in 1770. He preached in New Castle, Wilmington, and on the shores of the Brandywine in Delaware. In 1772 he returned to England and appealed for missionaries for America, and led back with him Shadford and Rankin, Pilmoor and Boardman having come in response to his numerous letters previously. He must be considered the principal founder of the American Methodist Church, says Stevens, and justly. Embury continued in charge at New York until the arrival of Pilmoor and Boardman in 1769, when he retired to Salem, in New York, on a small farm. While mowing in his field in 1775² he injured himself severely and died suddenly from its effects, aged forty-five years. He was buried on a neighboring farm; and, after reposing fifty-seven years in his solitary and unmarked grave, his remains were removed to Ashgrove burial-ground in the vicinage and the spot properly marked by a monument. Some of his family removed to Canada, whither Barbara Heck accompanied them and founded Methodism in that province.

Returning to Robert Strawbridge, a character quite as worthy of extended notice claims farther attention. He did not tarry in New York when he landed, but travelled southward, until he found a location in the backwoods; for Frederick County, Md.,

¹ Bangs's "History of the M. E. Church" has an excellent engraving of it as a frontispiece to Vol. I.

² This is the received date, but the archives of the Troy Conference Historical Society M. E. Church make it indubitable that he died in 1773. See *Christian Advocate*, Sept. 15, 1898.

had but recently been reclaimed from savage invasion. At his conversion his zeal for religion provoked such a storm of persecution that he was compelled to remove from Drumsnagh, near the river Shannon in Leitrim County, to the county Sligo, where he was eminently useful as a local preacher, and here he found his devoted young wife. His name remains embalmed in the memory of its latest generations. Clearing a place on Sam's Creek, he built his rude house and at once opened preaching in it. He never lost the warmth and buoyancy of his religious experience. One of his praiseworthy characteristics was that his zeal for God outran his provident care of himself and family, though one of his motives undoubtedly in coming to America was to improve his temporal condition. He had a wife, however, who was equal to the situation and willing to bear anything that the gospel might not be hindered. Out of his nearest neighbors he soon formed a Methodist society, and not long after his settlement built the historically famous "Log Meeting House" on Sam's Creek about a mile from his own home. Asbury has settled beyond dispute that it was the first chapel built in America for the Methodists and the first society formed. He says: "This settlement of Pipe Creek is the richest in the state. Here Mr. Strawbridge formed the first society in Maryland—and *America*."¹ The word *America* is italicized by Asbury. Thoroughly conversant, as it may be safely assumed he was, with American Methodist history, nothing but positive evidence to the contrary can shake this testimony on the mooted question of priority.² The only exception that can be made to the whole

¹ "Journal," Vol. III. p. 24.

² Michael Laird, who subsequently removed to Philadelphia in 1770, testified that his father, who was personally acquainted with Strawbridge, fixed the date of his coming to America with his family in 1760. Henry Maynard, who was born on August 12, 1757, and died in 1839, testifies that he was baptized by Strawbridge when he was four or five years old, which fixes it not later than 1762, and the particulars of the baptism were remembered by Ephraim Maynard as late as 1866, as received from the traditions of the neighborhood. Other evidence makes it clear that Strawbridge was engaged in preaching as early as 1762. When Asbury recorded his verdict he had been in the neighborhood for some days and had full opportunity to investigate the matter for himself. It is believed that Strawbridge obtained ordination from a German minister, Benedict Swope, just as Otterbein afterward assisted at the ordination of Asbury. Dr. G. C. M. Roberts, who furnishes most of these facts in his "Centennial Pictorial Album,"* also furnishes a likeness of Strawbridge, drawn from memory, as given by those who knew him. Notwithstanding such proofs as these, other historians still maintain that the case has not been made out for Strawbridge, for the reason forsooth that some of the facts are not under affidavit, and the documents at command. Such

*Square 4to. 144 pp. Cloth. 1866. Woods, printer. Illustrated.

statement is that he confounds Pipe Creek with Sam's Creek, quite a common error of contemporary writers.

The chapel was a rude structure twenty-two feet square, built of logs, a door sawed in one side, and in the other three holes for windows. Though used for years, it was never completed, and it has been noted that it was not decided to the Conference. A stone chapel took its place in 1783, and this was rebuilt and enlarged in 1800. Strawbridge became an independent itinerant, travelling not only over Frederick, then comprehending three later counties, but into eastern Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia. His preaching was fervent and fluent and his popularity widespread and abiding. He often left his family for weeks, his kind neighbors, who believed in him, running his small farm meanwhile, and supplies coming in from unexpected quarters. He founded Methodism in Baltimore and Harford counties of Maryland. The first native American preacher, Richard Owens, was converted under his preaching. He afterward entered the itinerancy and died in it. William Watters was the first native itinerant,¹ but Owens the first native preacher. Owens and Strawbridge were congenial spirits. The latter was the spiritual father of a number of the earliest preachers, local and travelling: Sater Stevenson, Nathan Perigo, Richard Webster, and others, while not a few prominent laymen must also be added to the number of his converts. Such men as Watters, Gatch, Bowham, Hagerty, Durbin, and Garrettson were prepared by him for the more methodical prosecution of the work. His own name does not occur in the minutes of the Conference as an itinerant until 1773-75, and then suddenly and without explanation drops out. The truth of history is that Strawbridge's spirit would not brook the stern authority of Asbury and his British associate, Rankin. As the earliest American preacher, and having clear convictions that the Methodists in this country should not be

a test might invalidate even Embury's claim, and other originals received without farther question. It is possible that section has something to do with the matter. Most of the histories have been written from north of Pennsylvania, with Boston as a centre, and for this reason it is that its Boston "tea party," of Revolutionary fame, is so well known, though it did not occur until December 16, 1773, and was patriotism in Indian disguise; while the burning of the *Peggy Stewart* in the harbor of Annapolis, Md., occurred on Oct. 19, 1772, and her cargo of tea, as well as the vessel, destroyed by the order of Maryland patriots by the hands of the owner himself, is not well known.

¹ Dr. Atkinson, in his "History of American Methodism," 1896, affirms, p. 431, "Edward Evans itinerated and died in New Jersey before Watters began to preach. There is no evidence that Evans was not an American by birth."

dependent upon the Anglican clergy for the ordinances, specially now, when they were fleeing the country on account of their loyalty to the King, and utterly at odds with the undemocratic polity of the Conference, he could not be brought under the yoke. He was one of three men whom Asbury could neither command nor cajole, the other two being James O'Kelly and Nicholas Snethen, as will be shown later.

Asbury knew Strawbridge's worth and influence. He bid for his submission, as he never did in any other case. He was uncompromising in the matter of the ordinances, for the reason that he knew full well that to yield to the demand of the preachers and people would be to frustrate his cherished design of seeing a Methodist Church organized on an Episcopal plan in accord with his own conscientious convictions of its scriptural nature, and of succumbing to a liberal Presbyterian polity, which was the vogue of a large number of the preachers and the people, specially south of Philadelphia. As early as December, 1772, at a quarterly meeting in Harford County, the sacramental question was discussed, and Asbury says: "Brother S—— (Strawbridge) pleaded much for the ordinances, and so did the people, who appeared to be much biassed by him. I told them I would not agree to it at that time, and insisted on our abiding by our rules. But Mr. B—— (Boardman) had given them their way at the quarterly meeting held here before, and I was obliged to connive at some things for the sake of peace."¹ Again, at the Conference of July, 1773, in Philadelphia, among other propositions that were agreed to, the third is, "No preacher in our Connection shall be permitted to administer the ordinances at this time; except Mr. S—— (Strawbridge), and he under the particular direction of the assistant (Rankin)."¹ Strawbridge would not submit.² As he grew older, he restricted his attention to the Sam's Creek society and Brush Forest, the latter being in Harford County, and its chapel the second built in Maryland. Finally, in his old age and poverty, having devoted his all to Christ and Methodism, he is traced to Long Green, in Baltimore County, where Captain Charles Ridgely, a rich and generous friend, gave him a farm

¹ Asbury's "Journal," Vol. I. pp. 57-80.

² Guirey states that in the discussion of Asbury with Strawbridge and John King as to the ordinances, King proposed to leave it with the people to decide whether they would have the ordinances or not, but Asbury replied, "I came to teach the people, not to be taught by them." See p. 242 of his "History of Episcopacy." 12mo. 381 pp. Written before 1800. A copy in Maryland Historical Library, Baltimore, Md.

free of rent for life. While residing here, in one of his pastoral visiting rounds to his spiritual children, he was taken with his last illness at the house of Joseph Wheeler, in the summer of 1781, and died in great peace. Owens preached his funeral to a great throng in the open air under a tree at the northwest corner of the house. A number of his log chapel congregation were there to honor the occasion, and, as the throng bore him to his last resting-place, they sang as they marched one of Charles Wesley's rapturous lyrics. "He sleeps," says Stevens, "in an orchard of the friend at whose house he died—one of his own converts—under a tree, from the foot of which can be seen the great city which claims him as its Methodistic apostle."¹ He is described as "of medium size, of dark complexion, black hair, had a sweet voice, and was an excellent singer." Boehm's "Reminiscences" says, "He was a stout, heavy man." He was an entertaining conversationalist and a man of broad intelligence. Asbury's unforgiving prejudice against any and every man who asserted his independence of his military authority, he does not conceal. A few months after Strawbridge's decease, Asbury visited the Brush Forest chapel, and made the following uncharitable record: "Monday, September 3d. I visited the Brush chapel. The people here once left us to follow another; time was when the labors of their leader were made a blessing to them, but pride is a *busy* sin. He is no more: upon the whole I am inclined to think the Lord took him away in judgment, because he was in a way to do hurt to his cause; and that he saved him in mercy, because from his deathbed conversation he appears to have had hope in his end."² Asbury revised his own Journal, omitting, as he declared, records a sober second thought disapproved. He left unblotted this severe judgment of Strawbridge. Posterity has reversed it. Even Asbury, fifteen years afterward, or in 1790, prompted possibly by Coke, for to him is attributed most of the literary work on the "Discipline," in the historical preface, makes this note of Strawbridge, "About the same time Robert Strawbridge from Ireland settled in Frederick County, Md., preaching there and forming societies."³ Thus the log chapel on Sam's Creek, Md., and Wesley

¹ His remains were long after removed to Mt. Olivet Cemetery, Baltimore.

² "Journal," Vol. I. p. 431.

³ This ancient verdict is perhaps as near the truth of history as to the priority of Strawbridge or Embury as posterity will ever get. Since the previous section bearing upon it was written, the author has had the pleasure of perusing Rev. Dr. Atkinson's elaborate and exhaustive argument defensive of Embury's claim, to



ROBERT STRAWBRIDGE.

chapel, John Street, New York, are more significant in their forecast of a great and unprecedented work of God than the proudest cathedrals of stained glass and pointing spire.

In response to appeals which were made from John Street Methodists to Wesley for missionaries, Robert Williams, a local preacher, applied to his friend, Ashton, a well-to-do layman, and they came over together, landing in New York in 1769, the latter paying Williams's passage over. Ashgrove chapel was named after him, and he left a memorial legacy which continues to this day. Williams at once began his labors in Wesley chapel, and for about six years, to his death, led a conspicuous career as a Methodist itinerant. He went to the aid of Strawbridge, became the apostle of Methodism in Virginia, coöperated with Jarrett, the apostolical and evangelical Churchman, and pushed his travels

which he devotes forty-six pages of his new History.* Nothing could be more ingenuous than his method of treating the alleged facts and arguments on both sides, and most readers will rise from its perusal convinced that the case is with Embury. It is not, however, claimed even by Dr. Atkinson that Strawbridge came to America later than 1766, nor is it claimed that Embury, though in the country following secular business as a linen manufacturer, began preaching earlier than 1766 in New York City, under Barbara Heck's entreaties, nor that there could have been more than nine months' or a year's difference in any case between their first preaching respectively, so that it was "about the same time" after all—Strawbridge, the pioneer of Methodism in the South, and Embury in the North. This is the whole case. Embury, as a resident of New York City, has the advantage of recorded documentary evidence as to certain dates, whereas Strawbridge—in the wilds of Frederick County, Md., has no such records; left no Journal, not even letters to authenticate his case; only the traditions of the neighborhood, upon which Asbury relied; so that the traditional case is with the latter, though as Dr. Atkinson shows, the documentary case is with the former.

The latest phase of the question is furnished by Rev. Dr. W. S. Edwards in the New York *Christian Advocate* for January 7, 1897, by citing from certain papers of Rev. Alfred Griffith, among them the following, in which Griffith gives the substance of a conversation held by him with Bishop Asbury in 1809: "He said he was aware of the dispute about the priority of claim in church building between the two original branches of the Methodist family, and that with a view to compose the difference he had investigated the question with considerable pains by inquiries on the spot in each locality; that he had had recourse to the most intelligent and reliable sources, but still was unable to determine with certainty who commenced first to build, Embury or Strawbridge; but that Strawbridge commenced to preach first there could be no doubt; that he had concluded that it was most probably true that each had commenced to build his house within the same calendar year—1768—and there could not have been more than a few months' difference between them; but which had his house ready for preaching first he could not determine. He then observed that the whole question was of little consequence."

* "History of the Origin of the Wesleyan Movement in America and of the establishment therein of Methodism." By John Atkinson, D.D., Jersey City, N. J., Wesleyan Publishing Co. 1896. Large 8vo. 458 pp. Cloth. It treats of the American period prior to 1774, and is a most valuable contribution.

down into North Carolina. He was the spiritual father of Jesse Lee while in Virginia, and carried to Philadelphia such a glowing account of the southern work that he bore back with him William Watters, the first American itinerant. He printed and circulated Wesley's sermons, thus giving him the notable title of "the first Methodist minister in America who published a book, the first that married, the first that located, and the first that died."¹ He located between Norfolk and Suffolk, Va., preaching through the neighborhood, and departed this life September 26, 1775. Asbury happened in the vicinage, preached his funeral sermon, and passed a eulogy upon him in his Journal. The place of his sepulchre is unknown.

The historian must couple with him the name of John King, who came over from London to America, near the close of 1770. He first appeared in Philadelphia like a stray evangelical comet. He offered himself for license, but the officary hesitated. He announced preaching in the Potters' Field, over the graves of the poor. He was licensed and went to Wilmington, Del., and from thence into Maryland, where he met and coöperated with Williams. Despite his uncultivated style and peculiar manners as a preacher, he had notable converts. He preached at the forks of the Gunpowder River, and James J. Baker was converted, and on his estate the third Methodist chapel in Maryland was built. In Baltimore his first pulpit was a blacksmith's block at the intersection of Front and French streets. His next was from a table at Baltimore and Calvert streets. Five years afterward Methodism was strong enough in the city to entertain the Annual Conference. He was afterward received into the regular itinerancy, and was a member of the first Conference of 1773. He labored in New Jersey with Watters, and then was back again to Virginia with Williams. While he was yet in England, Wesley thought him "headstrong and stubborn," and often kindly reproved him, telling him in one of his letters, "Scream no more at the peril of your soul." He located about 1777; practised medicine and preached; died at New Berne in 1794; buried in Wake County, N. C.² This sextette of local preachers laid the foundation of Methodism in America. All honor here and glory hereafter to Strawbridge, Embury, Webb, Owens, Williams, and King.

The John Street society wrote Wesley, "Send us an able and experienced preacher." At the Conference at Leeds, August 3,

¹ Wakeley's "Lost Chapters," p. 20.

² Atkinson's "Methodism in America," p. 236.

1769, Wesley appealed for some one to go. There was no response. A voyage to America was a serious matter in those days. The next day, however, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor responded. The former was about thirty-one years of age, the latter was also a young man, and both of them exceptionally useful at home, men of good abilities and fair education. They arrived at Gloucester, six miles south of Philadelphia, October 24, 1769, after a nine weeks' voyage on the boisterous ocean. Boardman was named as Wesley's "assistant" or superintendent. He at once made his way to New York, preaching on the way, while Pilmoor tarried in Philadelphia, preaching on the steps in front of the old state-house on Chestnut Street, and from the race course judges' stand on the common, now Franklin Square, at Sixth and Race streets. Between 4000 and 5000 hearers attended. Boardman opened in New York, and at the end of five months he exchanged with Pilmoor, and they alternated two or three times a year, after a custom of frequent changes already inaugurated. Their frequent letters to Wesley are full of good news. They extended their labors to various points for three or four years, Boardman going north as far as Boston, and Pilmoor going south as far as Savannah, everywhere received with honor by the societies their predecessors had formed as Wesley's first missionaries. There are but scant records of their itinerary, but crowds attended the ministry of both, conversions were numerous, and societies organized as centres of religious influence for large neighborhoods. The name *America* appears for the first time in Wesley's minutes for 1770; Pilmoor, Boardman, Williams, and King are mentioned as missionaries. The next year the numbers in society are given at 316. The preachers appealed for other recruits. At the Conference of 1771, Wesley asked, "Who are willing to go over and help them?" Five responded and two were appointed, the home needs forbidding permission to a larger number. The young men appointed were Francis Asbury and Richard Wright. The two names stand in broad contrast in the light of their future careers. Both were Wesley's selection out of the five offering. No unfavorable comment is on record of Wright's appointment, and he ran but a short career both in America and in England. He may be dismissed before entering upon a consideration of the other selection, fraught with such momentous results in the history of American Methodism,—its colossal figure from 1771 to 1816. Wright had travelled but one year when he came to America with Asbury,

and but little is known of him. Bangs and Lee note his coming, and then he passes into oblivion. Stevens says that he accompanied Asbury in his travels, spending most of his time in Maryland and Virginia. In the spring of 1772 he was in New York, and in 1773 he was stationed in Norfolk, Va. In 1774 he returned to England, and after three years' service he dropped out of the records altogether.

Francis Asbury. His name justly fills a sentence with a period. He was born in England, four miles from Birmingham, in Staffordshire, on the 20th or 21st of August, 1745. After the death of an infant sister, he was the only child of his parents. He was early sent to school, but he did not make much progress, owing to his dread of the master. At thirteen he was removed from school and apprenticed to the trade of button-making, which relation he continued six years and a half. His master was a pious man and helped his apprentice in many ways. He could read the Bible at seven years of age and had a thirst for knowledge. He heard of the Methodists at Handsworth, and his mother, on his inquiry, gave him a good account of them. He attended their meetings, and was delighted with the singing, the extempore praying and preaching. Praying in his father's barn, he received the witness of pardoned sin. Henceforth he began to hold meetings on his own account. He soon became a local preacher, and exercised his gifts to the conversion of souls. He was about twenty-one when he became an itinerant, taking the place as a supply of an absent travelling preacher. He early exhibited the characteristics of his life. Stevens sketches him with the hand of a master: "He was studious, somewhat introspective, with a thoughtfulness which was tinged at times with melancholy. His was one of those minds which can find rest only in labor; designed for great work, and therefore endowed with a restless instinct for it. He was an incessant preacher, of singular practical directness; was ever in motion, on foot or on horseback, over his long circuits; a rigorous disciplinarian, disposed to do everything by method; a man of few words, and those always to the point; of quick and marvellous insight into character; of a sobriety, not to say severity, of temperament, which might have been repulsive had it not been softened by a profound religious humility, for his soul, ever aspiring to the highest virtue, was ever complaining within itself over its shortcomings. His mind had eminently a military cast. He never lost his self-possession, and could therefore seldom be surprised. He seemed

not to know fear, and never yielded to discouragement in a course sanctioned by his faith or conscience. He could plan sagaciously, seldom pausing to consider theories of wisdom or policy, but as seldom failing in practical prudence. The rigor which his disciplinary predilections imposed upon others was so exemplified by himself that his associates and subordinates, instead of revolting from it, accepted it as a challenge of heroic emulation. Discerning men could not come into his presence without perceiving that his soul was essentially heroic, and that nothing committed to his agency could fail, if it depended upon conscientiousness, prudence, courage, labor, and persistence."¹ No other good pen-portrait of his physique remains except Henry Boehm's. The portraits of him, taken from an oil painting for which he sat in Baltimore in June, 1794, present him as a war-worn veteran of strongly drawn facial lines, eyelids slightly a-droop, with a firm though benevolent expression presiding over the countenance. He wore the regulation high collar on a buttoned-up coat, gray or black, cut away in the frock after the Quaker style and common to Methodist preachers, with breeches and leggings and sometimes shoe-buckles. He was exceedingly neat in his attire, with an easy dignity of manner, which commanded respect if not affection. In the prime of his life he was erect, robust, about five feet nine inches in stature, well rounded out, but never inclined to flesh, weighing but 150 pounds; of a fresh countenance, which early seamed into fast-coming wrinkles, brownish hair brushed down over an ample forehead and flowing back around his coat-collar, and steel-blue eyes so full of a penetrating magnetism that few could withstand them as they glinted from under the slightly falling eyelids. His nose was straight, nostrils expanded, mouth large, and chin firm, and the whole contour that of a ruggedly handsome man, as he sat uncovered or walked under his broad-brimmed and low-crowned hat.²

¹ Stevens's "History of M. E. Church," Vol. I. pp. 115, 116.

² The annexed description of Asbury in his old age is by the author of a poem styled, "The Conference, or Sketches of Wesleyan Methodism." It was published anonymously by John Clarke, at Bridgeton, West New Jersey, 1824. It is 12mo, 92 pp., pasteboard binding. His identity has been discovered by the writer, and from prose sketches at the close of the poem, he was a Wesleyan minister who labored with William Black, being stationed for a time at Halifax, Newfoundland, Canada, and afterward in New York City as a visitor. He was Rev. Joshua Marsden. The author was a man of education, and the poetry is of a respectable order. He had often met with Asbury. This volume, and no other is known to exist, was presented to the wife of Rev. Thomas M'Cormick at the General Conference of the M. E. Church in Baltimore, 1824, by Rev. Charles Pittman who,

It is a singular comment on the misjudgment of men, though nothing specially to Wesley's credit, when Wright's selection at the same time is recalled, that when Asbury offered and was accepted to go to America, some of the preachers objected to him, and not a few of his acquaintances were struck with wonder when they heard that Wesley had appointed him.¹ When he came to Bristol he had not a penny in his pocket; but he was soon supplied with a wardrobe and ten pounds, probably furnished by Wesley. They set sail from a port near Bristol, September 4, 1771. It is on record that some months before the Conference Asbury had thoughts of going to America. Stevens furnishes a key-note — a single sentence — to which every event of his life responds, "He saw in the New World a befitting sphere for his apostolic aspirations." It comprehended two things: first, the largest field for eminent usefulness; and, second, an opportunity to be something personally, both of them worthy ambitions. On the 12th of September, on shipboard, he thus soliloquized: "Whither am I going? To the New World. What to do? To gain honor? No, if I know my heart. To get money? No; I am going to live to God, and to bring others so to do, . . . the people God owns in England are the Methodists. The doctrines they preach and the discipline they enforce, are, I believe, the purest of any people now in the world. The Lord has greatly blessed these doctrines and this discipline in the three kingdoms; they must therefore be pleasing to him. If God does not acknowledge me in America, I will soon return to England. I know my views are upright now; may they never be otherwise."²

with Rev. Joseph Rusling, was a guest at the home of the M'Cormicks during the Conference. It was presented to the writer by Rev. Thomas M'Cormick, February 24, 1882, when he was in the ninety-first year of his age, and is so inscribed on a fly-leaf. The volume contains an interesting letter from William Black to Marsden, in which he furnishes some important facts in connection with the funeral of Asbury, which he attended in 1816, in Baltimore, Md. These facts will be used in the proper connection. In the author's "Account of the Rev. F. Asbury," a clear analysis of his character is given by this admirer, and also this description of his person. "In his appearance he was a picture of plainness and simplicity, bordering upon the costume of the Friends; the reader may figure to himself an old man, spare and tall, but remarkably clean, with a plain frock coat, drab, or mixed, waistcoat and small-clothes of the same kind, a neat stock, a broad-brimmed hat with an uncommon low crown, while his white locks, venerable with age, added a simplicity to his appearance it is not easy to describe; his countenance had a cast of severity, but this was owing probably to his habitual gravity and seriousness; his look was remarkably penetrating; in a word, I never recollect to have seen a man of a more venerable and dignified appearance."

¹ *Arminian Magazine*, Vol. I. p. 185.

² Asbury's "Journal," Vol. I. p. 12.

Not a sentiment here uttered needs be discounted in all his after career. It was the spiritual side of him that spoke; it was the human side of him that aspired.

On the 27th of October he landed in Philadelphia, and the same evening heard Pilmoor preach to a large congregation in the St. George's church, and which is still revered as the "old Cathedral" by Methodists of the city. Bangs computes that there were now about 600 in the society, with ten preachers, including Wesley's four missionaries. Boardman was Wesley's assistant or superintendent. Asbury opened his commission, preaching often, and soon made his way to New York, where he met Boardman, "in peace but weak in body." He made preaching excursions into the surrounding country, and soon took in the situation. In the winter Boardman confined himself mostly to New York City, partly perhaps, as seen, from ill health, and Pilmoor did the same in Philadelphia. It was not to Asbury's liking, and though but a "helper" to Boardman, he talks like a master. "I have not yet the thing which I seek, a circulation of preachers. I am fixed to the Methodist plan; I am willing to suffer, yea, to die, sooner than betray so good a cause by any means." Again he writes: "At present I am dissatisfied. I judge we are to be shut up in the cities this winter. My brethren seem unwilling to leave the cities, but I think I shall show them the way." Centres of population would seem to afford the largest opportunity for usefulness, but it was not Asbury's idea. He entered upon a winter campaign. Some months after, he wrote, "I hope that before long about seven preachers of us will spread over seven or eight hundred miles." He kept in constant motion, and he had but little patience with any preacher who did not do likewise. He kept his soul alive to God; this was his stimulus. He exclaims, "I preached with life, and long to be as an ever rising flame of fire." His example stirred up the other preachers, and the work widened north and south. Wesley kept himself in correspondence with all these helpers, and had a willing ear and an easy credence for all that was written him. He exercised his authority at 3000 miles distance as he did at home. In the autumn of 1772 Asbury received a commission from Wesley appointing him "Assistant" or Superintendent of the American Societies, thus superseding Boardman, and, as far as is known, without so much as consulting him. He was only about twenty-seven years of age. He was not slow to take charge, and at once shaped his plans for aggression. He got upon the path of the six local

preachers and set them in motion, and in December, in the northern part of the eastern shore, he held his "quarterly conference at J. Presbury's, in Christmas week, 1772." It was the first of which there is any account. He adopted Wesley's method of questions and answers in the business meeting, and the moral character of all the preachers passed except one exhorter, about whom there was some doubt.

By this time some ten or twelve native local preachers were enrolled: Richard Owens, William Watters, Richard Webster, Nathan Perigo, Isaac Rollins, Hezekiah Bonham, Nicholas Watters, Sater Stevenson, J. Presbury, Philip Gatch, and probably Aquila Standford and Abraham Rollins.¹ Asbury established his headquarters at Baltimore, and his coming was hailed with delight by the little society at Fell's Point and scattered members elsewhere. Three or four private houses were opened, and a sail loft at the corner of Mills and Block streets was secured and soon filled with a congregation for five o'clock preaching. He settled the classes and appointed leaders, a man for the men and a woman for the women's class. A lot on Strawberry Alley and Fleet Street, sixty by seventy-five feet, was purchased by a number of brethren. The following year two lots were purchased on Lovely Lane, and a church erected. The latter was the first finished and occupied. Asbury formed a circuit for himself of 200 miles and twenty-four appointments, travelling over it every three weeks. Every slow-moving preacher was sure to be prodded, and they found themselves under a military-like discipline. He received tart and complaining letters from Pilmoor and others; he hastened to New York, preaching all along the route. He meant to be obeyed, and he did not hesitate to face the opposition. Snethen remarks, "We always had occasion to notice that Mr. Asbury placed his chief reliance for the ascendancy of his influence upon his presence. Where trouble was, there was he." The disaffection to his rule grew so formidable that Asbury wrote to Wesley all the particulars from his point of view and begged Wesley to come over personally.

Captain Webb had gone to England soliciting missionaries for America, and he was now returning with his recruits. Pilmoor had left New York the same day Asbury arrived. It may have been designed, and it was probably well these Englishmen did not meet in the warmth of their blood. Thomas Rankin and

¹ Lednum's "History," p. 86. A copy in Congressional Library, and also in the writer's collection. He is about the only authority for these early times.



THOMAS WEBB.

George Shadford were sent with Webb, as also Joseph Yearbry, a volunteer preacher. Rankin stood high among his brethren; he was the senior in years of Asbury and esteemed a rigid disciplinarian, while George Shadford was a young man and a great favorite with Wesley. The former bore with him his commission as General Assistant to Wesley in America, thus outranking Asbury. It is the method of autocratic minds that, if complaint is made of the arbitrary administration of a chief subordinate, not to give instructions for the relaxation of rigor, but to relieve the subordinate and appoint one of severer temper and a firmer hand. A pause is called for a reflection of Snethen's applied by him to Wesley, and equally to his appointees, in these cases, "I can never be brought to believe that it argues any extraordinary sagacity in men, to take for themselves and their successors as much power to do good as is possible, without any regard to the power which it would give them to do evil." It detracts not a jot of its force to answer that these are good men and they would not abuse their power. Granting it all as a matter of fact in the given cases, the impolity of it must be apparent to every mind not of the same type. The early workings of the false principle are soon seen. Rankin, Shadford, and Yearbry were welcomed by Asbury and the Methodists in Philadelphia on the 3d of June, 1773. There is no evidence that Asbury knew of his supersedure, any more than Boardman. There was no reason he should know on Wesley's plan. Snethen again puts it, with the reasons for it, in justification, as far as it can be justified: "During the life of Mr. Wesley he held everything in his power. His maxims were, *You come to me, not I to you. If you are not willing to help as I direct, you shall not help me at all.* The ground on which he exercised this authority was not only that he considered himself as the father of the connection, but that the members of his society were also members of the National Church, and that those who left his society experienced no change of church relations." Rankin and Asbury preached before each other, and journeyed together to New York. Shadford went to New Jersey and labored effectively. Rankin was a strong and discerning man, and felt himself competent to any situation. He took in the causes of dissension between Asbury and the preachers, particularly Pilmoor. He appears to have taken sides with neither party. Asbury submitted to Rankin's authority, but there is abundant evidence that inwardly he felt his reduction to the ranks by Wesley. Evidently he was disappointed in the turn

things took. If Wesley himself had come over, as he partially promised he would, Asbury knew that he could make such a case as would in the end subdue the malcontents and settle him more securely in his position as head of the American Church. The preachers soon realized that they had gained nothing by a change of superintendents as to disciplinary administration. It was more rigid than ever, and much ill-feeling was engendered against Rankin, but he largely outlived it and conciliated most of them. He determined to call a meeting of all the preachers in Philadelphia, and this brings us to an event of greatest moment, and marks a new chapter in these stirring transactions.

CHAPTER XVII

First American Annual Conference in Philadelphia, 1773; those present—The minutes as printed at several times—The Rankin-Asbury contention and its grounds—Principles of the Revolution and the Methodist system in conflict; evidences—Boardman and Pilmoor return to England; other early preachers—Character of Asbury; celibacy in practice and precept—Effect upon the preachers and the people—Asbury and Rev. William Otterbein; sketch of the latter; their close friendship; kinship of views.

THE First American Annual Conference assembled at St. George's Church in Philadelphia, July 14, 1773, and continued three days. Those present were all Europeans: Thomas Rankin, Richard Boardman, Joseph Pilmoor, Francis Asbury, Richard Wright, George Shadford, Thomas Webb, John King, Abraham Whitworth, and Joseph Yearbry.¹ Strawbridge's name appears in the printed minutes, but he was not present, nor was Embury. The minutes were taken down in writing, and in 1795 John Dickins, first Book Agent, published all the minutes from 1773 to 1795 in one volume. They were afterward republished by Daniel Hitt and Thomas Ware for the "Methodist Connection in the United States, John C. Totten printer, 1813," and brought down to that date. They were again republished and brought down to 1839 by Mason and Lane for the Book Concern, New York, 1840. In the edition of 1813 sundry changes were made by Coke and Asbury on their own motion, of which notice will be taken hereafter. The minutes of 1773 are very brief and follow the English model of Questions and Answers. "The following queries were proposed to every preacher: (1) Ought not the authority of Mr. Wesley, and that Conference, to extend to the preachers and people in America as well as in Great Britain and Ireland? *Answer*, Yes. (2) Ought not the doctrine and discipline of the Methodists, as contained in the minutes, to be the sole rule of our conduct, who labor in the connection with Mr. Wesley in America? *Answer*, Yes. (3) If so, does it not

¹ Lednum, p. 111. Atkinson's "History," 1896, p. 430, differs slightly and is in detail, omitting King.

follow that if any preachers deviate from the minutes we can have no fellowship with them till they change their conduct? *Answer*, Yes." Some other rules were agreed to: to avoid administering the ordinances; attendance upon the Episcopal Church; restrictions as to love-feasts and selling books, and reports once in six months to the superintendent. The Conference was held with closed doors, and this practice was continued, also after the English plan, for more than fifty years. It must not be assumed that there was voting as popularly understood. This Wesley discountenanced, and his American appointees did the same. The title was unique: "Minutes of some Conversations between the Preachers in Connection with the Reverend John Wesley." It was continued as a title until 1784. Asbury did not get to the Conference of 1773 until the second day; the reason assigned by Stevens that "he was detained on his New York circuit," does not seem supported by Asbury himself, who says that "on the Lord's Day [previous] he preached twice with great plainness to a large number of people; and then set off in company with Mr. J. toward Philadelphia. Came safe to the city on Thursday, but did not find such perfect harmony as I could wish for."¹ The Conference had met on Wednesday. A ride of nearly one hundred miles in three days was not much for such a traveller as Asbury on horseback, but it may be that it took him a day longer, and it may be also that he had other reasons for delay. The appointments of this Conference were as follows: New York, Thomas Rankin; Philadelphia, George Shadford (to change in six months with Rankin); New Jersey, John King, William Watters; Baltimore, Francis Asbury, Robert Strawbridge, Abraham Whitworth, Joseph Yearbry; Norfolk, William Wright; Petersburg, Robert Williams. Watters was received at this Conference. The numbers in society were: New York, 180; Philadelphia, 180; New Jersey, 200; Maryland, 500; Virginia, 100; total, 1160.

Stevens says of this juncture: "Asbury labored hard to conform the American societies to Wesley's model, but met with no little resistance from both preachers and people; Rankin had been sent out for this purpose, and to these two thorough disciplinarians we owe the effective organization of the incipient Methodism of the New World."² This must be granted as to the peculiar system, but in view of all the consequences that

¹ Asbury's "Journal," Vol. I. p. 80.

² "History," Vol. I. p. 161.

followed in American history its wisdom may be doubted. Wesley's plan for England and that same plan for America, with its differentiation of environment, was like an attempt to make an exotic of an indigenous plant. The friction complained of, and the insubordination experienced by these leaders were much of it due to this difference; but the preachers and the societies were laid upon the Procrustean bed and shortened or lengthened accordingly. It must be admitted, however, that no satisfactory argument can be made before the facts against the system that did prove itself effective and potential. In tracing its outworkings it is a curious and instructive study of human nature when it is discovered how early the official, not the personal, relations of these two leaders were strained. The allegations against Asbury were that he was too rigid in his discipline of preachers and people. It is not long before it is found that Asbury takes up this very charge against Rankin, his superior. To gore and to be gored are different operations. For nearly fourteen months after Rankin's arrival there is scarcely a reference to him in Asbury's Journal until, August 15, 1774, the following is noted: "I felt some convictions for sleeping too long; and my mind was troubled on account of a conversation which had passed between Mr. R. (Rankin), Mr. S. (Shadford), and myself. But the great Searcher of hearts knoweth my intentions; and to him I submit all future events." Stevens says, "The disciplinary views of Rankin, enforced during the preceding year upon the preachers and societies, with a rigor which seemed to some of them hardly tolerable, had produced salutary effects generally." And again, "Even Asbury hesitated at his rigor, but was conciliated by seeing his own judgment followed in detail, though 'stubbornly opposed' at first."¹

¹ Bangs, in his "History," Vol. I. pp. 86, 87, and 115, 116, is outspoken as to the differences between Rankin and Asbury, though he assumes ignorance as to the cause. He says that Asbury records in his Journal that the Conference of 1773 adjourned "with great harmony and sweetness of temper"; that the record as to the good temper was made with a view to show that, notwithstanding some difficulties had occurred between Rankin and Asbury, they were not of that serious nature which went to interrupt the harmony of their counsels. To a difference of judgment between them, Mr. Asbury alludes in several places, by which it appears that in his opinion Mr. Rankin assumed too much authority over the preachers and people . . . These things laid the foundation of those complaints against Asbury which were transmitted to Mr. Wesley, and afterward became the cause of much of that uneasiness which will be noticed hereafter." The after notice is to this effect: "We have already alluded to a dissatisfaction expressed by Mr. Asbury of the spirit and conduct of Mr. Rankin; and it is certain from sundry notices in his Journal that he suspected strongly that Mr. Rankin had

Asbury had already settled it in his own mind that Methodists in America, when the time should be ripe for it, should be organized on an Episcopal basis. The necessities of the societies in the wilds of America made ultimate separation from Wesley a foregone conclusion, and he patiently bided his time. Rankin, with no such ulterior purpose, furthered unconsciously the plan. The local preachers who had preceded Wesley's missionaries and the native preachers, as they arose, had clear convictions of their scriptural right to govern themselves and "feed the flock of Christ over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers" by administering the ordinances. The logic of the situation was all on their side. Stevens candidly admits it, though carefully guarding his admissions: "A great proportion of the colonists had no traditional attachment to the Anglican Church; the submissive policy of Wesley in England was therefore irrelevant in America. He was too distant to perceive the fact; and his representatives were too Anglican to recognize it, but many of the American Methodists, and some of their preachers, were wiser. They insisted upon their right to the sacraments from their own pastors. Theoretically, none of us now can dispute their claim; . . . the men who then seemed radical in this respect were so simply because they had a superior foresight of the predestined importance and needs of American Methodism."¹ Every year, and its events, only strengthened the independent thinkers among preachers and people in their views. The sentiments and principles underlying the American Revolution were budding in the colonies. At this time they were nearly ready to bloom.

misrepresented him to Mr. Wesley." What the subject of difference was precisely is not known, but it is manifest from the following extract of a letter from Mr. Wesley to Mr. Rankin that the suspicions of Mr. Asbury were well founded. In this letter, which is dated May 4, 1775, he says: "I doubt not that Brother Asbury and you will part friends. I shall hope to see him at the Conference. He is quite an upright man. I apprehend he will go through his work more cheerfully when he is within a little distance from me." In a letter of July 28, 1775, occur the following words, "I rejoice over honest Francis Asbury, and hope that he will no more enter into temptation." Bangs concludes, "Hence we are confirmed in the opinion before expressed that either Mr. Rankin or some one else, probably from jealousy of the growing reputation of Mr. Asbury, had written to his disadvantage, and had even advised Mr. Wesley to call him home." It is clear from Wesley's letter that he had really made up his mind to recall Asbury on the representations made to him, but between May and July he changed his mind. In the light of future events it is well that he did change his mind, for it would have precipitated a development of the fact that Asbury did not purpose to be controlled by any authority in the world. Thus enough clear proof is presented of the truth of the allegations and surmises in the case.

¹ "History," Vol. I. p. 164.

The friction between the English Crown and its American subjects heated and smoked and finally flamed. To those entertaining paternal ideas of government the contention was unwise and uncalled for. It was simple enough in the abstract, but meant chains or liberty in the concrete. A Stamp Act and a duty upon tea, had crystallized into the war-cry, "No Taxation without Representation," and they took their lives in their hands against the theory of Non-resistance and Passive Obedience. Quite a strong Tory party dissented from the revolutionists, not so much that they were less American, but by reason of a fear that with separation from the Crown would come the loss of the entire English common law, and so a breakdown of all civil safeguards. In these circumstances the clergy of English nativity, and they were nearly all such, began to desert their parishes and return home, while not a few of those who remained were of questionable morals, from a Methodist point of view at least. There can be no doubt that these views, reflected upon the Methodist societies made up of native-born people, would have ultimated in a Presbyterian system. Dr. Coke so confesses in his famous letter to the Bishop of London in 1799: "But I return (to England and the National Church) with a full conviction that our numerous societies in America would have been a regular Presbyterian Church, if Mr. Wesley and myself had not taken the steps which we judged it necessary to adopt." McCaine's note upon this extract is fair and judicial.¹ As already admitted, no argument before the fact in favor of this system as against the hierarchic one of Asbury can be made,² but after the fact it is clear from

¹ "The Doctor refers to church government, not to doctrines contrary to the Church of England, which he held to be Arminian. 2d. He intimates that the 'numerous societies in America' preferred a presbyterian form of government to an episcopal one. 3d. That to prevent the societies from becoming a regular Presbyterian Church, he and Mr. Wesley took the steps they did." (How far Mr. Wesley was in reality concerned will be seen in this work.) "And 4th. From the whole we infer that the episcopal form of church government was not such as the people would have adopted, if it had been submitted to their choice, but in consequence of certain measures, it was imposed upon them contrary to their inclination, and without their consent." The writer also observes that the probable reason Dr. Coke does not name Asbury as a factor in the case is that he was unknown to the Bishop of London, and therefore could have had no weight in his statements. See McCaine's "History and Mystery," p. 31.

² Stevens is of opinion that without the system of Asbury, as it was reënforced by the discipline and views of Rankin and supported by Wesley's precedent in England, disintegrating results would have followed. He says, "Without them it seems probable that it [Methodism] would have adopted a settled pastorate, and become blended with the Anglican Church of the colonies, or, like the fruits of Whitefield's labors, been absorbed in the general Protestantism of the country." See his "History," Vol. I. p. 161.

the equal success of a liberal polity joined to the doctrines and means of grace, both in England and America, that it would have been happy for American Methodism in the conservation of its future organic unity, if a balanced and representative polity had been adopted when organization finally took place. Thus it is seen how early the issue was joined between the two systems. How the one came to prevail over the other shall be told in the future. While the contention was proceeding, from 1773 to 1784, the current of history must not be overlooked with brevity of reference.

Boardman and Pilmoor do not appear in the list of appointments of 1773. They had resolved to return to England. Stevens assigns the one reason for it that they were loyal to the Crown and foresaw the war coming on. How much supersedure, first by Asbury and then by Rankin, had to do with it must remain unwritten history. They tarried in the country about six months, and then reëmbarked for England, January 2, 1774. They left 2073 members in society, 10 regular organized circuits, and 17 preachers. Boardman resumed his travels in Ireland, was greatly useful, and continued until September, 1782, when he died suddenly of apoplexy and was borne to his grave by his brethren with lyrics and rejoicing. Pilmoor desisted from travel for two years, then received an appointment in London and at several other points. He dropped out in 1785, returned to America, took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church, was stationed in Philadelphia as rector of St. Paul's Church, to whose pulpit he often invited Asbury, Coke, and others. He lived to a good old age and died in peace. Captain Webb also returned, and on his retired pay spent a number of years as a local preacher, died suddenly, and was greatly honored by his brethren. Jarrett and M^rRoberts, two clergymen in Virginia, were exceptions to their order;¹ the former, specially devout and spiritual, coöperated with the Methodist preachers through life, though he strongly objected to the organization of the societies into a Church in 1784. He kept up an intimacy with Asbury, was as zealous and evangelical as any of the preachers, and a loyal churchman to the end.

Lednum has preserved the name of John Smith as the first itinerant in Kent County, Md., and whose remains repose at Hinson's chapel. Philip Gatch entered in 1773, though his name does not appear in the minutes until 1774. Judge M'Lean has left a monograph of him. Nathan Perigo was a powerful local

¹ Bangs's "History," Vol. I. pp. 90-115. A series of letters.

preacher who coöperated with Strawbridge. Benjamin Abbott appeared in New Jersey about 1773, and, though not named in the minutes, he was a zealous itinerant and one of the most memorable names in early Methodism. He was an original character and a unique preacher in matter and manner. Stevens devotes twelve pages to a recital of the salient events of his phenomenal career, and a monograph of his labors was made by John Firth, New York, 1854. The results of his preaching were of the most extraordinary character, and thousands owned him as their spiritual father. He lies buried under the shadow of the Methodist church in Salem, N. J. Abraham Whitworth, already named, must be painfully recorded as the first apostate. He fell from grace and ran into evil habits, and the closing trace of him is his enlistment in the British army as a soldier, and his death in one of the engagements with the American forces.

Daniel Ruff was converted in 1771, became a local, and afterward an itinerant, preacher for a brief period, but was eminently useful, Asbury being his eulogist. Shadford, one of the regulars, merits farther notice. He was a man of very respectable parts and conspicuously useful, a familiar of Asbury's, and this is saying much, for he had few confidants. They were as David and Jonathan, Stevens says, and when he returned to England with Rankin his departure was greatly regretted. Occasion will occur to mention him once more in the future in association with an event of Asbury's career.

Returning to Asbury as the master spirit of them all, he was at once in his saddle after the adjournment of the first Conference of 1773, journeying southward to Baltimore. His health had already been broken by his excessive labors and exposures, but he rose superior to bodily suffering, often riding all day with a burning fever upon him. He was susceptible to malaria, and, riding by day and night in fever-stricken sections, he imbibed the seeds of bilious distempers from which he was rarely ever free through life. Delivered from the entanglements of Conference, and the care the human side of him took to preserve or recover leadership, to which he was born, his soul was ever aspiring to purity and love. He was then seen at his best. It was this devout consecration to God that won from his travelling companions in after years such remarkable tributes. A man cannot easily dissemble with those who ride with him all day, eat with him, and sleep with him, and mark his temper under trials and temptations. They read one's character and are able to compare

it with reputation. Asbury's Journal is full of spiritual aspirations, with tinges of sadness and depreciation, the result of his melancholy under sickness. It was this character that made Henry Boehm declare: "Bishop Whatecoat I loved, Bishop M'Kendree I admired, but Bishop Asbury I venerated." He was his travelling companion for eight years, and has left the best analysis of his whole make-up extant, as well as a good pen-picture of him.¹ It was this character that constrained Snethen, while differing from him as to his governmental methods, to eulogize him in these words: "There was one point in which this chief man in our Israel challenges universal admiration, and that was the impulse he gave to experimental and practical religion. It is impossible for the most able of his admirers to convey, to those who knew not the man and his communication, any adequate conception of his virtue-inspiring and virtue-animating influence over the minds of the preachers." Snethen was his travelling companion for two years, and their affection was mutual, and from no one, perhaps, did Asbury receive with more patience contradiction of his views and policy. It was this character that led John Wesley Bond, his last travelling companion for two years, to nurse him like a mother nurses her sick child and to be with him in his final hours.

Asbury carried his asceticism to the extreme of an anchorite. He rigorously fasted every Friday and on special occasions. He was cast in the mould of Ignatius Loyola, and had he lived in the sixteenth century might have vied with him as a leader. Indeed, it will be seen as progress is made in his life-story that, perhaps unconsciously to himself, he exemplified and was moulding his preachers to adopt the triple vow of the Order of Jesus — poverty, chastity, and obedience. His love of leadership and the necessities it imposed of a personal superintendency of preachers and people scattered over thousands of miles of a wild and almost trackless territory, made its duties paramount to every other consideration, even the appeals of nature for conjugal association, so that he not only remained a bachelor through life, but discouraged marriage in the preachers by both his example and precept. The poverty grew out of the straitened circumstances of

¹ "Reminiscences of Rev. Henry Boehm." 12mo. Book Concern, New York, 1866. These are invaluable to the historian, bating a few errors of date, and personal conclusions. He travelled forty thousand miles with Asbury, was one of his executors, and lived to be a centenarian. The reminiscences are siftings from his Journal of two thousand pages and personal recollections as made to Rev. Dr. Wakeley.

the people, the obedience was a primal law of the inchoate Church, and the chastity grew out of both these conditions. The result was that youth and inexperience were the rule among the itinerants. A few would hold out until thirty or forty years of age before they married, and this meant location or a narrow sphere of travel. This state of things continued during Asbury's life. Henry Boehm cites the case of the Virginia Conference of 1809, which he attended with Asbury. It was composed of eighty-four preachers, and but three of them married. It was no exception. He says: "It was properly called the 'Bachelor' Conference. We also had bachelor bishops." M'Kendree was the associate now and he imitated Asbury in his celibacy, but had no successor. It is open to proof that when a preacher married, unless he joined himself to some worldly means as well, Asbury expressed his disapproval by giving him an appointment of the scantiest living, often of necessity, but not unfrequently to exhibit his disapprobation.¹ It was unwholesome in every sense, but its ready obedience and self-sacrifice are as clear as the same conditions in the Roman hierarchy, which in not a few features it so closely followed. The people were poor, but it contradicts all that is known of human nature to conclude that they would not have supported married men as well. The celibate life seemed the choice of the preachers; there was a timid sensitiveness among them not to be open to the charge that they were "preaching for money"; sixty-four dollars a year sufficed for all the material wants of the preachers, often not more than half of it received; they had no participation in the government, so that it soon grew upon them to believe that, as in Wesley's time, the trinity of virtues for a layman was: to pray, pay, and obey. It was a vicious system in some of its tendencies. But the martyr-like sufferings, the toils, the zeal, the fervid spirit, the tearful preaching of men whose convictions and experience were as deep and solemn as the grave, condoned for these tendencies; and the circuit rider, not to say the presiding elder and the bishop when the paternal plan crystallized, were received into the humble homes of the people almost like messengers from another world. The Roman priest and the Methodist preacher in this regard had no parallel, and it has not yet died out of the popular heart. He talked religion at the fireside, and could be heard praying often at odd hours of the night. In much it was virtue-imparting to him and virtue-inspiring to them; and in this the time never was

¹ See foot-note to p. 265, Stevens's "History," Vol. I.

when Asbury could not say to the most consecrated of his helpers, "Follow me as I follow Christ." He says in his Journal, "I have little leisure for anything but prayer; seldom more than two hours in the day, and that space I wish to spend in retired meditation and prayer." Again, "I find it expedient to spend an hour in prayer for myself alone; and an hour each morning and evening for all the preachers and people." Once more, "I see the need of returning to my twelve times of prayer," and much more to the same effect. The apostle's injunction to "Pray without ceasing" is now better understood even by Methodists as a constant prayerful spirit more than hours of time in the closet. The world-wide evangelist, Dwight L. Moody, made a discovery it is well for the ascetic to study when he substantially declared, "It would have been better had I devoted some of the time I have spent in the closet to a more careful study of the Word." But it made a race of spiritual heroes for Methodism, whose line is not yet ended.

During the year 1773-74 Asbury formed the acquaintance of William Otterbein of the German Reformed Church. He came to America in 1752; discovered his need of heart religion; found it; established a church in Baltimore, partly by Asbury's influence; became Asbury's lifelong friend and counsellor; organized "The United Brethren in Christ," or the German Methodists; became, with Martin Boehm, father of Henry Boehm, one of its first bishops, in 1800, after the first Conference in 1789; and died in 1813 in the eighty-eighth year of his age. By his adverse criticism he saved Asbury from publishing a volume of inelegant verse — Asbury did not escape the verse-making malady — he heeded, and burned the manuscript.¹ The Church Otterbein founded shows the Episcopal features of Asbury's Methodism, though liberalized in after years. Jesse Lee was converted in Virginia and Freeborn Garrettson in Maryland this year. Asbury labored in and about Baltimore. Rankin, from New York, was exercising discipline, and having incipient trouble with the sons of the Revolution which impended. Five chapels were built or building, notably the two in Baltimore. As the Conference year closed, under the call of Rankin the scattered itinerants wended their way toward Philadelphia.

¹ Baltimore *Christian Advocate*, Dr. T. E. Bond, Jr., editor.

CHAPTER XVIII

Conference of 1774 — More English missionaries — Gough and Perry Hall — Conference of 1775 — The Revolution — Council of preachers to act in Asbury's absence in seclusion at Judge White's — Memorable preachers from 1774 to 1779 — Asbury under suspicion — His motives in hiding excusable, but had effect on the native-born preachers — Their persecution — Asbury as a student; his habits and culture — A high churchman, and to what it led him — The questionable act of Church organization in 1784.

THE second Annual Conference met in Philadelphia at St. George's, May 25, 1774, and continued four days. Seven preachers were admitted to trial, namely, William Duke, Daniel Ruff, Edward Dromgoole, Isaac Rollins, Robert Lindsay, and Samuel Spragg.

Watters, Whitworth, Yearbry, Gatch, and Ebert were received into full connection. This Conference adopted the question, "Are there any objections to any of the preachers? *Answer.* They were examined one by one." This scrutiny into moral and official character was a marked feature of the Conferences ever afterward. Space will not permit a continued republication of the Plans of Appointments. Those who are curious can find them in the published Minutes as heretofore described. Mention is made that under Rankin the changes during the year were made more frequent, the city preachers every three months, and those in the country every six months. Stevens says: "The system speedily killed off such as were weak in body, and drove off such as were feeble in character; the remnant were the 'giants of those days,' morally, very often intellectually, and, to a notable extent, physically." The Conference now numbered seventeen, and, despite the truthful words of Stevens, there were always plenty of young men applying for admission, drawn not by the system, but by the zeal engendered of their heart religion, a tongue of fire to tell the story of redeeming love.

Nearly 1000 members had been added to the societies the past year, a total of 2073, two-thirds of them were in Maryland and Virginia. Asbury hastened to New York, — his appointment, — and at once set to work, but, worn out with disease, he was com-

pelled to succumb and take to his bed. His spirit's glowing wheel was consuming his life by its revolutionary friction.

In November two more missionaries were sent over by Wesley, James Dempster and Martin Rodda, accompanied by William Glendenning as a volunteer. Asbury was relieved and went southward. The first was an educated man, but married and retired, joining the Presbyterians. Disparaging allusions are made to him by the early annalists, but without reason.

The second soon exhibited such imprudent loyalty to the Crown that he was compelled to escape to the British fleet, and thence to England, in 1777. The third remained in the Conference until 1786, when he retired under a cloud. He travelled mostly in Virginia, and from the first appears to have allied himself with the opponents of Asbury's Episcopal views, and he complains of him as attempting to undermine his authority. He was a troubler in Israel. Jesse Lee insists that he was not of sound mind, though his name is printed in the Minutes second to Asbury among the elders for 1784, and he had regular work. He receives scant courtesy from the annalists, and was probably too independent and eccentric for the military *régime* of the leaders. The revolutionary storm was brewing, and Rankin and the English preachers who were still in the country prognosticated evil for the colonies, and thus paved the way for their retirement. Asbury, more discreet and far-seeing, labored in Baltimore and the surrounding country; and this leads to a notable event in Methodist history.

There resided about twelve miles from the city in princely style, Henry Dorsey Gough and family. He was computed to be worth \$300,000 in landed estate and servants. His wife had become converted, and he went to hear Asbury preach. He, too, was soundly converted, and at once Perry Hall, his homestead, was a retreat for the preachers and a preaching-place; a chapel was built, being the first in America with a bell. He afterward fell away under the temptations of his high social position, but was reclaimed by Asbury, and died in the faith in 1808, while the General Conference was in session in Baltimore. Asbury was with him and preached the funeral sermon, and a number of the members attended. His household continued faithful to Methodism long after, and Asbury often sojourned with them for physical repair and spiritual refreshment.

The revival work of those days and long after was attended with much excitement and vociferation. Jesse Lee, speaking of

a quarterly meeting in Virginia, says, "I left them about the setting of the sun, and at that time their prayers and cries might be heard a mile off."¹ The disaffection in the South over the stringent regulations of Rankin and Asbury against administering the ordinances was growing with the American feeling of independence, the sentiments and principles of the one fostering those of the other. It was shared by nearly all of the native-born preachers and the people. It was rampant in the South, and serious consequences grew out of the persistent resistance of Asbury to it in after days.

The third Annual Conference convened in Philadelphia, May 17, 1775. There had been another increase of over 1000 members. Robert Lindsay, John Copper, and William Glendenning were received on trial. A general fast for the prosperity of the work and the peace of America was ordered for the 18th of July. The printed Minutes of these Conferences do not cover more for each than a page and a half of a twelvemo volume. The Revolutionary War had broken out a month before at Concord and Lexington, and the Colonial Congress met in Philadelphia a few months later. Asbury was appointed to Norfolk, Va., and he at once set out for his new field. Here, and in Portsmouth and Brunswick, he labored through the year. The fourth Annual Conference was held in Baltimore, May 21, 1776, in the Lovely Lane chapel, now completed. This year there was an increase of 1800 members, the total being 4921. Among the notable preachers received on trial were Francis Poythress and Freeborn Garrettson. Asbury started for the Conference, but was taken ill and did not reach it. He was appointed to Baltimore. Twenty-five itinerants were enrolled. The fifth Annual Conference was held on Deer Creek in Harford County, Md., May 20, 1777. John Dickins, afterward prominent, was among the fourteen received. There was a gain of 2000 members for the year, an increase of one-third, so marvellously did the work prosper amid the strifes and turmoils and hinderances of war.

The Conference took a precautionary step. Rankin and Shadford had announced their purpose to return to England, and even Asbury for a time seemed shaken, so much so that the Conference selected Watters, Gatch, Dromgoole, Ruff, and Glendenning as a committee to act in the place of the General Assistant. The matter of administering the ordinances was again discussed, as it would not down, and the disposition to Presbyterianize the body

¹ Lee's "History," p. 56.

grew apace. Two things alone kept them from action, veneration for the counsels of Wesley and the indefatigable opposition of Asbury. It so happened, providentially the advocates of the Episcopal system will hold, that, when such a crisis arrived, Asbury, by his correspondence, could fortify his position with a letter from Wesley, and for the time deferred action. Watters, writing from this Conference, says, "In fact, we considered ourselves, at this time, as belonging to the Church of England." The parting of the preachers at this Conference was an affecting scene. The sixth Annual Conference met at Leesburg, Va., May 19, 1778. All the English preachers, save Asbury, had returned, and he was in seclusion at Judge White's in Delaware. The Conference was presided over by William Watters, the oldest native itinerant. He was not yet twenty-seven years of age. Nine preachers were admitted on trial, among them James O'Kelly, Richard Ivy, and Henry Willis. The sacramental question was once more postponed. Asbury's name does not even appear in the printed minutes. The membership fell off about 900, owing to the ravages of the war, specially in the North. The next Conference was appointed for Brokenback chapel,¹ Fluvanna County, Va., May 18, 1779. It marks a crisis in the history of early Methodism and must receive special attention. Before doing so, it seems proper to embalm some of the precious names and labors of these long-suffering preachers.

During the five years from 1774 to 1779, as the Revolution culminated and ran its course, space would fail to narrate these sufferings and labors. Stevens devotes 150 pages to this phase of the subject, and to him readers are commendatorily referred. America was already an asylum for the oppressed religiously as well as civilly. Many refugees were prominent in the colonies, while the native-born felt the thrill of free air and independent surroundings. Stevens says aptly, "The hierarchy of Great Britain was to them a form of anti-Christ, and it was an integral part of its constitution." The people had received a military education through the two French and Indian wars. They had taken up arms against the mother country, it may be almost literally said, for an idea. They had been educated to self-government and had reached the point when they could not and would not suffer any infringement of their civil rights; while in religion they spurned all trammels upon

¹ Stevens invariably speaks of it as "Brockenback," but assigns no reason for it. Perhaps typographical.

their conscience and freedom. No environment could have been more inauspicious for a Methodist hierarchy, yet the first steps which led to it had been already taken and its consummation will presently occupy our attention. The Stamp Act was repealed, as it could not be enforced, with other objectionable legislation for the colonies by the home government; only the duty on tea remained; but as this involved the principle, it was resisted in the overt acts of the burning of the *Peggy Stewart* in the harbor of Annapolis, Md., with its cargo of tea, not by men disguised as Indians, as in the Boston tea-party, but the owner himself was compelled to fire his ship. This event took place October 19, 1772, thus antedating the Boston affair, which took place December 15, 1773. As already noticed, the Tory party was largely American and sincere in their convictions, just as sincere as in after days Asbury was, and those who coöperated with him, in a polity for the Methodists, utterly incongruous with all the principles of government in which they were educated and for the maintenance of which they staked "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor." Snethen, whose brilliant and analytical mind looked into the seeds of things, luminously exhibits the parallel: "Our brethren are no doubt quite serious in believing that lay-delegates will lead to a change in all the rules of discipline, because they cannot conceive how the form of discipline can be maintained without exclusive power in travelling preachers. Their sincerity, however, is equalled by that of the opposers of our national independence, who believed that with the loss of kingly power the common law of England would be lost forever. They, too, could not conceive how laws which had been administered for hundreds of years in the name of the king could be respected and enforced for their own sakes. It was not the majesty of the laws which they revered so much as the majesty of the king. The tendency of all absolute principles of government is to make the ministers of justice more fearful than justice itself." Entertaining such opinions, the Anglo-American clergy had fled the country for the most part; Jarrett in Virginia and a few others were exalted exceptions. The English missionaries of Wesley followed them, in their loyalty to the king. Some of them acted and talked after a manner which prejudiced the native mind against the whole confraternity, so that, like the Tories, they were watched and put under disability. George Shadford was the last to leave. He and Asbury, quite bosom friends, conferred and prayed together over it, and differing

answers came to each, as they professed. Asbury said, "If you are called to go, I am called to stay; so here we must part." They parted to meet no more.

Meantime Asbury came under suspicion; for while he was discreet and did not meddle with the politics of the country, yet the test oath was too much for him, as it conditioned that the subscriber to it would, if called on, take up arms in defence of the country. He did what he conscientiously could to conciliate public opinion. Finding that he could best conform to the conditions of citizenship offered in Delaware, he had himself registered as a citizen of that colony, or state. He was offered a quiet settlement over an Episcopal church, but answered: "I will do nothing that shall separate me from my brethren. I hope to live and die a Methodist." In March, 1778, the patrol became so rigid that Asbury took refuge with Judge White of Kent County, Del.¹ On the 2d of April the light-horse seized the judge and bore him away from his wife and children. Asbury again fled and found refuge in the neighborhood. He says, "I lay in a swamp until sundown, and was then kindly taken in by a friend." About a month afterward he ventured back to Judge White's, who after five weeks' detention was released, the charge against him being that he was a Methodist. From Judge White's he was able to keep up a surreptitious correspondence with some of the preachers, and covert visits were paid to him. During this time he formed the acquaintance of Judge Barratt and Richard Bassett, both names figuring conspicuously in early Methodism. For a year he did not venture far from his retreat. The governor of Delaware became friendly to him, and a letter he had written to Rankin about 1777 became known, in which he expressed the opinion that the outcome of the war would be the independence of the colonies, served him a good purpose in securing him wider liberty to preach.

¹ "History of the Rise of Methodism in America from 1736 to 1785," 434 pp. 12mo. Cloth. 1859. By John Lednum, of the Philadelphia Conference. A copy in the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C. On page 210 he freely criticises Asbury's conduct for this hiding at Judge White's. Indeed, despite all that has been said to extenuate it, nothing is satisfactory but the fact that at this time, and for some years after, he was a thorough English Tory. Yet as late as 1885, Bishop Harris, of the M. E. Church, avers as though there was no room for question — "Mr. Asbury, who warmly espoused the cause of the colonies, and identified his fortunes with his flock in the wilderness." It is in this way that history is manufactured and falsified. See page 9, "The Relation of the Episcopacy to the General Conference," by the late Bishop W. L. Harris, D.D., LL.D. New York, Hunt & Eaton, 1888. 12mo. 96 pp. Cloth.

Except the name of Perry Hall no retreats for Asbury are so frequently mentioned in his Journal as Bassett's princely home at Bohemia Manor, and Barratt's, on which the chapel of that name was built, famous for the meeting of Coke and Asbury in 1784. Asbury's stately manners and wide intelligence gave him influence with not a few families of social distinction, which gave to the Methodism of the day more commanding position than it first possessed. To offset these mollifying influences, Wesley about this time, issued and sent to America his "Calm Address to the Colonies," in which the most radical monarchical sentiments were avowed, and exasperated the Americans. Asbury deprecated this intermeddling of Wesley in the politics of the country. Not a few writers from time to time have inveighed against Asbury for his concealment at Judge White's, as reflecting upon his courage and impugning his motives. The writer cannot join them. He acted as a conscientious Christian man of his avowed sentiments might be expected to act. The deprecatory thing about his course was the effect it seemed to have upon other preachers of the native-born stock in refusing to take the test oath, leading to their arrest, imprisonment, maltreatment, and surcease of usefulness. It is no wonder, on the other hand, that the Revolutionists could not excuse them.¹ The light they had was reflected during the Civil War, from 1861-66. Test oaths of the most binding nature were applied to all who were suspected as out of full sympathy for the preservation of the Union. In the North, not even ministers were exempt from the draft. Men who took the position as to American independence, such as Asbury and other of the preachers, were dealt with with greater severity. Jonathan Forrest and William Wren were arrested at Annapolis, Md., with some others and committed to jail. In Queen Anne County Joseph Hartley was bound over in £500 not to preach in the county. Freeborn Garrettson was beaten with a stick by one of the county judges, pursued on horseback, and nearly killed. Hartley was also whipped in Talbot County and imprisoned. Caleb Peddicord was whipped and bore the scars to his grave. Isham Tatum of South Carolina must be mentioned as a local preacher of renown. Francis Poythress, already named, was a distinguished character of early

¹ Guirey states that from 1776 to 1780 not a few of the deeds of American Methodist chapels were destroyed to prevent seizure by the Revolutionists as British property. He gives Adam Cloud of the early itinerants as his authority. See p. 269.

Methodism. He was a Virginian, and held in the highest esteem by Asbury for his labors in Virginia, Carolina, Maryland, and Kentucky. He was designated by Asbury for a superintendent, or bishop to peer with himself, in 1797, and would have been elected probably, but for the fact that the preachers took the ground that it was not competent for a yearly Conference to elect bishops. It illustrates how little Asbury cared for precedents or constructions, if his will could be gratified. Poythress died insane. Jesse Lee was a giant in those days, and did for New England Methodism, as elsewhere, an immortal work. Richard Webster and John Watters were local leaders in their day, and Maryland owes much to them. Dromgoole lived to an old age, and, though he never changed his church relations, was in sympathy with O'Kelly and the later Reformers, whose day he lived to see.¹ Dickins was a leader in the southern movement to liberalize Methodism, but afterward became Book Agent in Philadelphia and, as will be seen in not a few other cases, official position made a change in his sentiments. Thomas Ware labored for fifty years, and his sketches of his life and travels are the best contributions to early Methodist history. John Tunnell was a saintly man of great gifts, who, in East Tennessee and the far West, did pioneer work for thirteen years. He died July, 1790,

¹ In the *Methodist Protestant* of May 22, 1847, there is a reprint of a letter addressed to W. L. Mackensie, Esq., of New York, under date of June 21, 1844, from General George C. Dromgoole, of Virginia, a son of Rev. Edward Dromgoole, who was born in Ireland, located, after emigration to this country, in Philadelphia, converted under the earliest Methodist preaching, and in 1774 became leader of the first class ever organized in America. He subsequently united with the Methodists as an itinerant, labored principally in Virginia, and finally settled in Brunswick County, where he died in 1835 in the eighty-fourth year of his age. In the beginning of the Revolutionary War, he promptly took the oath of allegiance before his friend, Robert Jones, magistrate in Sussex County, Va., and ever afterward carried with him a certificate of the fact, so that he travelled wherever he wished entirely unmolested by the American patrol. When the Declaration of Independence was made he read the instrument from the court-house steps to a large company in Halifax County, Va., and exhibited his attachment to his adopted country in every proper way. It was in broad contrast with the course of Bishop Asbury, who refused to take the oath, and in consequence felt it expedient to retire into seclusion at his friend's, Judge White, who was also a Tory. Dr. Atkinson, in his "Centennial History of Methodism," feels called upon to rebut the statement that Edward Dromgoole united in his old age with the Reformers of 1827-30, and adduces a letter from one of his sons to this effect. It is, no doubt, technically correct that he never withdrew from the old Church, but there is evidence that he attended and preached at a Reform camp-meeting in Virginia, and that a son was a minister of the new Church, two conditions which can be accounted for on the supposition only that his sympathies were with the Reformers.

and Asbury preached his funeral sermon. William Gill, his bosom friend, was another great light of the day. The famous Dr. Rush of Philadelphia pronounced him "the greatest divine I have ever heard." He died in Chestertown, Md., but his grave is unmarked, says Atkinson in his "Memorials." His last words were, "All is well," and he closed his own eyes as he expired. Reuben Ellis of North Carolina was among the leaders, with few as his equal. Le Roy Cole, a Virginian, for fifty years ranked high, lived to 1830, nearly eighty-one years old. John Littlejohn was an Englishman of superior parts, who settled in Virginia, served the Church for sixty years, and died in 1836. All these were men who would rank with the ablest of ministers in this day. Richard Ivy must be added to this roll of the worthy. As a preacher he was known from New Jersey to Georgia, and after eighteen years of service retired to care for his aged mother in 1794, and died in peace in 1795. John Major was known as the "weeping prophet," owing to his pathetic eloquence, which kept his congregations in tears. Henry Willis, now scarcely remembered, is a name history will not suffer to die. After thirty years' labor he died in 1808 at Pipe Creek, Md., and Asbury, on visiting his grave, apostrophized: "Henry Willis! Ah, when shall I look upon thy like again! Rest, man of God!" James O'Kelly needs but to be named, as his prominence will call shortly for special notice. As the memory of these noble men fades away the printed page must preserve Ruff, Boyer, Baxter, Mair, Bruce, and others whose record is on high. They were nearly all native-born south of Pennsylvania, as the strength of Methodism was in Maryland and Virginia, and the pertinence of this fact will presently be recognized as the Conference of 1779 comes to be considered.

Before recording its eventful transactions, observation must be made of its principal actor, Francis Asbury, as a student. Studious in his early manhood, as has been found, when he came to America and the vision of future greatness loomed up before him with the intimation that comes to most men of genius, he gave himself to the cultivation of his naturally strong mind with unflagging diligence. One thing alone seemed to bias him in his choice of reading, — his hierarchal views of church government. He became fixed in these principles by careful reading and copying of Bishop Potter's work, a pronounced successionist and high churchman. The Bible he mastered not in English only, but fluently read it in both Hebrew and Greek. He stopped a night

with a Hebrew in his early American ministry that he might have the advantage of Hebraic learning from him, and he expresses his gratification. Otherwise his reading was almost omnivorous, most of all along lines defensive of his preconceived opinions. There is no note, however, that in his travels he ever picked up a stray volume of Shakespeare for perusal, and in this he was unlike his immortal exemplar, John Wesley, in whose library a well-thumbed and carefully annotated volume of the poet of nature was found by an unlettered preacher, and who, shocked by the profanation of the place by the book, incontinently destroyed it, or otherwise the world might have had the benefit of Wesley's analytical mind on this classic production. So soon as Asbury reached a harbor after a day's travel and found time to open his saddle-pockets, social courtesies were brief; he sat down to read and write. His Journal is full of the records of books being read; and in later years, when he took the care of all the chapels on him and the whole boundless continent was his circuit, it was one of his acute methods of keeping himself in authority, and preserving his magnetic touch with the preachers and a few leading laymen, by incessant letter-writing, much of it necessarily official; but more of it outreaching antennæ. He devoured theology and history, his mind was stored with incidents, and he was a ready and instructive conversationist when he thought it timely to communicate, and he was equally at home and self-possessed in all grades of society. It is computed that he wrote an average of a thousand letters a year. This correspondence took in, specially after the English preachers retired, Wesley and Shadford, and a few others, not to name his mother, early widowed and in part dependent on him for support, a filial obligation he never neglected. For while he accepted celibacy rather than be hampered in his control of a continent, he gallantly begs the pardon of the sex, in one place in his Journal, for not marrying; and after the decease of his mother he helped for long years the widow of John Dickins, on the principle, it is said, that every man ought to do something toward the support of one woman. Reference has been made to his inflexible views of Episcopacy and how early it absorbed his head, heart, and conscience. In February, 1775, this note occurs in his Journal: "I received a letter from Miss G. (Gilbert) at Antigua (West Indies), in which she informs me that Mr. G. (Gilbert), her father and lay-missionary, was going away; and as there are about three hundred members in society, she entreats me to go and labor amongst them.

And as Mr. Wesley has given his consent, I feel inclined to go and take one of the young men with me. But there is one obstacle in the way — the administration of the ordinances. It is possible to get the ordination of a presbytery, but this would be incompatible with Methodism: which would be an effectual bar in my way.”¹ This suggestive note does not seem to have been cited by any other historian, and for the reason that it makes plain that to Asbury Methodism was not primarily a self-witnessing doctrine and a personal spiritual life, as Wesley affirmed, — though he emphasized these, — as it was a sect, a Church, with a ministry of apostolical succession, as Wesley denied; and he will be found bending all his energies to this end, and finally, with Dr. Coke as coadjutor, accomplishing it, shaving closely the very edges of the questionable, to put it mildly, in the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The initial act of this questionable type will demand attention in the transactions of the dual Conference of 1779, as it shall open a new chapter of this History.

¹ “Journal,” Vol. I. p. 145.

CHAPTER XIX

The regular Conference at Brokenback chapel, Fluvanna County, Va., May, 1779 — Determination to Presbyterianize the body in polity — Asbury's factional conference a month in advance at Judge White's in Delaware, with eleven preachers in attendance — Extracts from the minutes of both conferences and the ground of the contentions between them, with new facts incorporated, making it the fullest account ever presented in any history — How Asbury, the strategist, finally prevailed through the weakening of Gatch — Silence of the printed minutes as to the Brokenback Conference by suppression of the facts by Asbury and Coke in 1795 — Reunion of the bodies in May, 1781 — Asbury tells how he circumvented the Virginia brethren.

It has been found that the Leesburg Conference of 1778 was presided over by William Watters, Asbury being in duress at Judge White's in Delaware. Though but twenty-seven years of age, he was the chairman of the commission of five which the previous session had appointed, and whose names have been already given, to manage the affairs of the Methodist Societies. The Leesburg Conference adjourned, to meet at the Brokenback chapel in Fluvanna County, Va., May 18, 1779. It was the only regular Conference. They had adjourned with the understanding that the matter of the ordinances and ordination should receive final disposition at this Conference, and it was also known that it was about settled that the figment of episcopacy and servile dependence upon the clergy of the now scattered and practically disestablished National Church of England on American soil should be disowned. Asbury was fully acquainted with these purposes and the temper of the large majority of the preachers in their support. To circumvent them he laid under contribution all his strategic resources, and they were fully employed. The situation was critical, and no one was more keenly alive to it than Asbury. Rankin had retired, thus leaving the societies without a head of Wesley's appointment. Asbury had never presided at a Conference¹ of which record is made in the printed Minutes.

¹ Stevens says, "During the administration of Rankin, Asbury was entirely subordinate to his authority, and sometimes grievously humiliated by it. Rankin presided at all the annual conferences, and made out all the appointments, some-

No successor was formally appointed to Rankin until 1784. It will be seen how Asbury reasserted his former position as General Assistant by assumption of its powers through the force of his personal character. One thing remained to him: in opposing the plans of the Fluvanna preachers—he was in line with Wesley's purpose not to separate from the National Church, and he used this argument with the hand of a master. He at once put himself in letter-link connection with such of the preachers north of the Potomac (for all south of it were dissentients) as would yield to the cogency of this argument, and thus brought to his succor several of the native American preachers who, but for it, would on general principles have also sided with the Fluvanna men. Among these were Watters, Garrettson, Peddicord, Gill, and Ruff. He suggested April 28, 1779, as a time for meeting him at Judge White's for conference. Besides those named, six others found their way to Asbury's place of seclusion.¹

Once within the magic circle of his personal presence, he largely moulded them at will. What they did, so far as is known, is on record in the minutes of two printed pages. Reviewing them in reverse order, as probably the actual one, the question was put, "Ought not brother Asbury to act as General Assistant in America?" *Answer*, "He ought: first, on account of his age; second, because originally appointed by Mr. Wesley; third, because joined with Messrs. Rankin and Shadford by express order from Mr. Wesley." The fact of history is that Shadford was not sent as a co-general assistant with Rankin. The next question was: "How far shall his power extend?" *Answer*, "On hearing every preacher for and against what is in debate, the right of determination shall rest with him according to the minutes."²

times appointing Asbury to circuits directly against his will. Asbury had never presided at an annual Conference recorded in the minutes." Asbury in this gave evidence, if any were needed, of his fitness to control on the well-known principle, he alone is fit to command who has first learned to obey. And he had that rare patience and diplomatic skill which assured him of a final advantage over less discreet men, like Rankin, and afterward O'Kelly.

¹ Guirey gives the names of all who were present at the 1779 Asbury Conference: Freeborn Garrettson, Jos. Hartley, William Glendenning, Daniel Ruff, Jos. Cromwell, Thomas S. Chew, Thomas M'Clure, Caleb B. Peddicord, John Cooper, William Gill, and William Watters, making, with Francis Asbury, twelve. The information is important. Jennings, in his "Exposition," gives the full list, probably from Guirey. See p. 124.

² That is Wesley's rule in the English Minutes.

Thus they clothed him with the plenary authority of Wesley himself, and he continued to exercise it for years afterward. And so these twelve men, inclusive of Asbury, by a high-handed act repudiated the action of the two prior regular Conferences. Some farther questions were: "Shall we guard against a separation from the Church, directly or indirectly?" *Answer*, "By all means." This to nullify any action the Fluvanna Conference might take, under this Asburian assumption of authority. "Why was the Delaware Conference held? For the convenience of the preachers in the northern stations, that we all might have an opportunity of meeting in Conference, it being unadvisable for brother Asbury and brother Ruff, with some others, to attend in Virginia; it is considered also as preparatory to the Conference in Virginia. Our sentiments to be given in by brother Watters." It must be admitted it was a guileful answer, with scarcely a defensible point in it, except as sending Watters as a messenger to bear to the regular Conference the sentiments of this secedent body of Methodist preachers. "Who of the preachers are willing to take the station this Conference shall place them in, and continue till next Conference?" The twelve, inclusive of Asbury, answered affirmatively. Thus they ignored the Fluvanna Conference utterly in the vital matter of the appointments. It was a step farther than the assumption that they were the Conference; it repudiated the appointing power of any other. Asbury in his *Journal* makes note of these things only to tell, "We had much love, prayer, and harmony," and fear of the separation of the southern brethren led to the message, with Watters as the messenger. "We wrote them a soft, healing epistle." Had that letter been preserved, it would exhibit Asbury at his best as a peacemaker, provided his will and way be accepted. He gives one fact not in the printed Minutes: "We appointed our next Conference to be held in Baltimore town, the last Tuesday in April next."

Thus it is seen that no half-way measures were proposed. May 3, 1779, he writes in his *Journal*: "To-day I wrote to John Dickins, to Philip Gatch, Edward Dromgoole, and William Glendenning, urging them, if possible, to prevent a separation among the preachers in the South, that is, Virginia and North Carolina. And I entertain great hopes that the breach will be healed; if not, the consequences may be bad." Significant words! There is something leonine in his attitude. Himself and eleven others separate from the regular Conference and then put the stigma of separation upon it. But he knew he occupied the coign of

vantage,—he had them on the hip. Wesley would side with him so soon as he could be heard from, and so it proved. It boots nothing in the present emergency that only five years after this time, he and Dr. Coke concoct a plan of separation not only from the Church, but a few years later separate from Wesley also; and his authority is put at defiance, just as now the regular Conference is put at defiance. Bangs, with that bias which leads him to excuse and justify everything that Asbury did, says, with a reckless disregard of facts as to the Asburyan Conference at Judge White's: "Although this was considered as 'a preparatory conference,' yet, if we take into consideration that the one afterward held in the absence of the general assistant at the Broken-back church in Virginia, we shall see good reason for allowing that this, which was held under the presidency of Mr. Asbury, was the *regular* conference, and hence their acts and doings are to be considered valid."¹ Such a position is too much for the native candor and historic accuracy of Stevens. He attacks and refutes it utterly. A few citations will suffice to show his pronounced opinion: "They had the right to provide the divinely enjoined ordinances of religion for themselves and their children, and they proceeded to do so by orderly and solemn forms. If at Fluvanna they were revolvers, seceders, then it must be acknowledged that American Methodism as a whole must bear this reproach, for the proceedings of that session not only represented a majority of the circuits, preachers, and people, but were enacted in the legal assembly of the Church for the year, and by a legal majority of its recognized legislators. Nor can we accuse them of impatience. For at least six years the question had been pending, and they conceding to their opponents. . . . But assuredly these are not reasons why such faithful men, including Philip Gatch, John Dickins, Nelson Reed, Reuben Ellis, John Major, Henry Willis, Francis Poythress, and others as eminent, should be represented, however indirectly, as they have hitherto been by some of our authorities, as practically revolvers and disturbers of the Church. They were, as we have seen, in every legal sense the Church itself. Historic impartiality requires this vindication of their memory. It is requisite not only for their memory, but also, as will hereafter be seen, for a rectification of a grave defect in the official records of the denomination."² He makes an exhaustive vindication of the Fluvanna Conference,

¹ Bangs's "History M. E. Church," Vol. I. p. 128.

² Stevens's "History," Vol. II. pp. 56-66.

with contemporary references, to which those are referred who may have any doubt of his position and that of this writer.

Undeterred and unawed by the proceedings of Asbury and those who conferred with him, the regular Conference was held as appointed. The printed Minutes are as brief as those of Asbury's Conference, but they alone furnish the statistics and the full Plan of Appointments. Philip Gatch was elected to preside. The whole number of preachers was 44, though these minutes say 49, from the error of twice counting those on two Maryland circuits. It was a gain of 14. The circuits numbered 20, a gain of 5. Philadelphia, Chester, and Frederick reappear, omitted the year before on account of the interruptions of the war. The members reported are 8577, a gain of 2482. Numerically, three-fifths of them were within the territory south of the Potomac, as were all the commissioners, save one. For the outcome of the sacramental controversy Stevens says history is indebted to Gatch's manuscript Journal of the proceedings. The printed Minutes take no note of it whatever. It will be remembered that these printed Minutes of 1795 were revised by the bishops, Asbury and Coke, and they included or left out just what they pleased, as John Dickins, the first book agent, who had become a pervert to the views he held in 1778-79, did their bidding.¹ This garbling of minutes and suppression of facts is a frequent occurrence, as will be seen as advance is made into the secret things of Methodist Episcopal organization.² At this session they took action. Their justification was that "the Episcopal establishment is now dissolved in this country, and therefore in almost all our circuits the members are without the ordinances." They therefore appointed Gatch, Foster, Cole, and Ellis "a Presbytery," first, to administer the ordinances them-

¹ Guirey gave a satirizing couplet of the times reproaching Dickins for his change of front.

Who would not blush, if such a man there be, —
Who would not weep, if John Dickins were he.

² Guirey states that in 1781 the following minute was passed by the Asbury Conference against the Fluvanna brethren, "If any of the preachers administer the ordinances they may be borne with a year, but if any of the members receive them from the preachers they shall be expelled immediately." It anticipated — this high-handed proceeding — the "Gag Law," of 1796, used relentlessly against Reformers ever afterward, by which they were thrown out of this branch of the visible Church, notwithstanding their unimpeachable moral characters! You look, however, in vain for this minute in those published by Dickins in 1795. By that time Asbury and Coke found it expedient to suppress it from history; but these arbitrary and unchristian rulings find the light, as in this instance, through other sources. See p. 287 of Guirey's "History."

selves; second, to authorize any other preacher, or preachers, approved by them, by the form of laying on of hands. Some of the questions and answers were: "What is to be observed as touching the administration of the ordinances, and to whom shall they be administered? To those who are under our care and discipline. Shall we re-baptize any under our care? No. What mode shall we adopt for the administration of baptism? Either sprinkling or plunging, as the parents or adults may choose. What ceremony shall be used in the administration? Let it be according to our Lord's commandment, Matt. xxviii. 19, short and extempore. Shall the sign of the cross be used? No. Who shall receive the charge of the child after baptism for future instruction? The parent or person having the care of the child, with advice from the preacher. What mode shall be adopted for the administration of the Lord's Supper? Kneeling is thought the most proper, but in case of conscience may be left to the choice of the communicant. What ceremony shall be observed in this ordinance? After singing, prayer, and exhortation, the preacher shall deliver the bread, saying, 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc., after the Church order.'"

It is observable that though this Conference was outlawed by Asbury, these regulations were found so sensible, broad, and scriptural that they remain to this day parts of the Discipline except that the Prayer Book forms, which these liberal-minded preachers practically rejected, were incorporated when Mr. Wesley's Sunday Service for the American Methodists was brought over by Dr. Coke and accepted by the Christmas Conference of 1784. The plan of appointments (there is no information as to the manner of making it, whether by Gatch or the Commission) covered the whole field except Delaware and points north of Maryland. Asbury's name does not appear in the printed Minutes at all, as it had not in the two previous Conferences. The appointments for Baltimore and Frederick were the same in both bodies. The vote being taken on the sacramental question, it was carried by a vote of eighteen in the affirmative. Watters, the only member who attended both sessions, says, "A few did not agree" with the affirmative. It is due to Watters to record in passing that he "received no notice of the Asbury Conference, but hearing of it indirectly, determined if possible to get there, though in a weak state of health, in order that he might persuade Asbury to attend the regularly appointed Conference."¹ He was President

¹ Watters's "Life," p. 72.

of the Leesburg Conference of 1778, and there is little doubt that he was at the time in sympathy with the Fluvanna brethren. Freeborn Garrettson, who was also at the Asbury Conference, in his semi-centennial sermon admits that Fluvanna was the regular Conference. So that, of the eleven preachers who attended, it is far from conclusive that they did so because they approved his proceedings, but, once under Asbury's magnetic influence and persuasive reasoning, they agreed to his proposals.

Before the Conference at Fluvanna adjourned, the "presbytery" before noted ordained one another, and then all of the preachers but the few who did not agree. As Watters attended Asbury's Conference from Fairfax County, Va., as he tells, in order to persuade him to go to the regular Conference, it would seem that he might have done so if he had wished, as it must have been as easy and as free from risk for Asbury to find the Fluvanna Conference as it was for the invited brethren to find him, thus establishing a probability that, foreseeing that he would be overborne by the action at Fluvanna, he determined not to attend, but call in anticipation an irregular conference to do his will. To use a vulgar illustration, "He took the bit in his teeth." Philip Gatch had retired in 1777, being one of the few married men, but such was the respect in which he was held that he was elected to preside over the Conference of 1779. That he was liberal in his sentiments, one proof is in the fact that to him the laity of the societies were indebted for a change in the mode of trial. Stevens says, "The Church owes to him one of its most momentous legislative measures: the trial of accused members by committees in place of the previous clerical power of excommunication." The Fluvanna Conference adjourned, to meet at Manakintown, Powhatan County, Va., May 8, 1780. Asbury records in his Journal, under date July 30, 1779: "I received the minutes of the Virginia Conference, by which I learn the preachers there effected a lame separation from the Episcopal Church, that will last about a year. I pity them; Satan has a desire to have us that he may sift us as wheat." The irony is biting, and it stands with numerous other deliverances which prove that this good man was after all severely human. Of such references the candid Stevens says: "Asbury's judgment was always severe in such cases. His own iron conscientiousness, and his rigorous habits of 'discipline,' led him to condemn deviations from 'order' as dangerous, if not disastrous sins; and many of his allusions to men whose opinions disagreed with his

own, or whose infirmities clouded their last days, require no little qualification from the charity that 'hopeth all things.' "

From the silence of the annalists of these early days it must not be inferred that the two parties into which the societies and the preachers were now divided did not press their divergent views of Conference polity, the one under the lead of Gatch, unfortunately for the cause now retired, and for this reason not so influential as he would have been, supported by Poythress, Ivy, Willis, Dickins, Yeargan, O'Kelly, Tatum, Gill, Cole, Glendenning, Reed, Major, Tunnell, Ellis, as well as Watters and others, to the number of nearly thirty out of the forty-four preachers, paving the way for a Presbyterian system; while Asbury, with the less hearty support of some dozen American preachers, Ruff, Garrettson, Cooper, Hartley, Chew, Cromwell, and Peddicord being the principals, predetermined that it should be hierarchal, an Episcopacy of three orders, with property rights and ecclesiastical authority exclusively vested in the preachers, as in Wesley's day. The former were equally conscientious, and if they had been equally firm in the maintenance of their convictions, the organic form of American Methodism would have been conformed to the precedents of the New Testament churches, which established the priesthood of the people with a ministry to serve in honor for their works' sake. Had it prevailed, it is patent that the O'Kelly secession of 1792 would have been forestalled, and the societies saved the most disastrous destruction of their unity they ever experienced, until the climax of disunion in 1844. Had it prevailed, a strong probability would be established, as will be seen, that the organic unity of American Methodism would have been preserved, with what advantages denominationally, and what honor as a magnificent section of Christ's earthly fold, the pen of the historian cannot describe. All the Scripture, all the methods of the primitive Church for two centuries, all the logic, all the rights of manhood Christianized, all the political sentiments of the American Methodists and revolutionary people, were on the side of the Fluvanna's large majority of the preachers and three-fifths of the people.

On the other hand, Asbury could cite the talismanic name of Wesley and show letters from him. All but two of the preachers — Dickins, who was an Englishman, and Glendenning, who was a Scotsman — were native-born. It is doubtful whether Wesley had much personal acquaintance with any but Asbury, so that likely he alone kept up a correspondence with the father of

Methodism. There is no doubt that he plied him diligently with letters setting forth his own views and convictions, and as they were in accord with the Wesleyan policy in England, he would have had little difficulty in recommissioning him as General Assistant, but for the counter fact that Rankin, and, strange to say, Shadford, his bosom friend in America, and Boardman, and other returned missionaries of Wesley's, did not make favorable representations of Asbury's disposition and aspirations; so that, distracted, he finally wrote, as his will in the case of the dispute in America, through Dickins, that "they should continue on the old plan until farther directed," as is gleaned from Garrettson's semi-centennial sermon, about the only record extant of these transactions.

Asbury called his Conference to meet in Baltimore, at Lovely Lane chapel, April 24, 1780.¹ He had now come from his retirement after twenty-five months' seclusion, and presided over the Conference. His personal influence brought together twenty-four of the preachers, but not by accessions from the regular Conference. The proceedings, as usual in the printed Minutes, are brief, the most important items as follows: "What preachers do now agree to sit in Conference on the original plan, as Methodists?" The significance of the form of this query will strike every careful reader. It is premonitory of another action. To it the twenty-four, inclusive of Asbury, responded affirmatively, not by voting, let it be underscored, but not dissenting; Asbury records the result. Five were admitted into connection and are counted among the twenty-four. "Shall we continue in close connection with the Church, and press our people to a closer communion with her? Yes. Will this Conference grant the privilege to all the friendly clergy of the Church of England, at the request or desire of the people, to preach or administer the ordinances in our preaching-houses or chapels? Yes." This introduced a new custom and practically made Episcopalians of the societies. "Ought not this Conference to require those preachers who hold slaves to give promises to set them free? Yes. Does this Conference acknowledge that slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society;

¹ Guirey tells that this Conference was composed of the eleven named as attending the Delaware 1779 Conference, except M'Clure, who was not in the 1780 meeting, and to the others was added John Hagerty, Richard Garrettson, John Tunnell, and Micajah Debruler, all young men just received. No other historian gives this complete list.

contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion, and doing that which we would not others should do to us and ours? Do we pass our disapprobation on all our friends who keep slaves, and advise their freedom? Yes." The measure was drastic. Jesse Lee says, "The preachers in this case went too far in their censures." The resolves fell into desuetude; but it is interesting to note with Stevens, "Methodism thus early recorded its protest against negro slavery, anticipating its abolition in Massachusetts by three years; in Rhode Island and Connecticut by four years; the thesis of Clarkson before the University of Cambridge by five years; and the ordinance of Congress against it in the North-western Territory by seven years." "Does this whole Conference disapprove the steps our brethren have taken in Virginia? Yes. Do we look upon them no longer as Methodists in connection with Mr. Wesley and us until they come back? Agreed. What must be the condition of our union with our Virginia brethren? To suspend all their administrations for one year, and all meet together in Baltimore."

Thus virtual excommunication was passed by the minority upon the majority; the seceders expel the regular Conference and all their adherents! Asbury saw it was a case of life or death for him, and he administered heroic treatment. He had not yet heard from Wesley, so that these high-handed proceedings were on his own responsibility, and there never was an exigency to which he did not prove himself equal; his iron will bore down all before it. The utter ignoring of the regular Conference found its climax in another query: "What shall the Conference do in case of brother Asbury's death or absence? Meet once a year, and act according to the minutes." It was just what the regular Conference was doing. A faction reconstitute Asbury General Assistant without authorization from Wesley, who alone could appoint, expel the regular Conference and three-fifths of the membership, and coolly declare that they are "no longer Methodists in connection with Mr. Wesley!" "Shall brothers Asbury, Garrettson, and Watters attend the Virginia Conference and inform them of our proceedings in this, and receive their answer? Yes." Watters says that Gatch and Ellis of the Virginia brethren were present as spectators of these memorable transactions in the Baltimore Conference. He acted as mediator between the parties, and while in sympathy with the regular Conference, was willing to almost any terms that would save a final rupture. The printed Minutes contain the plan of appoint-

ments of Asbury, but there is not the slightest reference to the Manakintown regular Conference, except, without acknowledgment of their source, the plan of appointments for Virginia and North Carolina is inserted. By it twenty preachers are stationed. The statistics are given for the whole connection. Membership, 8504, showing a loss of 73. This, in contrast with the gain of 1500 the previous year, cannot be accounted for on the ground solely of the war draft and other such hinderances, but must include the disaffection and falling away of members when the preachers fell out among themselves.

Why do the printed Minutes take no notice of the Manakintown Conference? Undoubtedly they were properly kept and forwarded to the Asbury party, as they had been the previous year. The answer is plain: when the manuscript copies were printed by Dickens, under the supervision of Coke and Asbury, in 1795, the regular Conference is historically blotted out so far as such an act made it possible. Stevens is justly indignant that "it is unmentioned in all our contemporary official documents." Before leaving the Asbury Conference, it must be noted that it placed itself on record as the first American Temperance Society, antedating all other organizations. "Do we disapprove of the practice of distilling grain into liquor? Shall we disown our friends who will not renounce the practice? Yes."

The Manakintown regular Conference met May 28, 1780, according to adjournment. The minutes having been repudiated by the bishops in the edition of 1795, dependence for information is left to Watters and Garrettson and Asbury himself unofficially. All were present who attended the previous year. It is not known who presided, but presumably Gatch, and it is significant that Asbury, though present with Garrettson and Watters, is unrecognized, except as a preacher in the societies. Watters says, in substance, that on reaching the assembled Conference they were invited to be present, and that they "found the brethren as determined as ever in persevering in their newly adopted mode, with the added argument that the Lord had greatly blessed them in it. He tells of the tears and the sobs and the prayers,—effective weapons with tender-hearted preachers. Watters preached, and after waiting two days, "and all hopes of an accommodation failing, we had fixed on turning back in the morning." Finally, "one of their own party in Conference (none of the others being present)—it was probably Gatch, who made this private interview with the Baltimore men—proposed that they would suspend

the ordinances for a year, and in the meantime Wesley " should be written to for a decision, and by that they would abide. Gatch is suggested as making the proposal, for the reason that, at the Baltimore Conference, after withstanding all suggestions of conciliation, he and Ellis looked with favor on the proposal which came from Asbury to suspend the ordinances for a year, and thought it might be made the basis of negotiation.¹ He now brings it forward at Manakintown, and the next day submitted it to the Conference, coupled with a suggestion that Asbury be invited to travel through their circuits, etc. For the time it secured the peace of the faction with the regulars.

They agreed to meet in Baltimore in May, 1781, as a united Conference. For the future unity of American Methodism it was a fatal compromise. Not a compromise, but a surrender. It was the lost opportunity to organize Methodism on a liberal polity. They yielded their convictions for the time under the spell of the magnetic presence of Asbury. As several times already admitted, the argument before the fact as to the resultants is unsatisfactory, but it is now known from the comparative success of the polity likely to have been then inaugurated, in the history of the Methodist Protestant Church, that nothing essential to Methodism would have been sacrificed, and its organic unity in America probably preserved. All the annalists agree in commending them for the Christian spirit of their submission, but it has taken more than one hundred years even partially to undo the results of this surrender. Asbury's account of the Manakintown Conference is characteristic. On his way he preached in Fairfax County, Va., and says: "Prepared some papers for Virginia Conference. I go with a heavy heart, and fear the violence of a party of positive men; Lord, give me wisdom." What a strange conglomerate is even pious human nature. He fears the "violence of a party of positive men." He seems utterly oblivious that himself and his retainers had done all the "violence" as a "positive party." "He found the people full of the ordinances;" he had ridden into the open air of a free American Methodism, and it troubled him much. Arrived at the Conference, "he talked with his countryman, John Dickins, and found him opposed to our continuance in union with the Episcopal Church; brothers Waters and Garrettson tried their men and found them inflexible." So it seems that they had planned to capture the preachers in sections, a plan worthy of such a strategist as Asbury.

¹ Asbury's "Journal," Vol. I. p. 364.

"Brothers Watters, Garrettson, and myself stood back, and being afterward joined by brother Dromgoole, we were desired to come in, and I was permitted to speak." Permitted to speak! How oddly it sounds! Was he crestfallen? Never a bit. It was his golden opportunity, and he availed of it. "I read Mr. Wesley's thoughts on separation; showed my private letters of instruction from Mr. Wesley; set before them the sentiments of the Delaware and Baltimore Conferences; read our epistles, and read my letter to brother Gatch, and Dickins's letter in answer."

He preaches, and like a wise builder makes no allusion to the differences. Nothing, however, would move them, not even "letters from Mr. Wesley," chiefly, it may be opined, because they must have been very general and unsatisfactory, as it is known they were up to this point; he was too distracted by different stories to reach a conclusion thus early as to the disputants. "In the afternoon we met; the preachers appeared to be farther off; there had been, I thought, some talking out of doors." Who did this talking? Likely leading laymen made an outside lobby, for not one of them might put his foot inside a Conference, not a local preacher, not even a preacher on trial. He offers his ultimatum,—suspension of the ordinances for one year and submission of the matter to Wesley's decision. In an hour they assembled again, and their answer was that "they could not submit to the terms of union." Asbury turned away to his lodging-place "under the heaviest cloud I ever felt in America." That his last proposal, seemingly so fair, should be rejected, was too much for him. He fully understood that it was germinal of the whole matter, for he knew full well on general principles what Wesley's decision would be as to separation from the Church, and it may be that a few of the regular Conference understood it also, and hence their hesitation. James O'Kelly was there, an active participant, and was not easily circumvented. Some years later, when his hot blood was up, he characterized Asbury not very courteously as "a long-headed Englishman," and so he was in politer phrase. Both parties went to praying, Asbury at his lodging-place, Watters and Garrettson "upstairs where the Conference met,"—the loft probably; the regular Conference was praying, with a result like the prayers of chaplains in confronting armies, with a final construction that the Lord was on the side of the heaviest guns. The next day Asbury came back to take leave of the Conference on his return to the north, but found that "they had been brought to an agreement while I was pray-

ing." The Lord was on his side! Gatch had probably yielded, and with him the Conference, to suspend the ordinances and refer to Wesley, all to meet in Baltimore, in May, 1781. The letter was prepared and sent to Wesley by John Dickins, who from this time is found ranged on the winning side. Asbury, on reaching Petersburg, writes to Wesley, three days afterward. He returns to Maryland with the regular Conference in his saddle-pockets.¹ The Manakintown Conference is no longer a lost chapter in Methodism, but its finality must ever be regarded as its "lost opportunity." What it stood for could not, however, be compromised or throttled in its birth. The principles involved were undying; they live to-day in forms of liberal Methodism, and in a Methodist Episcopacy so revised in structure and so broadened in administration that Asbury would not know it. The Manakintown leaven is so working that nothing can arrest the full acknowledgment of its principles, as will be proven from the crises which have developed from that day to the present, and a near future for the consummation of Snethen's axiom, "I lay it down as an axiom that the religious liberty of a people should never be reduced in principle below the standard of their civil liberty."

¹ Dr. Tigert, though so prejudiced in favor of Asbury, cannot refrain the sensible remark anent him, and it furnishes a key to his whole career as a heady leader: "After all, it is probable that had Asbury agreed with the southern majority in their convictions that the administration of the sacraments was now a necessity, or in the expediency and legitimacy of presbyterial ordinations, he would have found a way to get rid of all constitutional and Wesleyan difficulties." See his "Constitutional History of American Episcopal Methodism," 1894, p. 101.

CHAPTER XX

Asbury as his own physician — Variant opinions held by him of O'Kelly — Wesley did not recommission Asbury until 1784 — Heroic preachers of the time — Second Asbury conference at Judge White's, 1781 — Lee's account of it, and Baltimore Conferences of 1781-82 — O'Kelly's account of the tergiversation of Dickins — Muzzling of the Virginia preachers, and extirpation of their liberal polity — Jarrett helps his plans — Asbury's methods with Wesley — Lambert, Wyatt, Bruce, Everett, Moriarty, Hickson, Easter, the Abbott of the South; M'Kendree and George among his converts.

BEFORE resuming the thread of this History let note be made of some incidental matters, and an embalmment of heroic names attached to this period. A few quotations from Asbury's Journal for 1780 will disclose his methods and convictions. November, 1779, he writes: "Began this morning to read books on the practice of physic: I want to help the bodies and souls of men." He was led to this course by his own physical ailments and the few physicians in the country. His bane was bilious complaints, quinsy, and, later, from so much exposure, rheumatism. It was not a fortunate thing, however, that he read medicine, for it will ever remain true that the man who is his own physician has a fool for a patient. He carried a lancet, and his saddle-pockets were crammed with pills and potions and plasters. Almost to the day of his death, thirty-five years later, his Journal is punctuated with bleedings and blisterings and black draughts and hierapiera. He dosed himself without mercy, and the marvel is that, between the drugs he took, the bleedings he inflicted on himself, and the diseases he struggled with, that he held out to seventy years. It was his way, however, of keeping himself well, though a lifelong invalid. In March, 1780, he writes, "I have been collecting all the minutes of our Conferences in America to assist me in a brief history of the Methodists; and an account of our principles." Again, a month later, "I was employed in writing a short history of the Methodists." But with this the subject is no more mentioned, — he abandoned the task, and there was no history until Jesse Lee issued his in 1810.

On his return ride to Maryland from Manakintown he writes, May 17, "I read and transcribed some of Potter's church government; and must prefer the Episcopal mode of church government to the Presbyterian." Two days afterward he writes, "I read and transcribed some of Potter's church government until ten o'clock." The reader will remember an earlier reference to this saturation of his whole nature with High Church, apostolical succession arguments and sentiments. He not only read it into his memory, but he wrote it in, and probably conned it over as he rode along. To the same purpose, about the same time: "I advised our friends to attend the Episcopal Church, that prejudice might be removed; then their people will attend us. If I could stay, some would attend." In June he writes, "Brother Dickins drew the subscription for a Kingswood school in America; this was what came out, a college in the subscription printed by Dr. Coke." This reference to Cokesbury College must have been inserted when he revised his Journal by association of ideas. What it shows, however, is that brother Dickins having been "labored with" by Asbury after the Manakintown Conference is now, and to the close of his career remained, a faithful adherent of his countryman.

Asbury is now on a tour among the Virginia and North Carolina brethren. In July he writes, "I have thought if I had two horses, and Harry a [colored man] to go with and drive one, and meet the black people, and to spend about six months in Virginia and the Carolinas, it would be attended with a blessing." Black Harry afterward became famous in his travels with Asbury. Reaching North Carolina at Cypress chapel he says, "Here James O'Kelly met me; he spoke, and appears to be a warm-hearted, good man; but he was troubled with the people about these times." A few days later, "James O'Kelly and myself enjoyed and comforted each other: this dear man rose at midnight, and prayed very devoutly for me and himself." About twelve years later he changed his opinion of O'Kelly materially, and it seems that it was the "people" who continued to give trouble as against Asbury's Episcopal plan. Afterward he met brother Allen, "A promising young man, but a little of a Dissenter." Alas, that there should be any independent thinkers in the world except brother Asbury. September 16, 1780, he says, "Wrote to Mr. Wesley at the desire of the Virginia Conference; who had consented to suspend the administration of the ordinances for one year." This must have been in addition to the letter they

authorized sent through John Dickins before noticed. There is no contemporary evidence that the "Virginia Conference," as Asbury states, authorized formally the writing of this second letter. There is no way to reconcile the discrepancy, but to assume that after the Dickins letter had been forwarded, some of the Virginia preachers suggested to Asbury, nearly six months later, perhaps because Wesley within this lapse of time had made no answer, to write again, and the early practice of his taking the consent of the part for the whole led him to say that the "Virginia Conference" desired him to do so. It met, no doubt, his personal approval, as it gave opportunity to fortify his position with Wesley. It was only a reflection of a monarchial idea: what is done by the Crown is done by the kingdom. That both the letters were written and sent is in evidence, because the answer to the Dickins letter, which the Conference at Manakintown did authorize, was received, Garrettson says, in time for the Baltimore Conference of April 24, 1781, while the answer to Asbury's second letter was delayed until 1784.¹ Why delayed until three years after? It needs only a little reading between the lines to decipher the reason. Wesley's answer to the Dickins letter covered the ground as far as he saw his way at that time. It simply directed, as has been found from Garrettson's semi-centennial sermon, that "we should continue on the old plan until farther directed." His counsellors distracted him, for it was a well-known fact that he not only listened to all the statements made him, and was impressed by the last interviewer or the last letter, until a nature ingenuous and unsuspicious as was Wesley's when he was compelled to compare conflicting statements, hesitated and delayed. It accounts for the fact that his letter to the Conference of 1781 does not recommission Asbury as General Assistant, an office now vacant for four years, or since Rankin's return to England. Neither Rankin, nor Boardman, nor Shadford, nor Rodda, in fact none of Wesley's returned missionaries, except perhaps Pilmoor, were advocates of Asbury at home; nevertheless, though three thousand miles distant, it will be seen in the sequel that he outgeneralled them all. In dismissing for the time these two famous letters it may be worth the remark that no other historian has developed their significance.

Pursuing his tour among the disaffected southrons he preaches at Manakintown in October, and finds his way to the Brokenback

¹ See Appendix C. The reader will not fail to peruse it before leaving this page.

chapel, where the Conference was held. He is accompanied by brother Edward Bailey as a guide, but he became sick and hindered his progress. He returns rapidly to Maryland, and, as six months had expired, according to the rule, he met some of the preachers at Barratt's chapel and changed them. He had travelled during this tour, he says, 2671 miles. In November he writes, "I arranged my papers containing a brief account of the beginning and progress of our divisions; it was transcribed into a book by Caleb Peddicord." As nothing more is heard of it he probably sent it to Wesley. About the same time he notes, "William Glendenning has handed me a book written by Jeremiah Burroughs, in the time of the Commonwealth, upon heart divisions and the evil of the times: in this work I promise myself good arguments against our separating brethren." He afterward issued it as an abridged pamphlet, together with Baxter's "Cure for Church Divisions," and made it do yeoman service against recalcitrants and dissenters from his views. It led him to the discovery that those who did not think as he did about church government had lost religion, and among such he distributed the pamphlet. Samuel Roe, a young preacher of the Virginia party, is reclaimed and takes an appointment. Asbury records his undisguised pleasure: "Samuel Roe is going to Sussex — one that had happily escaped the separating spirit and party in Virginia, and the snares laid for his feet; and so also did poor William Spencer of late years. Eternal thanks to God!" After such a devout exultation who can doubt the blind sincerity of the man? Early in January, 1781, he writes, "I received a letter from F. Garrettson, and another from T. S. C. (Chew), who promise me their filial obedience in the gospel." Chew was one of the Virginia brethren, and it is seen how one by one they came again under the spell of Asbury's genius and magnetism. He was but thirty-five years of age, but the citation just given foreshadows the habit he was forming, after the style of civil magnates, and with apostolical example, of calling the preachers his "sons in the gospel." Most of them, it is true, were still younger, but the paternal spirit animated him and prompted this address. In this he imitated Wesley also.

John Hagerty was a convert of John King's about 1771, and he soon found his gift as a preacher, and successfully exercised it until 1792; when, owing to the illness of his wife, he located in Baltimore, where he continued to labor effectively, no sacrifice being too much for him, until 1823, when he triumphantly ex-

pired in his seventy-seventh year. Nelson Reed was converted under the ministry of William Watters, entered the itinerancy, was present at the Conference of 1784, and continued his course for sixty-five years, dying in Baltimore in 1840, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, having the distinction of being at that time the oldest Methodist preacher in the world. He possessed substantial abilities and great courage, a striking instance of which occurred about 1796 in a bout he had with Dr. Coke and which will be narrated in its current place. Philip Cox was an Englishman, and is first named in the minutes of Asbury's Conference in 1779. Though a very small man, not weighing over one hundred pounds, he was full of mental and moral force and great energy. He remained single until he was fifty years of age. He had powerful revivals, and was cared for in his closing years by a well-to-do Methodist, with whom he languished out a life of much suffering from persecution, and died September, 1793, in peace. William Partridge, James O. Cromwell, and Thomas Foster must be mentioned. George Mair receives special notice from Stevens and deservedly. Ignatius Pigman was one of the most eloquent preachers of his day; also Stephen Black and Caleb Boyer. Pigman and Boyer received from Whatcoat and Vasey the extraordinary compliment, "they had not heard their equal in the British connection, except Wesley and Fletcher." Most of these early preachers deserved memoirs or monuments, instead of sleeping as they often do in unmarked graves. Space allows only the perpetuation of their names.

The successful outcome of the so-called preliminary Conference, held by Asbury in 1779 at Judge White's in Delaware, led him to follow the precedent thus set by calling another at the same place April 16, 1781, the regular session not being appointed until the 24th, in Baltimore. He makes brief note of it in his Journal as nothing unusual, "After meeting we rode about twenty miles to brother White's, where about twenty preachers met together to hold a Conference." It must have been that he named the place and time, and invited those who came. It was the way Wesley did for long years, the Conference was made of those whom he invited, and for any other to attend was an insubordination. There is no record as to who they were. Jesse Lee's "History" says of it: "1781 — On the 24th of April the ninth Conference met in Baltimore. But previous to this a few preachers on the Eastern Shore held a *little conference* in Delaware state, near Choptank, to make some arrangements for those preachers

who could not go with them; and then adjourned (as they called it) to Baltimore; so upon the whole it was considered but one Conference." The italicized words and the parenthetical sentence are Lee's. They smack of contempt. It will be remembered that the "History" was written in 1809-10, ten years after his defeat for the bishopric. He had been encouraged by Asbury with his influence for the position. Henry Boehm says: "They elected Richard Whatcoat bishop, he having a majority of four votes over Jesse Lee. I witnessed the excitement attending the different ballotings. The first, no election; the second, a tie; the third, Richard Whatcoat was elected." It was a great disappointment to Lee,¹ and he became afterward enough of a reformer to tell some things in his "History" Asbury did not relish, as will be seen farther on. Neither is there record as to what was done. It may be safely assumed that Asbury felt the pulse of them all, gauged them, and gave some hints of their appointments. Though there is no record of it, the circumstances make it probable that they largely journeyed together to Baltimore. His notice of the Conference in his Journal is almost as brief as that of the preliminary one. "Our Conference began in Baltimore, where several of the preachers attended from Virginia and North Carolina. All but one agreed to return to the old plan, and give up the administration of the ordinances: our troubles now seem over from that quarter; and there appears to be a considerable change in the preachers from North to South; all was conducted in peace and love." Turning to the printed Minutes it is found that thirty-nine preachers were in attendance out of fifty-four. A number of young men were received at this Conference. It seems that there were forty in all present, thirty-nine subscribing to the question which brought them again under Asbury's yoke. "What preachers are now determined after mature deliberation, close observation, and earnest prayer, to preach the old Methodist

¹ Snethen says: "Mr. Lee for several years had the prospect of the episcopacy full in view. The chagrin which he betrayed showed that it had been a governing motive with him, and as much the objective of his desire as of prospect. This disappointment rendered his feelings irritable, and as age had already begun to deface the signs by which the sympathies of nature are maintained, he lost in a considerable degree his hold on the affections and confidence of his best friends." For this and other strictures upon Lee he was called to account, but he showed himself fully able to meet the criticism. Few men were more intimate with Lee than Snethen, and they were fast friends from 1800 to the death of Lee in 1816. The prizes of ambition in a hierarchic system are such that every man of conscious abilities would be more than human if he felt indifferent to them. The redeeming feature of Lee was that he made no concealment of his aspirations.

doctrine, and strictly enforce the discipline, as contained in the notes, sermons, and minutes published by Mr. Wesley, as far as they respect both preachers and people, according to the knowledge we have of them, and the ability God shall give, and firmly resolved to discountenance a separation among either preachers or people?" Jesse Lee says, "Most part, if not all, the preachers 'subscribed,' " but he was not present, not yet having been received.

Asbury, as found, says that "all but one" agreed. Who was this staunch dissenter? He is named by no one of the early annalists, but an examination of the minutes brings to light the fact that James O'Kelly's name disappears from the roll with this session, neither is he among those "who desist from travel," which now appears among the questions for the second time. They were Dickins, Tatum, Moore, Green, and Ruff, mostly because married men; for in these days, though plenty of young men offered, in three to five or, in rare cases, in ten years they located. O'Kelly returned home an unreconciled dissenter. Next to Asbury, and perhaps Watters, he was the most influential preacher in the connection. The sequel of this act is yet eleven years in the future. The statistics show 10,539 members, a gain of 2000, the principal increase being in Delaware, now returned at 1052 as against 150 the year before, Lee says, by reason of great revivals. Asbury, it appears, was not satisfied with the prior reason for a preliminary Conference as given, the accommodation of the preachers, so the additional question is asked, "Is there any precedent for this in the economy of Methodism? *Answer*, Mr. Wesley generally held a Conference in Ireland for the same purpose." The reader has been made sufficiently acquainted with Wesley's Conferences to see how far-fetched is the illustration and the cases without parallel. It suited the purpose, however, and no doubt satisfied not a few who were no better informed. Four general fasts were appointed for the year. The probation for membership in the society was now three months. Of the 10,500 members only 873 were north of the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, yet the war was ravaging Virginia and the Carolinas at this time, and it is a phenomenal fact that, despite the action of the Conference as to slavery, the South was, and ever has been, the principal theatre of its most brilliant achievements for Christ. Revival work was also extensive in the South this year; but the preachers suffered many hardships; following Asbury, some were non-jurors, but were drafted and maltreated, some found refuge in the Epis-

copal Church, others made shipwreck of faith, and not a few perforce retired; but the depleted ranks were recruited by young converts to the heart-witnessing religion of Wesleyan doctrine, — and it must be repeated, not the system as such, — inspiring a zeal that consumed them for service and sacrifice.

Asbury was always on the wing, having entered upon those wonderful tours of the whole work, making the circuit about twice a year. His personal experience was always alive and flaming, except when the bile depressed him. The allusions are plentiful, "I am filled with love from day to day — I always find the Lord present when I go to a throne of grace." A few days after the last Conference adjourned he says, "I wrote to my father and to Mr. Wesley." He is down in North Carolina using the magic of his presence and persuasive force to win over the preachers and the people, who had been mightily convinced at both the Fluvanna and the Manakintown Conferences by John Dickins, the educated and intellectual Englishman, that the Presbyterian and not the Episcopal form of church government had the authority of Scripture and history, and who successfully withstood Asbury in the argumentative bout until he almost despaired of his purpose. O'Kelly's account of it is quaintly perspicuous, both for Fluvanna and Manakintown Conferences: "After there had been much disputing, John, whose surname was Dickins, made appear from Scripture that a Presbytery and not Episcopacy was the divine order. Then it pleased the Conference to form a Presbytery and ordain elders. We went out in the name of the Lord, and the pleasure of the Lord prospered in our hands." It needs to be repeated parenthetically that this is true. For two or three years, in the absence of Asbury and his Episcopal leadership, unprecedented success up to that time attended these Presbyterian Methodist preachers of evangelical doctrine, and all the essentials of Methodism were preserved: and this is in evidence that equal success would have attended American Methodism, with a strong probability that its organic unity would have been conserved. O'Kelly resumes: "Tidings of this soon reached the northern preachers, and Francis (Asbury) wrote that we should meet in Conference at Manakintown, to consider the matter more minutely. We met accordingly; and Francis from the North and John from the South were chief speakers. Francis raised his argument from an author (Wesley), who advised the Methodists never to leave the established church. But John drew his arguments from the New Testament,

proving thereby that the true church was not the Episcopal order. Conference broke, and a separation was the result."¹

It may be in place to state another fact of a different character. This James O'Kelly was one of Asbury's presiding elders, and was noted for his rigid discipline and assertion of authority, and this has sometimes been availed of against him when he posed as a Reformer. It was also true of not a few of the later Methodist preachers and people who struggled and suffered in the Reform of 1820-30. But it is not intrinsically to their discredit. With increasing light came change of sentiment, and then this old volitional force made it possible for them to succeed — fidelity always means will-power. Illustrations of its mal-exercise will be developed even among Reformers in the course of this History. Asbury's will-power was steadily exercised to establish an Episcopacy, for he had put his conscience in it, and to make himself its Primate; for his autocratic nature could not divide authority with another. He knew by intuition, and discreetly employed his knowledge, that in managing strong men but two courses are open: you must either crush them into subjection or promote them into coöperation. He did both in his marvellous and successful career. In the spring of 1782 he managed to cross the path of O'Kelly, recusant and without a regular appointment, but commanding in his influence over the people who knew him. He also met with Philip Bruce, a strong man, now on New Hope circuit, but of O'Kelly's way of thinking. It does not seem material to a casual reader of his Journal that he makes this note, "Sunday, April 17, 1782—I obtained the promise of brothers Bruce and O'Kelly to join heartily in our connection." It was the day before the assembling of a Conference he had appointed near by, at Ellis's preaching-house, in Sussex County, Va. O'Kelly had great warmth of friendship and was by nature extremely impulsive. He was not converted to Asbury's opinions, but he agreed to a truce. Asbury left him a presiding elder for some years beyond the limit of such appointments. As in the case of Strawbridge, he knew how to make exceptions when the preacher was of such influence with the people, and of such personal assertion as to make it unsafe to use the rod.

The next day the Conference opened. The evangelical Jarrett labored in this neighborhood, and Asbury secured his presence and services. He preached every day, the first text being from Hosea xiv. 5-7. "It afforded him," Stevens says, "topics of

¹ "Apology for Leaving the Episcopal Methodists," p. 4.

warning respecting the late controversy." Jarrett, as an uncompromising Churchman, aided Asbury with his arguments and persuasions. It can easily be imagined what a power these two men were. Never did the strategy of Asbury show itself to greater advantage. The Presbyterian drift of the preachers and people must be arrested. To turn a current upstream is no easy task, but it was accomplished. Asbury, not content with verbal adhesion to the "old plan," as it was called, prepared a paper, and the crucial test was applied of signing it. Asbury records in his Journal: "This instrument was signed by the greater part of the preachers without hesitation. Next morning I preached on Phil. ii. 1-5. I had liberty and it pleased God to set it home. One of the preachers, James Haw, who had his difficulties, was delivered from them all; and with the exception of one, all the signatures of the preachers present were obtained." Who was the recusant? Not an annalist tells—it is safe to assume that it was O'Kelly. It was a signal triumph for Asbury. Jarrett administered the Lord's Supper to preachers and people. He looked upon all of them as Episcopalians, and hence it was no violation of the Church canons. A love-feast was held. Asbury says, "The power of God was manifested in a most extraordinary manner: preachers and people wept, believed, loved, and obeyed,"—and nothing pleased him more than the last feature.

And now comes a revelation from Jesse Lee, who was present as a licentiate—he was received on trial at the next Conference. "The work had so increased and spread that it was now found necessary to have a Conference in the South every year, continuing the Conference in the North as usual. Yet as the Conference in the North was of the longest standing, and withal composed of the oldest preachers, it was allowed greater privileges than that in the South; especially in making rules and forming regulations for the societies. Accordingly, when anything was agreed to in the Virginia Conference, and afterward disapproved of in the Baltimore Conference, it was dropped. But if any rule was fixed and determined upon at the Baltimore Conference, the preachers of the South were under the necessity of abiding by it. The southern Conference was considered at that time as a convenience, and designed to accommodate the preachers in that part of the work and to do all the business of a regular Conference, except that of making or altering particular rules."¹ It was a crushing

¹ Lee's "History," p. 78.

hug of the anaconda of an Episcopal *régime*. In what a simple and plausible way it is stated. But how are the mighty fallen! Dickins, their champion, had retired at the previous Conference—he was married and had to look to the support of his wife, it was said; but he was too valuable a man to lose, if Asbury could prevent it. He did prevent it; for in a short time he suggested, and Dickins inaugurated, a Book Concern in Philadelphia on six hundred dollars of capital, and continued for the remainder of his life an ardent supporter of Asbury. It was one of the cases in which coöperation was secured by promotion. It did not succeed with O'Kelly. There was too much iron in his blood. He could not be prevailed on to sign away his convictions, and Asbury was too politic to attempt to crush him at this time. He is willing to take an appointment, and is assigned to Mecklenburg circuit, with Thomas S. Chew as helper. It was his old neighborhood and probably his own selection. The other leaders under pressure had succumbed. The rank and file surrendered.

Is the work of utter demoralization of the Presbyterian trend accomplished? Not quite. The lynx-eye of Asbury left nothing undiscovered to this end and the antidote applied. Turning to the printed Minutes, various things are done and the breach is closed by the rigor of new laws. "How shall we more effectually guard against disorderly travelling preachers? Write at the bottom of every certificate: the authority this conveys is limited to next Conference. How must we do if a preacher is found guilty and will not desist? Let the nearest Assistant stop him immediately. In brother Asbury's absence let the preachers inform the people of these rules." The muzzle was made ready. "By what rule shall we conduct ourselves toward preachers and people that separate from us? Disown them." By "separate" here is meant, to differ with Asbury ecclesiastically, otherwise there is no meaning in the answer—disown them. It is almost impossible at this day to realize what such an excommunication meant to a devout Methodist. Whither could he go for spiritual food? There was but one Jarrett in all the land. If within reach of some other denomination no such life-giving doctrines were preached. He was shut out from the only visible source of communion with God! It is the muzzle applied. "Shall we erase that question proposed in Deer Creek Conference respecting the ordinances?" You turn to the Conference of 1777 and find that it took no specific action on the ordinance question. Something else must be aimed at. It did appoint the Commission of

Watters, Gatch, Dromgoole, Ruff, and Glendenning to act for the societies. *Answer*, "Undoubtedly we must: it can have no place in our minutes while we stand to our agreement signed in Conference; it is therefore disannulled." It gave the quietus to the Commission and any permission it might have given to administer ordinances at any time. And now a crowning act is done—a finishing stroke. "Do the brethren in Conference unanimously choose brother Asbury to act according to Mr. Wesley's original appointment, and preside over the American Conferences and the whole work?" It reaffirmed what the Delaware Conference did, and coupled with it action making Asbury the judge of law and fact absolutely after hearing what the preachers might have to say, and so crowned him autocrat of the American Methodists. It did more: it virtually repudiated the authority of Wesley by taking the selection and appointment of General Assistant out of his hands. It cannot be supposed that Asbury did not see how far-reaching it was—indeed, there can be little doubt that it was done at his instigation. The Conference had been reduced practically to an automaton—he pulled the wires and the figures danced accordingly. He was vexed at the delay of Wesley in not reappointing him after Rankin had retired. He knew what influences were at work in England from the returned missionaries against him. He cut this Gordian knot. True, two years later, when Coke came over to ordain him General Superintendent with himself, he said, that if the Christmas Conference of 1784 would elect him as their choice for the position he would no longer act under Wesley's authority, thus making a feint of having done so up to that time. More of this in its place; but it proves the allegation already made, that Asbury now did not propose to be controlled by any authority in the world. The Ellis Preaching-House Conference adjourned to Lovely Lane in Baltimore, whither they assembled May 20, Asbury says, and not 21, as the printed Minutes say. They are treated as one, and there is no way now of telling who were present at either and who were present at both except as it may be guessed from the location of the preachers.

For the first time the question and answer occurs: "When and where shall our next Conferences be held? For Virginia the first Tuesday and for Baltimore the last Wednesday in May." The where is not given, but they were held again at Ellis's preaching-house and at Lovely Lane. It may be that Asbury thought it expedient to point up the solid wall he was building

against any farther innovations upon the "old plan." Before the Conference adjourned it passed a vote of thanks to Jarrett for attending, "and advised the preachers in the South, in the absence of brother Asbury, to consult him." Thus Asbury set a watch-dog over the troublesome section. Asbury adds: "I am persuaded that the separation of some, from our original plan about the ordinances, will, upon the whole, have a tendency to unite the body together and to make preachers and people abide wherein they are called. I see abundant cause to praise God for what He had done." Nothing can be more evident than when those of a differing opinion leave the residue will be united. In the Baltimore session all the preachers signed the agreement, and "there was a unanimous resolve to adhere to the old Methodist plan." It will be seen, however, farther on that the wall was daubed with untempered mortar. Free inquiry, sterling conviction, and the manhood equality begotten of the revolutionary struggle, now drawing to a successful close, could not be repressed for ecclesiastical rights as well. In after years, if Asbury could have quoted Shakespeare with the same readiness as Wesley, he would have disclosed his disappointment over the result of his extirpating measures by citing, "the snake is scotched, not killed." The statistics show a membership of 11,785, a gain of 1246. There were 60 preachers, including Asbury, a gain of 5, with 13 candidates received on trial. Twenty-six circuits made up the roll of appointments.

Among the heroes of this period Jeremiah Lambert must be named. He died in 1786 an elder of six years' standing, but his course, though brief, was useful, and his memory was fragrant with the brethren. He was the first appointee west of the Alleghanies. Joseph Wyatt, from Delaware, began preaching in 1780, located in 1788 from ill-health, returned two years later and rendered good service for about seven years, when he was compelled to withdraw. He was for a time chaplain to the Maryland Legislature. Philip Bruce, named but not fully honored, was one of the most laborious founders in the South. He retired to his kindred in Tennessee and died in 1826 loved and lamented. Lednum says that in the General Conference of 1816 there was quite a disposition to elect him Asbury's successor, and "probably nothing but his age prevented it." He was conscientious and firm, and Asbury handled him gently. Joseph Everett, of Maryland, is described "as the roughest spoken preacher that ever stood in the itinerant ranks." His experience was unique.

After his conversion he entered the ranks. For about thirty years he thundered the truth in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. He died in 1809 in his seventy-eighth year most triumphantly. Peter Moriarty, of Maryland, was raised a Roman Catholic, but the grace of God found him under the Methodists. At twenty years of age he began to preach and in 1782 his name appears in the minutes. He rose to be a presiding elder, labored thirty-two years, and died suddenly during the night, June 23, 1813. Woolman Hickson was a man of brilliant genius, but enfeebled with consumption. He introduced Methodism into Brooklyn, L. I. After seven years' labor he died in the latter part of 1788, not leaving money enough to bury him. The Church gave him honorable sepulchre. He first recognized the ability of Nicholas Snethen by appointing him leader of the class formed in Brooklyn. Ira Harris, named but not sufficiently honored, was held in high esteem by Asbury, who thought that if he had been educated he would have displayed abilities equal to Jefferson or Madison. He was compelled to locate in 1795 as a married man. John Easter is called the Benjamin Abbott of the South. His revival successes were wonderful. On Brunswick circuit the conversions are estimated at from fifteen hundred to two thousand. William M'Kendree was one of them, as also Enoch George. He located in 1792. He built a chapel on his own place in Sussex County, Va., and the Conferences of 1782-83 were held there.

CHAPTER XXI

Conference of 1783 — Letter from Wesley; the moot of Asbury's General Assistantship before 1784 considered — William Phoebeus — Jesse Lee and Thomas Ware — Asbury as correspondent with Wesley and Shadford — Story of Dr. Coke and Mathews — Twelfth Conference, 1784 — Slavery resolves — Three Conferences appointed, but not held; superseded by the Christmas Conference of 1784 — Growth of the Societies — Other heroes of these days.

THE eleventh Conference was held at Ellis's and Lovely Lane, the former on the 7th and the latter on the 27th of May, 1783. Asbury gives but brief note of either of them, and Jesse Lee, who was received at this time, simply epitomizes from the minutes, except that he furnishes an important letter from Wesley, which is copied by Bangs and condensed by Stevens. Lee does not furnish the address of the receiver, but the contents show that it was not Asbury, and he farther says what he quotes is an "extract." It is dated Bristol, October 3, 1783, and exhorts the American Methodists to "abide by the Methodist doctrine and discipline . . . together with the large minutes of the Conference" (meaning the British Conference). He warns them to be careful how they receive preachers from England. The salient paragraph is in these words, "I do not wish our American brethren to receive any who make any difficulty of receiving Francis Asbury as the General Assistant."¹ From another paragraph in it, it is inferable that the returned missionaries had talked freely their prejudice against Asbury among the preachers, and Wesley discreetly anticipates any of this class who might go to America thus prejudiced. But does it not also show that all along from Rankin's return he had regarded Asbury as General Assistant? What it shows is that, having heard of the action of the American preachers, he does not make an issue with them over it. He was reaching a conclusion as to his appointee, and the drift was in favor of Asbury, his early choice. The tone of the letter is that he did not suspect that any one in America, much less Asbury, was drifting away from his personal authority. He discovered

¹ Lee's "History," pp. 85, 86.

it later and sorrowfully, but not in time to prevent the mischief of the ordinations for America, the following year. Asbury kept up a close correspondence with Wesley and a confidential one with Shadford, and he was too ingenuous with the latter to adopt Coke's method of concealment,—“burn this letter.” In fact, while Rankin was lording it over him he wrote to Wesley his grievances, but had the Christian courage to read it to Rankin before he sent it. It did not occur to him that the time would come when Shadford would disclose to Wesley the contents of some of his letters, as it will be found was the case. On the 24th of December, 1783, Asbury notes, “I received a letter from Wesley, in which he directs me to act as General Assistant, and to receive no preachers from Europe that are not recommended by him, nor any in America who will not submit to me, and to the minutes of the Conference.” This is the same letter cited by Lee; from its date of October 3 to December 24, being about the space of time requisite for its transit to this country across the ocean and then by the slow mail facilities of the times to reach Asbury. The contents as epitomized by Asbury also show the identity. Interest in his reference centres in Asbury's interpretation of it — “directs me to act as General Assistant” — the fine distinction between acting and being appointed is well enough. Wesley knew that he was acting and did not interfere with it. It is all the letter can be construed to mean.

His references to the Conference of 1783 are very brief: “Our Conference began at this place (Ellis's). Some young laborers were taken in to assist in spreading the gospel, which greatly prospers in the North. We all agreed in the spirit of African liberty, and strong testimonies were borne in its favor in our love-feast. Our affairs were conducted in love.” At Baltimore only this: “We began our Conference with what preachers were present. On Wednesday we had a full assembly, which lasted until Friday. We had a love-feast and parted in peace.” Garrettson says “there were about sixty preachers present,” out of eighty-three who received appointments. Besides Jesse Lee, William Phoebus was afterward the most notable of the fourteen received on trial. The statistics show 13,740 members, an increase of 2000. As heretofore, the principal business was done at Ellis's, but confirmed at Lovely Lane. An assessment was levied upon certain prominent circuits, in the north £200 and in the south £60, for the support of the wives of eleven married preachers out of the eighty-three, so it is seen that after twelve

years the Conference is still composed of mere striplings. Asbury felt like a father toward them at thirty-eight years of age, and called them his "sons in the gospel," in both a patronizing and paternal sense. Henry Boehm in his characterization says: "He had an intuitive knowledge of men. He would sit in Conference and look from under his dark and heavy eyebrows, reading the countenances and studying the character and constitution of the preachers." He moulded them at will. Few had the temerity to speak unless questioned, and fewer still to dissent, whatever they might have thought. Had it not been made a law at the Delaware Conference, the pseudo-gathering of Asbury, "On hearing every preacher for and against what is in debate, the right of determination shall rest with him according to the minutes (Wesley's minutes and method)"? Stringent regulations were passed against local preachers who held slaves, and against making, selling, and drinking spirituous liquors. The moral boldness of these resolves can hardly be appreciated at this day. Two Thanksgiving and two Fast days are appointed for the year, the first for the conclusion of the treaty of peace between America and the mother country, and the second for the glorious work of God. It was determined that those who were to be received into connection, as well as the assistants, should attend the ensuing Conference, named for Baltimore alone, fourth Tuesday in May, 1784. For the first time general stewards are appointed, Samuel Owings, John Orick, and be it observed that these are laymen. It is their first official recognition as being competent to receive and distribute the assessments. Jesse Lee, William Phoebus, and Thomas Ware, who were received at the Conference of 1784, are landmarks in Methodism. The first has been noticed and will often obtrude hereafter. Phoebus was of Maryland, and after travelling fifteen years, located in New York, studied and practised medicine till 1806, when he reëntered the work. In 1821 he became a "supernumerary," and died in New York in 1831, aged seventy-seven. His literary abilities were considerable, a good but not a popular preacher. He edited a magazine for some time in the interest of the denomination. The minutes say, "He sweetly fell asleep in Jesus." Thomas Ware was of New Jersey, born in 1758. He entered the army at the breaking out of the war, and was dismissed as an invalid with "camp fever." Under Peddicord he was converted; had an interview with Asbury, and was sent to a circuit in 1783. After having been invited to preach, he was ejected by vestrymen from

an Episcopal church. Long afterward he became associate book agent with Dickins in New York, and for fifty years served the Church with fidelity. His historical reminiscences are most valuable because so reliable, and farther notice must be made of him in connection with stirring events. The labors and apostasy of Rawlins or Rollins are noticed at length by Stevens about this time, but it is not to edification except as warning. During this year, Stevens says, Asbury wrote one of his confiding, affectionate letters to Shadford. Among other things he enumerated the clergymen of the Episcopal Church who were friendly: Jarrett of Virginia, Pettigrew of North Carolina, Dr. Magaw of Philadelphia, and Mogden of New Jersey. He says that he travelled four thousand miles a year. The letter is fervent, spiritual, exultant, and closes with a burst of enthusiastic loyalty: "O America! America! it certainly will be the glory of the world for religion! I have loved and do love America. I think it became necessary after the fall that government should lose it. Your old national pride as a people has got a blow. You must abate a little."

He also writes to Wesley as the next Conference approached. It was opportune; for he was now seriously engaged in the solution of the American question as to the ordinances, and Coke was urging him on to overstep the old restrictions of the National Church. It does not need imagination to show how Wesley's fellow-feeling would be appealed to, and how he would be influenced favorably toward the man who would so write: "You know, sir, it is not easy to rule, nor am I pleased with it. I bear it as my cross; yet it seems that a necessity is laid upon me. Oh, pray for me that I may be filled with light and power, with zeal and prudence, and above all with humility." It was written March 20, 1784 (see *Arminian Magazine*, Vol. 9, p. 681). It was just such language as Czar Nicholas might privately address to a brother emperor; as the Pope might address to the conclave of cardinals. They reign by the grace of God, and they waver under the fearful responsibility. Providentially ordained to their mission, schooled into the full persuasion that to resign the burden that so oppresses them would be sacrilege, the solace is compensating that they could not, if they would, be or do otherwise. Wesley had a full realization of this autocratic instinct, and it was still growing in Asbury. But are they not honest and sincere? Just as much so as any other form of lunacy; there is no sincerity like it. In 1801 he was reading Ostervald's "Christian

Theology," and met with the sentiment that in the "primitive Church there was always a President who presided over others, who were in a state of equality with himself," etc. He had also been reading Cave's "Lives of the Fathers," who was a high Churchman, and Asbury is quite in accord with him, so he combats Ostervald's Presbyterian view in these words, "There is not, nor indeed in my mind can there be, a perfect equality between a constant president, and those over whom he always presides."¹ He cannot mean by this that a presiding officer officially and while in the chair is superior to those over whom he is called to preside, as that would be a bald truism. He evidently means that such an officer, by reason of the perpetual relation, becomes in a well-defined sense a superior person as well.

Dr. Coke grew into it earlier, as early as 1796, at the General Conference of that year in Baltimore. Alfred Griffith, well known to American Methodism, in his sketch of Nelson Reed says, illustrative of his moral courage: "Dr. Coke, one of the superintendents of the church, was present; and one of the striking features of his character was that he was impatient of contradiction, and not wholly insensible to his own personal importance. He had on this occasion introduced some proposition in the General Conference, which seemed to some of the preachers a little dictatorial; and one of them, an Irishman by the name of Mathews, who had been converted in his native country from Romanism and had fled to this country from an apprehension that his life was in danger, sprang to his feet and cried out, 'Popery, Popery, Popery!' Dr. Coke rebuked the impulsive rudeness of Mathews, when he replied in his Irish manner, 'Och,' and sat down. While the Conference was now in a state of great suspense and agitation, Dr. Coke seized the paper containing his own resolution, and, tearing it up, not in the most moderate manner, looked around upon the preachers and said, 'Do you think yourselves equal to me?' Nelson Reed instantly arose, and, turning to Bishop Asbury, who was also present, said, 'Dr. Coke has asked if we think ourselves equal to him; I answer, yes, we think ourselves equal to him, notwithstanding he was educated at Oxford and has been honored with the degree of Doctor of Laws, and, more than that, we think ourselves equal to Dr. Coke's king.' Coke had now cooled off, and blandly said, 'He is hard on us.' Asbury replied, 'I told you our preachers are not block-

¹ Asbury's "Journal," Vol. III. p. 19.

heads.' Coke apologized, and thus the matter ended."¹ In addition to the direct point it makes, it throws light upon some of the transactions of the early Conferences, in which the repressed manhood of the preachers was provoked to outspoken resistance. It is delightful to turn from such phases of great and good men's characters, and look at the Christian side of them. August 4, 1783, Asbury journalizes: "Rose early to pour out my soul to God. I want to live to Him, and for Him; to be holy in heart, in life, and in conversation; this is my mark, my prize, my all—to be in my measure like God." Nothing higher of saintly aspiration can be expressed. In his travels and preaching it is almost impossible to keep track of him, the transitions from state to state are so constant and the incidents so varied amid all sorts of adverse surroundings and physical sufferings.

The twelfth Conference met for the Virginia brethren at Ellis's, though Baltimore alone was named as the place, April 30, 1784, for two days. The minutes say it ended on the 28th, but these discrepancies are numerous. Asbury devotes but a few lines to it: "Brother O'Kelly gave us a good sermon, and Jarrett gave us a good discourse; our business was conducted with uncommon love and unity." The allusions to the Baltimore session, May 25, 1784, are almost as brief: "Our Conference began all in peace. William Glendenning had been devising a plan to lay me aside, or at least to abridge my powers. Mr. Wesley's letter settled the point, and all was happy. The Conference rose on Friday morning." This was the letter already referred to. No annalist gives even an inkling of what Glendenning proposed as a reform in governmental methods, but it is clear that he was by far too erratic to reform anything. There are always forward men who have an idea that something ought to be done, but they utterly lack the sense and prudence to do it. They set back the cause they would befriend. More of it will develop in the next decade. Glendenning received, however, the appointment to Brunswick, one of the best in the Conference—Asbury found it best to handle him gingerly. The printed Minutes occupy six pages. Eleven preachers were received on trial. The examination of character was never overlooked, and every rumor of irregularity among the preachers canvassed. Seven new circuits were recognized, four in the South and three in the North,—Juniata, Trenton, and Long Island. The plan of appointments now covered forty-six stations and circuits. There was a gain in membership of 1248,

¹ Sprague's "Annals," Vol. VII. p. 69.

total 14,988, nearly three-fourths of them south of Pennsylvania, yet the resolves against slavery continued as stringent as ever. If nothing else was accomplished, testimony was borne. Jesse Lee quaintly remarks: "However good the intentions of the preachers might be in framing these rules, we are all well assured that they never were of any particular service to our societies. Some of the slaves, however, obtained their freedom in consequence of these rules." As a moral question every man answered to his own conscience. Owners within the societies lived and died Christians and were buried by these preachers with Christian rites, after their triumphant experiences in sickness and death. As a political question these resolves helped on mightily the final extirpation of an institution at war with the higher Christian principles, but for which the whole country was about equally responsible in its moral aspects.

The questions and answers are more numerous than usual. They relate to vacancies in the interval of the Conference, preaching-places that do not show fruit, erection of chapels and debts, superfluity in dress, reform in singing, and Conference collections. There are now thirteen married preachers who ask for a support for wives: Wyatt, Moore, Thomas, Mair, Ellis, Scott, Forrest, Pigman, Hagerty, Morris, O'Kelly, Dromgoole, and Dickins. Three hundred and two pounds is assessed for the purpose. The General Assistant is allowed twenty-four pounds, with his expenses for horse and travelling, assessed and paid at Conference. "What preachers have died this year?" It was a new question. The answer is, "William Wright, Henry Metcalf." That is all. Lee commends it. For many of them it was all that lay between them and oblivion. It was ever afterward asked, but the answer rarely extended to over a dozen lines even for the best and most useful of them. "What preachers desist from travelling?" This form answered for all who dropped out for any cause. Wesley's suggestions as to European preachers were adopted rigidly. Fast days were made more binding, "By writing it upon every class paper. To be the first Friday after every quarterly meeting." Many Methodists, following Asbury, fasted every Friday. The last question, "When and where shall our next Conferences be held?" The answer shows the entering wedge to a division of the work into Conferences. "The first at Green Hill (North Carolina) Friday, 29th, and Saturday, 30th, of April; the second in Virginia, at Conference chapel, May 8; the third in Maryland, Baltimore, the 15th of June." Time is

allowed for Asbury to travel from one to the other, and for such of the preachers as could and would get to Baltimore—the Conference in fact and law. The first two were not convened, and the last was anticipated by the Christmas Conference at the close of 1784.

Lee adds a note to the end of his observations on the Conference of May 28, 1784, to the effect that the minutes, heretofore kept only in manuscript, were from this date printed every year. As already found, the whole from 1773 to 1795 were printed and bound into a volume by order of the bishops, by John Dickins, the book agent of the Concern, now removed from Philadelphia to New York. This volume is very scarce. In 1813 a new volume was issued, covering the minutes from 1773 to 1813, as mentioned elsewhere, by Daniel Hitt and Thomas Ware, who succeeded Dickins, and several changes of importance were quietly made by order of the bishops in the text, and not a few typographical and other errors crept into the new edition. The preface to this volume thus summarizes the work: “In the year 1773 the first Methodist Conference in America was held in Philadelphia, and consisted of ten travelling preachers, at which time there were only 1160 members in society. In the space of forty years you see the astonishing increase, amounting to 678 travelling preachers, besides those in the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, with several thousand local preachers of sufficient worth to grace any pulpit, and members amounting to upward of 214,000, . . . likewise you will find that, in the space of forty years, there have been about 1800 preachers admitted into the travelling connection, and about 110 died in the glorious work. . . . To view between six and seven hundred faithful ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, spread from the northern extremities of the province of Maine to St. Mary’s and the Altamaha River in the southern extremities of Georgia; and from the seaboard in the Atlantic States to Erie, Detroit, Michigan, Wabash, and Missouri in the west; and southwestward to the Mississippi, Natchez, upper and lower Louisiana to New Orleans and the Tombecktee settlements,—what may we not expect and look for from the hands of a gracious God, in answer to prayer, and the rewards of the faithful and diligent laborers?” Note must be taken of the farther fact elicited from these statements, that of 1800 preachers who entered the work in these years between 1773 and 1813, over 1000 retired after an average of service less than ten years by reason of the hardships and the celibacy it

enforced, or an average of twenty-five a year. That the depleted ranks should be annually filled by young recruits in more than like numbers is in evidence of the impelling zeal and Holy Spirit call of a heart-religion as genuine as in apostolic days. Thomas Ware was admitted at this Conference of May, 1784. Of Asbury he writes: "Among these pioneers Asbury by common consent stood first and chief. There was something in his person, his eye, his mien, and the music of his voice, which interested all who saw and heard him. He possessed much natural wit, and was capable of the severest satire; but grace and good sense so far predominated that he never descended to anything beneath the dignity of a man and a Christian minister. In prayer he excelled." Garrettson says of this gift, "He prayed the best, and he prayed the most, of any man I ever knew."

Before entering upon a new epoch in Methodist history, following Stevens, who gleaned from Lednum and others, let us embalm other names of heroes in this strife in the closing years of this decade of conferential Methodism. The westward progress is marked by the itinerant toils of Jeremiah Lambert at the head waters of the Holston River, already adverted to, followed by Henry Willis. Redstone circuit was ultramontane. Braddock had opened a road beyond the Pennsylvania Alleghanies, and emigration followed it. John Cooper and Samuel Breeze labored out there, and Asbury scaled the Alleghanies for the first time to reach them. Poythress, Haw, Roberts, and others took part in the ground-breaking. Many Methodists had gone west of the mountains of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia after the war closed. John Jones built a cabin on Redstone Creek, and Robert Wooster was the first local preacher he heard. Uniontown in Pennsylvania became a centre, and Asbury held a Conference there in 1788. Among the mountaineer local preachers were William Shaw, Thomas Larkin, and John J. Jacobs. They were known as "the three bishops." Let their names at least go down to posterity. Simon Cochrane and Michael Cryder are two more, the former pushing on to the wilds of Ohio and Kentucky, and gave sixty-four years to the ministry, while the latter labored on the Juniata River as early as 1775. Robert Pennington of Delaware was among the first of the emigrants to this section, and he built a log chapel among the mountains, known by his name. Most of the regulars were locals at first, and too much honor cannot be accorded the humble but zealous men who blazed the path of Methodism in all the frontiers. Isaac Smith

is a name fragrant in the south. He was a Revolutionary private and officer, and took part in a number of the battles, and after the peace became a soldier of Christ, in 1783. He was the father of the South Carolina Conference, and did yeoman service until 1834, when he died of a cancer, "full of faith and the comfort of the Holy Ghost." Stevens gives him three pages, and crowns them with the sentence, "He was the St. John of the early Methodist apostolate." Wilson Lee, another of the western pioneers, seemed never satisfied unless he had the hardest field he could find. Not only in the West, but in New England, his path was luminous as a revival preacher. In 1804 he was returned as superannuated, and died in Anne Arundel County, Md., of a hemorrhage, while praying with a sick person. John Smith, a native of Maryland, already named, was of feeble constitution, but survived to 1812, when he died triumphantly. William Jessup was from Delaware. Asbury says, "Few such holy and steady men have been found among us." He died in 1795, and was buried at Martin Boehm's chapel in Pennsylvania, after a happy death. Not a few of these worthies have no earthly record at all. As local preachers their names do not appear in the printed Minutes, and many of these have no other perpetuation.

CHAPTER XXII

The Deed of Declaration and the Christmas Conference the acme of wisdom or fundamental errors; logically considered—What was intended by Wesley in contrast with what was done—Cumulation of evidence—How Coke secured his ordination by Wesley; the methods exposed—The testimonials Coke brought to America, and how they were either garbled or suppressed—Was Coke made a presiding presbyter or a bishop; English Wesleyan opinions—Coke's arrival in America; interview with Dickins in which the "little sketch" of government was disclosed for the first and only time except to Asbury—Bishop Seabury; declination of Coke and Asbury to receive ordination from him, and become Protestant Episcopalians, with new evidence of it—Events prior to the Christmas Conference.

THE Christmas Conference of 1784 is in view with its antecedents and consequents for careful and impartial consideration. It was the climacteric event in the history of American Methodism, and sustains the same relation to it as the Deed of Declaration does to British Methodism. Preintimation has been given in the introductory chapter that these two events are estimated, either as the summation of ecclesiastical wisdom, entailing and perpetuating, as they did in the latter case, a governmental system which constituted a Church for the ministry; recognizing it as the first and only estate depository of legislative, judicial, and executive functions, to the utter exclusion of the preponderating element of the locality as its second estate; and of the membership, the very base of the Church pyramid and the third estate; whom Christ as the Head of the Church recognized, and for the service of which, from Pentecost, a ministry was called of the Holy Ghost and elected by the people—a ministry for the Church. Or these two events are estimated as the fundamental errors respectively by Wesley for the English societies and by Asbury for the American, in ecclesiastical polity, as violative of the precedents of the New Testament churches and the whole structure of brotherhood by equality in all relations, more intrinsically demanded even than in civil government in ideal realization.

This may be the place for the general admission that though the contention of this History is, that these two events were fundamental errors of Church polity, that of the Deed of Decla-

ration, already traversed and submitted to the judgment of the reader, and that for the organization of the Christmas Conference, now to be made evidential, no question need be raised against the supporting facts that for both these events the successional prestige given them by Wesley and Asbury, with the conceded efficiency and potentiality of the autocratic and oligarchic polities as such, has given them a vantage-ground which has easily assured them leadership in the Methodisms of the world. It is not in anticipation that this leadership will ever be abdicated or lost in the growing successes of the excised and secedent denominations. It was and is their providential mission to materialize the true ideals of church government as taught by Christ and the apostles, and demonstrate their congruity with Methodist doctrine and its peculiar means of grace. This they are doing, and by reflex influences operating from without, and combining with the inevitable struggle of these same germinal principles within the old organizations (perpetually fomented whenever thought and investigation discover and magnify the suppressed rights of a Christian brotherhood), are modifying and reforming the old systems, until, after a hundred years of sapping and mining of these germinal principles against inherited power, the approximations of the old to the new are so great that neither Wesley nor Asbury would now recognize Wesleyan Methodism in England and Asburian Methodism in America as the systems whose foundations they laid more than a century ago. These modifications and reforms now for the most part accomplished by evolution from within, but made possible by the enforced revolution of such movements as the New Connexion, the Primitive, and the Associate Methodists of England, and of the Methodist Protestants in America, must and will go on until all the deprivations of laic rights and coöperation, which were denied in the original systems, shall be confessed and conceded, just as the evolution of American liberty was made possible by the Revolution which gave such liberty birth. And it is confessed as an open question whether these reforms will extend as far as carried by the secedent bodies, involving a radical reconstruction of the old organic forms. Perhaps the highest ecclesiastical wisdom for Methodists would strike a mean between these extremes, provided always that equal lay-representation and participation be not infringed. And it is a misconception that these secedent organizations, while inflexible for the principles for which they stand, have any jealousy or envy of the parent bodies. No.

They rejoice in their magnificent achievements and bid them "God speed." Methodism has so much in common in "casting out devils" that no forbidding word shall ever fall from them because others "follow not us." They invite coöperation in foreign mission work, if it can be done as Methodists simply, and in home mission work; all that is asked is a fair and open field with mutual respect for preëmpted locations by priority of occupation. These remarks are deemed pertinent, inasmuch as in the historical investigation of the Christmas Conference questionable proceedings shall be uncovered and more questionable methods of justification by statement and argument shall be met and, it is believed, overthrown. As in the case of the Deed of Declaration and its consequences, the final verdict shall be left with the reader.

The Christmas Conference of 1784 raises the issue, which has been expressed in the introductory chapter, in these words, "Did or did not Mr. Wesley intend to organize a Church for the American Methodists, and recommend the Episcopal form of government?" It will be seen to a moral certainty, as positive demonstration is impossible on either side, that he did not. That the American societies were so impressed by Coke and Asbury need not be questioned. The means employed to this end will be traversed when the ancient controversy is covered and the reader left to determine on which side of this darkly drawn line the truth is found. The facts in the case, and the unavoidable inferences from them, will be ascertained by considering the antecedents of the Christmas Conference.

First in order a citation, partially given heretofore, is made from Henry Moore, who at this period was on terms of the closest intimacy with Wesley and knew whereof he speaks. "When peace was established between Great Britain and the States the intercourse was opened betwixt the societies in both countries. Mr. Wesley then received from Mr. Asbury a full account of the progress of the work during the war; and especially of the division which had taken place, and the difficulties he met with before it was healed. He also informed Mr. Wesley of the extreme uneasiness of the people's minds for want of the sacraments; that thousands of their children were unbaptized, and the members of the society in general had not partaken of the Lord's Supper for many years. Mr. Wesley then considered the subject, and informed Dr. Coke of his design of drawing up a plan of church government and of establishing an ordination for the

American societies. But cautious of entering on so new a plan, he afterward suspended the execution of his purpose and weighed the whole for upward of a year."¹ The reader will not fail to observe that this is in perfect accord with observations already made, and they account for the year's delay here noticed. The significant portion is in the words, not heretofore made salient by other annalists, "informed Dr. Coke of his design of drawing up a plan of church government." It was held in abeyance for a year, and the reasons for this have also been pointed out. The nature of this "plan of church government" it is impossible for any man to divine. That it was matured and sent over with Dr. Coke as a part of his instructions and as directions for the American societies is clearly implicated in Wesley's letter to Coke, Asbury, and the "American brethren" of September 10, 1784, in these unmistakable words, "Some thousands of the inhabitants of these states desire my advice; and in compliance with their desire I have drawn up a little sketch." This little sketch, containing instructions to Coke and Asbury and advice to the societies, was never permitted by them to see the light, and, not having been found among Coke's literary effects by his executor and biographer, Drew, it is morally certain that Coke destroyed it. If such a conclusion produces anything of a shock to the fine sensibilities of the reader, he will be assured of its truth when the fact is recalled that Dr. Coke did not hesitate to instruct correspondents to "burn" tell-tale letters, as will hereafter be seen; so that to burn such letters or instructions himself without scruple, need not be doubted. There could be but one motive for the suppression of this sketch—its instructions were violated. Further incidental reference will be made to it in the course of this History.

During the year or two of Wesley's suspense, he gradually settled upon Dr. Coke as the most suitable man to send to America. They often discussed it in private, and there are extant several letters from Coke to Wesley upon the subject, both of which have already been given in the full text, and to them the reader is referred back to Chapter Seventh of this work. Wesley, after vainly endeavoring to secure the concurrence of brother Churchmen, such as his brother Charles and the saintly Fletcher, in his plan for ordinations for America, finally made up his mind, and at the Leeds Conference of July 25, 1784, the same Conference at which the Deed of Declaration was

¹ Moore's "Life of Wesley," Vol. II. pp. 272, 273.

promulgated, he announced his purpose to send Dr. Coke, Whatcoat, and Vasey to America. The manner of its reception by the Conference has already been traversed; but Wesley had passed his Rubicon, and when he read the plan of appointments these three were announced for the American work. He evidently intended the ceremony, if any, to be simple and brief; for no man knew better than himself that as an Episcopalian he had no right to formally ordain; but being convinced from his reading of Lord King and Bishop Stillingfleet that presbyters and bishops were the same in order in the primitive Church, he determined to exercise a Presbyterian authority and set apart these brethren.

As soon as the Conference adjourned Coke repaired to London to make preparations for his departure, and so it may be assumed did Whatcoat and Vasey, for their leaving was urgent. There is a strong probability that Wesley would have dismissed them with the least infraction of canon law possible; for he was loyal to his death to the National Church. Coke had all along plied him with arguments, not only for ordination as presbyters for Whatcoat and Vasey, but for an ordination of himself, though a presbyter equal with Wesley, such as would commend him to the American brethren as, at least, a quasi-bishop, the ambition of his life, though he had no such modified views of a three-order ministry as Wesley entertained. He must in some way secure it that he might be a Bishop in America. Wesley was now eighty-one years of age. The contention is made for him that his faculties were undimmed and showed no decay even down to the close of life, and as to preaching and administration, everything of routine order, there are no signs to the contrary; but that he was in a mood to be influenced unduly when the suggestions seemed to favor his own bias, and his near advisers pressed him, there is more than one instance. Coke, above all others about him, was insinuating, plausible, and diplomatic. All these traits are now alert — it is the emergent period of his official career. As already noticed, within six days after the Leeds Conference adjourned, he writes to Wesley the famous letter of August 9, 1784, from London. The reader will keep the Chapter Seventh open before him while the promised analysis is made.

Its opening is an appeal, "The more maturely I consider the subject the more expedient it appears to me that the power of ordaining others should be received by me from you by the imposition of your hands, and that you should lay hands on brother Whatcoat and brother Vasey." Is it not clear, as Tyer-

man suggests, that up to this late hour Wesley had not made up his mind to have any ceremony akin to an ordination? Coke urges it for "reasons," and what are they? "1. It seems to me the most scriptural way, and most agreeable to the practice of the primitive churches. 2. I may want all the influence in America which you can throw into my scale." How is this fortified? "Mr. Brackenbury informed me at Leeds that he saw a letter in London from Mr. Asbury in which he observed that he would not receive any person deputed by you with any part of the superintendency of the work invested in him, or words which evidently implied as much." Who exhibited this letter from Asbury? Who but Shadford, his only confidential correspondent in England besides Wesley. It was not the last thing he disclosed out of the correspondence showing Asbury's predetermination to be Primate in America and to disown Wesley's authority so soon as opportune. "I do not find any, the least degree, of prejudice in my mind against Asbury; on the contrary, a very great love and esteem, and am determined not to stir a finger without his consent, unless mere sheer necessity obliges me, but rather to lie at his feet in all things." Nothing could be more adroit than this "If" and "But" position. Wesley was not ignorant of the scheming of both Coke and Asbury. They were personally unknown to each other, as Asbury went to America five years before Coke became a follower of Wesley; but by reputation they knew each other; so that Coke was quite well posted as to Asbury's characteristics and Asbury as fully as to Coke's. Asbury had largely reinstated himself in Wesley's confidence, and, knowing the aspirations of Coke, the danger of a conflict between them was probably about Wesley's only serious trouble as to sending Coke to America; so that these averments of Coke answered a good purpose in quieting his fears. The shrewd strategist continues: "But as the journey is long, and you cannot spare me often, and it is well to provide against all events, and an authority formally received from you will (I am conscious of it) be fully admitted by the people, and my exercising the office of ordination without that formal authority may be disputed; if there be any opposition on any account, I would therefore earnestly wish you would exercise that power in this instance, which I have not the shadow of a doubt but God hath invested you with for the good of our connection. I think you have tried me too often to doubt whether I will in any degree use the power you are pleased to invest me with, further than I

believe is absolutely necessary for the prosperity of the work. In short, it appears to me that everything should be prepared, and everything proper be done, that can possibly be done this side the water." Could Wesley have foreseen the use that would be made of his "setting apart" as history subsequently shows, he would have been spared the tears of repentance he shed in after years over this act into which he was betrayed by overpersuasion and misapplied confidence. In no unduly offensive sense the procedure of Coke has been characterized as playing "successfully the rôle of the little magician." The consummate moves of it are in the closing suggestion of this letter: "You can do all this in Mr. C——n's house, in your chamber, and afterward (according to Mr. Fletcher's advice) give us letters testimonial of the different offices with which you have been pleased to invest us. For the purpose of laying hands on brothers Whatcoat and Vasey I can bring Mr. C. [Creighton] down with me, by which you will have two presbyters with you. In respect to brother Rankin's argument, that you will escape a great deal of odium by omitting this, it is nothing. Either it will be known or not known; if not known, then no odium will arise; but if known, you will be obliged to acknowledge that I acted under your direction or suffer me to sink under the weight of my enemies, with perhaps your brother at the head of them. I shall entreat you to ponder these things.

"Your most dutiful,

"T. COKE."

Wesley was now touring in Wales. Returning, he reached the parsonage house in Bristol, August 28. The details proposed by Coke fell in with Wesley's views. Rankin, as already found, as well as all the returned missionaries from America, disapproved of the ordinations for America, because they feared in concert that with their knowledge of Asbury's ulterior purposes it would mean separation from Wesley. They had not been backward in expressing their opinions, and both Wesley and Coke were aware of them. Hence a secret service is named by Coke, and to be kept secret, if possible, and thus avoid the storm of criticism he knew would arise; but if it gets out, why then you must stand by me and take the responsibility, or suffer me to sink under it, your brother Charles in the lead. It appealed both to Wesley's courage and his friendship; in the first he never lacked and in the second he never faltered. The receipt of this coaxing,

reasoning, and plausible letter turned Wesley's hesitation into resolution. It is worthy of note in passing that Drew, Coke's biographer, gives not the slightest intimation of this letter to Wesley, but it is from him that the nature of his reply to Coke is furnished, not by publishing his answer, but by declaring, "He [Coke] had not been long in London before he received a letter from Mr. Wesley requesting him to repair to Bristol, to receive fuller powers, and to bring with him Rev. Mr. Creighton, a regularly ordained minister, who had long officiated at Mr. Wesley's chapels in London and assisted him in various branches of his ministerial duties."¹ The reader would inevitably infer from this statement that it was the only letter that passed between Wesley and Coke from the Leeds Conference of July 25 to an unknown date late in August. Drew's "Life of Coke" is apologetic, and this must account for his suppression of the letter he wrote Wesley August 9. In this, like a partial biographer, he protected the memory of Coke, nor is there any clew to what he means by "receiving fuller powers" from Wesley. Wesley's references to the "setting apart" at Bristol are so brief as to be misleading to the casual reader; but as the matter was to be kept secret, it may account for such language as the following: "Tuesday 31st [August]—Dr. Coke, Mr. Whatcoat, and Mr. Vasey came down from London in order to embark for America. Wednesday, September 1. — Being now clear in my own mind, I took a step which I had long weighed in my mind, and appointed Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey to go and serve the desolate sheep in the wilderness. Thursday — I added to them three more which I verily believe will be much to the glory of God."² This is all. Not a word of Dr. Coke's so-called ordination. Finally, as to Dr. Coke's remarkable letter to Wesley, the query is no doubt in the reader's mind — how did it get to the light? It was furnished by Whitehead several years after Wesley's death, who says of it, "This letter is taken from an attested copy of the Doctor's letter, in Mr. Charles Wesley's handwriting." It is quoted in full by Henry Moore, and this is evidence that its genuineness could not be questioned.

¹ "Life of Coke," p. 73.

² "Journal," Vol. II. p. 602. "On Thursday I added to them three more." Whatcoat, in his Journal, says, presently quoted, that on this Thursday, or September 2, he set apart Coke as a superintendent, and Whatcoat and Vasey as elders, and so Wesley makes the "three more." It is in proof that in his eighty-second year his memory was failing, unless he meant "three more" added to Asbury.

Constructively reader and writer are present in Wesley's private chamber at Bristol, September 1, 1784. What took place? It is not a very commodious room, yet there are besides the chamber furniture, chairs enough probably for six persons: John Wesley, Thomas Coke, James Creighton, Richard Whatcoat, and Thomas Vasey. These and no more. There is no minute of their conversation, and nothing is known of what took place, except from the "testimonials" given and what Whatcoat has recorded in his private Journal, no part of which was published until after Whatcoat's decease, when his biographer, Phoebus, on page 17, gives this extract: "September 1, 1784 — Rev. John Wesley, Thomas Coke, and James Creighton, presbyters of the Church of England, formed a presbytery and ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, deacons. And on September 2, by the same hands, etc., Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey were ordained elders and Thomas Coke, LL.D., was ordained superintendent for the Church of God under our care in North America." As to the "testimonials," and the information they may furnish as to what was done, those provided by Wesley for Whatcoat and Vasey as presbyters have never been published, while that provided for Coke was suppressed by him and not published until after his death. It was found among his papers "in Wesley's own handwriting," and is in the following form: —

To all to whom these presents shall come: John Wesley, late fellow of Lincoln College, in Oxford, presbyter of the Church of England, sendeth greeting:

Whereas many of the people in the southern provinces of North America, who desire to continue under my care, and still adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, are greatly distressed for want of ministers to administer the sacrament of baptism and the Lord's Supper, according to the usages of the same church; and whereas there does not appear to be any other way of supplying them with ministers,

Know all men that I, John Wesley, think myself to be providentially called at this time to set apart some persons for the work of the ministry in America. And, therefore, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to His glory, I have this day set apart as a superintendent, by the imposition of my hands and prayers, (being assisted by other ordained ministers,) Thomas Coke, doctor of civil law, a presbyter of the Church of England, and a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

JOHN WESLEY.

A few things may be observed of this document. It bears no resemblance to the credential of a Bishop in the National Church.

The word "ordain" does not occur in it, though Whatcoat uses it in his Journal account. What Wesley says he did is this, "I have this day set apart as a superintendent, by the imposition of my hands and prayers, . . . Thomas Coke," etc. It furnishes no evidence that he used the ordination form of the National Church at all. Admitting that he probably did for convenience, he certainly did not use the form of the English service, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands: in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen." The logical form of the issue is this. Either he used the form of the National Church, including the foregoing invocation, or he did not. If he did, and meant thereby to raise Coke to a third order in the ministry, employing the terms "superintendent" and "bishop," as synonymous, then there is but one way to rescue his memory from an indelible blot, and that is the one accepted by his brother Charles—senility. For, despite the precautions of secrecy, what was done soon became known. Charles Wesley, who was in Bristol at the time, but in utter ignorance of the proceedings, gave vent to his indignation in no measured words. Pathetically, he said, having assumed this view:—

" 'Twas age that made the breach, not he."

He lampooned the act in stinging words in metre:—

"So easily are bishops made
By man or woman's whim;
Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid,
But who laid hands on him?"

And when he heard of the ordination of Asbury by Coke, he lost sight of Christian charity and was guilty of satirizing the act in the quatrain—an unpardonable allusion to the humble origin of Asbury:—

"A Roman emperor, 'tis said,
His favorite horse a consul made;
But Coke brings greater things to pass,
He makes a bishop of an ass."

Charles Wesley's almost desperate resort, that of a second childhood, to account for what seemed to him a most erratic proceeding of his brother, not only in the setting apart, or ordination, as it

was at first commonly believed, of Whatcoat and Vasey, as elders or presbyters, but of Coke as a Bishop, cannot be received, and is not by any class of disputants over the affair; nor is it borne out by the facts in the case. The logical form of the question shuts up, then, to the conclusion: Wesley did not use the form of the National Church, except it may be a memoriter use of the prayers, and did not in any ecclesiastical sense set apart Coke as a Bishop. All Wesley's after explanations of what he did make this plain. Whatcoat has furnished the key to it when he says, "They [Wesley, Creighton, and Coke] formed themselves into a Presbytery." In casting about in his reading of ancient Church history Wesley found his justification. In the letter-controversy that followed with his brother Charles, the memorable sentence occurs that puts the matter in a nutshell: "I firmly believe that I am a scriptural *episcopos* as much as any man in England, or in Europe; for the uninterrupted succession I know to be a fable, which no man ever did or can prove. But this does in no wise prevent my remaining in the Church of England, from which I have no more desire to separate than I had fifty years ago." That is, as a presbyter I have a right to ordain presbyters, and as superintendent of the Methodists I am an *episcopos*, that is, a presiding presbyter, and this is what I did when I set apart Coke for America. In subjection to me I appointed him a superintendent for America and authorized him to set apart Francis Asbury as a joint superintendent with him, after the method of the primitive churches. The presbyters of a given locality, the churches advising, selected one of their number to be the ruling or presiding elder, or presbyter, for that locality. This is the gist of it, and the whole word-splitting controversy over it was brought about by the Episcopal bias, in the three-order sense of the ministry, of the King James translators of the Scriptures, giving to these *episcopi* the title of bishops. In fact, he had become a Presbyterian while he remained in form an Episcopalian.

It was not a new opinion. Forty years before, Lord King's account of the primitive Church convinced him "that bishops and presbyters are of one order"; in 1756 he wrote, "I still believe the Episcopal form of church government to agree with the practice and writings of the apostles" (and he explained this farther by declaring that he believed the Established Church of England the "best form for a National Church," and anent this there will be little dissent by any one); "but that it is prescribed in scripture, I do not believe." Again, in 1761, he said that

Stillingfleet had convinced him that to believe that none but episcopal ordination was valid "was an entire mistake." And finally, in 1780, prior to his actually setting apart as a presbyter, he startled his brother Charles by declaring, "I verily believe I have as good a right to ordain as to administer the Lord's Supper." After the collocation of these deliverances, the position taken that, ecclesiastically, he was a Presbyterian and not an Episcopalian seems established beyond successful contradiction. It sweeps away a great mass of cobweb spinning and fruitless logomachy of three grades of an episcopacy as proven from the Fathers in order to transfigure the simple ceremony over Coke in that private chamber into anything but an assignment of Coke by Wesley to be a superintendent with authority to confer the same office, not order, upon Asbury in America, into something else. The only excuse at all for a ceremony is found in the specious reasons urged by Coke, and the more potent fact that Wesley was the father and founder of the Methodists, and as such had a priority and an authority that may be easily conceded him.

The general view thus presented has been the traditional view of leading Wesleyan ministers, with marked exceptions, and that upon which their own Presbyterian polity is based; and it has been the declared view in logical sequence of the leading ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America from the period when the case of Bishop Andrews was made a crucial one in 1844, the action of that General Conference pronouncing that the bishopric in that Church is an office and not an order, to pave the way for the position it assumed that he could resign or they could suspend him to accomplish the purpose then in hand. True, there have been eminent dissenters since, revamping the old position that Coke and Asbury and their successors were in some sense and in some grade a third order, as well as officers in the Church they represent, a position more generally adhered to in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Tyerman, who may be accepted as a criterion of English Wesleyan sentiment, thus defines it: "What was the ordination to be? The only one possible was this. Wesley was the venerable father of the 15,000 Methodists in America. He was not able to visit them himself, but sends them Dr. Coke. The doctor pretends that it is more than possible that some of the American preachers and societies will refuse to acknowledge his authority. To remove this objection, Wesley, at Bristol, in a private room, holds a

religious service, puts his hands upon the head of Coke, and (to use his own words) sets him apart as a *superintendent* of the work in America, and gives him a written testimonial to that effect. This was all that Wesley did, and all that Wesley meant; but we greatly doubt whether it was all that the departing envoy wished. With the highest respect for Dr. Coke and his general excellencies, it is no detraction to assert that he was dangerously ambitious, and that the height of his ambition was a desire to be a bishop. . . . These are unpleasant facts; which we would rather have consigned to oblivion, had they not been necessary to vindicate Wesley from the huge inconsistency of ordaining a coequal presbyter to be a bishop. Wesley meant the ceremony to be a mere formality, likely to recommend his delegate to the favor of the Methodists in America; Coke in his ambition wished and intended it to be considered as an ordination to the bishopric."¹

So much for traditional English sentiment down to 1870: Whitehead, contemporary with the event, does not see this method of relief for Wesley's consistency; but, like Charles Wesley, whose views of ordination he supported, says ironically: "He complied with the doctor's wish, by consecrating him one of the Bishops, and Mr. Whatcoat and Vasey Presbyters of the new Methodist Episcopal Church in America. No doubt the three gentlemen were highly gratified with their new titles; as we often see both young and *old children* gratified with gilded toys, though clumsily made, and of no real worth or valuable use, except to quiet the cries of those for whom they are prepared."² Moore strongly objects to this lampooning by Whitehead, and twits him on his own alleged application to Wesley for ordination, and it may be admitted that he allowed his feelings to get the better of his judgment in his strictures. Bangs, whose "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," written about 1838, is severely partisan, dismisses the momentous event with a simple quotation of what occurred from Moore. He takes it for granted that Wesley made Coke a Bishop, and that he made Asbury a Bishop in turn, and so on in succession. Stevens, more candid and impartial, finds in it the knottiest question of his historic task, and he tackles it manfully, and in an argument covering seventeen pages of his "History of Methodism," Vol. II., he has built up a colossal fallacy, an ingenious weaving together of

¹ "Life of Wesley," Vol. III. pp. 433, 434.

² Written some years after the fact.

everything he could marshal to establish the validity of Coke's ordination, not as a third-order bishop, but as an office superior to the eldership, and made such by Wesley's ceremony at Bristol; and of Wesley's recommendation of the Episcopal form for the American Church, and his approval of all that Coke and Asbury did in the premises. It is exhaustive for that side, and by far the ablest defence that has ever been written. It was penned thirty-five years ago, and it is doubtful whether he would reproduce it to-day as satisfactory in view of the light since shed upon it. The literature that has grown up around the issue, as initiated by Alexander McCaine and others from 1827 down, and its controversion would make a volume of itself. All that is salient and essential in it on both sides may receive farther analysis later, but the thread must here be dropped, that the embarkation of Coke and his companions may not longer be delayed.

In the sixteen days that elapsed between the setting apart of the three and their departure from England it had found the ears of some of the preachers. Wesley probably, in his ingenuous way, on being interrogated as to the ceremony, spoke of it; for, as Charles said of him, "He never could keep a secret in his life;" and Coke was too full of it to keep silence, and the presumption is established that he aired himself as a Bishop for America among his friends. Henry Moore was within the confidential circle of both of them, and his unimpeached testimony is given to the public — it is true not until thirty-five years after — that he was present at some interview between Wesley and Coke in which the former took occasion to remind the latter that he meant no such inconsistent thing by the ceremony in his chamber as to make him a Bishop. Moore does not mince or qualify the matter: "With respect to the title of *bishop*, I know that Mr. Wesley enjoined the doctor and his associates, and in the most solemn manner, that it should not be taken. In a letter to Mrs. Gilbert, the widow of the excellent Nathaniel Gilbert of Antigua, a copy of which now lies before me, he states this in the strongest terms. In this and every similar deviation, I cannot be the apologist of Dr. Coke; and I can state, in contradiction of all that Dr. Whitehead and Mr. Hampson have said, that Mr. Wesley never gave his sanction to any of these things; nor was he the author of one line of all that Dr. Coke published in America on this subject. His views on these points were very different from those of his zealous son in the gospel. He knew that the work of God neither needed, nor could truly be aided,

nor recommend itself to pious minds, by such additions.”¹ If anything were needed to show what Wesley meant by his “setting apart,” this ought to be conclusive. Moore was a close and confidential friend of both Wesley and Coke, and this must account for his willingness to conceal so important an interview for thirty-five years, from the public at least, knowing how important its bearing was upon the controverted point. It is, however, not the only instance of the kind involving the issues of 1820-30 in which a secret was kept, for no other apparent reason than that the possessor of it felt how damaging it would be to the view himself espoused at the time.²

In addition to the “plan of church government,” or “a little sketch,” as Wesley himself titles it, he prepared the following circular letter, Moore says, “to be printed and circulated in America:” —

BRISTOL, September 10, 1784.

To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our brethren in North America:

1. By a very uncommon train of providences, many of the provinces of North America are totally disjoined from the British empire, and erected into independent states. The English government has no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the states of Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the Congress, partly by the state Assemblies; but no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all. In this peculiar situation some thousands of the inhabitants of these states desire my advice; and in compliance with their desire, I have drawn up a little sketch.

2. Lord King's account of the primitive church convinced me many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned from time to time, to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our travelling

¹ “Life of Wesley,” Vol. II. pp. 279, 280.

² This is the case, and it is of great moment. August 9 and 30, 1876, Rev. Dr. Lovick Pierce of Georgia wrote two letters to his friend, Rev. Dr. Perrine, in which he makes the disclosure that, while travelling with Bishop Asbury in 1811, he said one day after a long and lonely ride, “I judge the time will come when our *people* will seek a *representative power* in our Legislative Conference,” etc. The italics are supplied. So it seems that Dr. Pierce kept this a secret for sixty-five years, and he excuses his concealment on the ground that he makes it at the “only time I think in which it has ever been called for by the pending issues.” Marvellous indeed! Was not the controversy of 1820-30 such a proper time? And is it not plain that Dr. Pierce did not then reveal it because himself opposed to the Reform movement of that period? How powerfully it would have helped this cause had he opened his lips in candor, and revealed what he knew of Asbury's vaticinations. See the whole matter discussed by the author in the *Methodist Protestant*, of October 7, 1876, of which paper he was then editor. The only difference between Moore and Pierce is that the former concealed what he knew for thirty-five, and the latter sixty-five years. Further comment is unnecessary.

preachers. But I have still refused, not only for peace' sake, but because I was determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the national church to which I belonged.

3. But the case is widely different between England and North America. Here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, and but few parish ministers. So that for some hundred miles together there are none either to baptize or administer the Lord's Supper. Here therefore my scruples are at an end: and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order and invade no man's right, by appointing and sending laborers into the harvest.

4. I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint superintendents over our brethren in North America. As also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, to act as elders among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper. And I have prepared a liturgy, little differing from that of the Church of England (I think the best constituted national church in the world), which I advise all the travelling preachers to use on the Lord's day in all the congregations, reading the litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying *extempore* on all other days. I also advise the elders to administer the supper of the Lord on every Lord's day.

If any one will point out a more rational and Scriptural way of feeding and guiding those poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present, I cannot see any better method than that I have taken.

It has indeed been proposed to desire the English bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America. But to this I object. 1. I desired the Bishop of London to ordain only one, but could not prevail. 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits of no delay. 3. If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them. And how grievously would this entangle us? 4. As our American brethren are now totally disentangled both from the state and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free.

JOHN WESLEY.

Drew, Coke's biographer, says of this letter, which he gives in full, that it was prepared by Wesley in the interval of Coke's waiting in London, and which Dr. Coke "was directed to print and circulate among the societies on his arrival in America." Moore probably obtained this item of information already cited from Drew. A few observations on this circular are called for, though full consideration will be given it later. It was not printed and circulated among the American societies, as Wesley directed, "on his (Coke's) arrival in America." An essential portion of paragraph four was suppressed by Coke at the Christmas Conference, with Asbury's knowledge and approval. The suppressed portion begins with the words, "And I have prepared

a liturgy," etc., down to the close of the paragraph. The probable reasons for this unwarrantable suppression will be given later. Wesley's excuses for not deferring longer for ordination to the Bishops of the National Church require comment. The first, the refusal of the Bishop of London, has already been considered,—by canon law it was impossible for him to consent without an exceedingly loose construction of his prerogatives. They would be "slow," Wesley says, even if consent could be obtained, and the "matter admits of no delay." This is a curious reason, when it is considered that for four years the same urgency existed. "If they would ordain them now, they would expect to govern them. And how grievously this would entangle us!" This is the true reason. Wesley could not entertain for a moment any expedient that deprived him of headship over the Methodists of the world. But for this reason it would have been easy enough at this period to secure ordination for the American preachers through legitimate channels Episcopally considered. Wesley was aware of it when he made these excuses. For early in 1784 Dr. Samuel Seabury of Connecticut was elected by a voluntary convention of the clergy of that state a Bishop. But how should he get consecration? He went to England, but finding the See of Canterbury vacant, and the Archbishop of York unable to take measures for the consecration of an American citizen without consent of Parliament, thus making a long delay unavoidable, he proceeded to Scotland, and received consecration from the Bishops of the Scotch Episcopal Church, and was ordained at Aberdeen on November 14, 1784. Through him Wesley, or for that Asbury himself, might have obtained Episcopal ordination, and thus American Methodism would have been corporately, what it was ostensibly, a part of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. It is to these facts that Charles Wesley refers, when, on April 28, 1785, he wrote to Dr. Chandler, an Episcopal clergyman, who was about to embark for America, "Had they [the American preachers] had patience a little longer, they would have seen a real Bishop in America, consecrated by three Scottish Bishops, who have their consecration from the English Bishops, and are acknowledged by them as the same with themselves."¹ But to Wesley it meant that dreaded thing, separation from him; besides, it is in farther proof how far he had modified his earliest views of Episcopacy and succession.² He was, as found, a

¹ Tyerman's "Life of Wesley," Vol. III. p. 444.

² About this matter one is struck with the iteration of Stevens in his "His-

veritable Presbyterian, though clinging to the last to the Church home of his father and his childhood. Asbury was certainly aware of Seabury's ordination in Scotland and of his return about the time of the Christmas Conference;¹ but had not Wesley sent Coke over, it would no more have suited Asbury than it did Wesley, and for a similar reason: it would have deprived him of the Primacy over American preachers and people, even if he had been recognized on application to Seabury as a Bishop. It would have made him a simple diocesan instead of a continental Primate. But to Wesley's circular letter. As reflecting his change of views as to Episcopacy, in his fourth reason he speaks of the National Church as "the English hierarchy." Nowhere

tory," like the following foot-note — "Asbury's consecration to the episcopate was the first Protestant ordination of the kind *in the New World*, but Coke's was the first *for it*." Again — "The first Protestant bishop of the New World," and much to the same purpose, running through his work. On the theory that Coke was made a true bishop by the ceremony of Wesley at Bristol, you can partly account for this exultation over priority. Yes, Coke was set apart September 2, 1784, and Seabury, not until November 14, 1784, so Coke is ahead by two months and a half. And yet Stevens and M. E. Church authors generally scout the idea in their sober moments that Coke was made a bishop hierarchically understood. The bishopric is an office, not an order, they say, that is, since 1844, but like an efflorescence it blooms out ever and anon. Asbury was the first bishop of the New World. In the race, Eclipse is first, and that puts the other entries "nowhere." Pardon is craved, but it provokes a nausea. It might be retorted Seabury was *elected* first, and so dispute the palm. All this aping of the thing down to gowns and bands, and other millinery, reads between the lines like a tacit confession that the *Episcopacy* of American Methodism is a sham, and needs to be feathered and furbelowed to hide it. It is to be sincerely hoped that no future historian of the M. E. Church will perpetuate this brag. Dear brethren, "reform it altogether."

¹ In evidence the following extract from a letter found in an Appendix to "An Inquiry into the Validity of Methodist Episcopacy, with an Appendix, containing two original documents never before published, by an Episcopalian of the State of Maryland" (Rev. John Kewley). See Asbury's "Journal," Vol. III. p. 248, edition 1852. Wilmington, 1807. 12mo, 68 pp. Copy in author's possession. Said letter was written by Dr. Andrews to Dr. Smith, giving an account of an interview between Mr. West, Dr. Andrews, Dr. Coke, and Mr. Asbury. The letter states that an interview was appointed on or before the meeting of the Christmas Conference in Baltimore, the letter itself bearing date, "Baltimore, December 31, 1784. Dr. Coke "came at the appointed hour, six in the evening, and brought with him Mr. Goff [Gough] and Mr. Asbury." The Episcopalian informed them that they had seen Wesley's letter of September, 1784, addressed to Asbury and the American preachers, and wished to know if arrangements could not be made to consolidate the Methodist with the Protestant Episcopal Church. "The plan of church government which we had instituted in this state was very simple, and, as we trusted, a very rational plan: that it was to be exercised by a convention consisting of an equal number of laity and clergy, and having for their president a bishop, elected by the whole body of the clergy." It was farther suggested that Dr. Coke could be consecrated as a bishop, as "we could see no impropriety in having two bishops in one state, one of which

else in all his writings does he so designate it. It is not so spoken of by Episcopalians. It is a Romish coinage and carries with it all that is offensive ideally of priestly rule. If he would not dare to entangle them again with it, it may be assumed that he was not enamoured of it himself. "They are now at full liberty to follow the Scriptures and the primitive church." For the honor and unity of American Methodism one cannot forbear the wish, Would that they had!

In the interval of the British Conference of 1784 and the departure of Coke and his associates for America, Wesley employed such leisure as he could command in editing the Book of Common Prayer. It was used in most of the Methodist chapels, but needed some emendations for America. This amended book is very rare, but the M. E. Book Concern in New York has recently reissued it and a copy is consulted. The original title was: "The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America, with other occasional services. London, printed in the year

might always be elected from among the people called Methodists, so long as that distinction should be kept up among them." To these proposals Dr. Coke made answer that the utmost he could do would be to submit the proposal to Mr. Wesley. The matter is discussed between them, Coke pointing out the difficulties in the way. The interview ended with no practical results, the letter ending with this paragraph, giving the conclusions of the Episcopalians, "Thus ended our negotiations which served no other purpose than to discover to us that the *minds of these gentlemen are not wholly free from resentment*, and it is a point which among them is indispensably necessary, *that Mr. Wesley be the first link of the chain upon which their church is suspended.*" The italics are in the letter. It vindicates these conclusions, and it may be that the proposals were in no wise more acceptable because of the church government—"an equal number of the laity and clergy." Neither Wesley, nor Coke, nor Asbury, had any use for a laity in church councils. They were simply the hewers of wood and drawers of water. Further use of this pamphlet of Kewley's will be made later. The suggestions of the Episcopalians must have been based upon their knowledge of the arrival of Bishop Seabury as a "consecrated" man.

This last note, as to Dr. Andrews's interview with Coke and Asbury, was written by the author in 1894. Recently, December, 1898, it is verified in a monogram just published with the title, "The Garrison Church," sketches of the history of St. Thomas's Parish. Garrison Forest, Baltimore County, Md., 1742-1852. By the Rev. Ethan Allen, D.D. Edited by Rev. Hobart Smith, rector of St. Thomas's parish, 1898, with additional sketches. Printed by Paul & Falconer, New York. James Pott & Company. For sale by E. Allen Lycett, Baltimore, Md. This monogram contains the explicit statement as given by the *Baltimore Sun*, in a notice of the book, that "One of the rectors, Dr. John Andrews, afterward provost of the University of Pennsylvania, tried when at Garrison Forest, to persuade Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury not to separate from the church when they met for this purpose at the Christmas Conference of the Methodists in 1784." This establishes, not the fact only as to Dr. Andrews, but the reliability of Dr. John Kewley as a historiographer. The Garrison Forest Church was built in 1741, and has had a continuous history ever since.

MDCCLXXXIV." The original preface to it is republished with the edition of 1893. In it Wesley says, "Little alteration is made in the following edition (which I recommend to our societies in America) except," etc. The holy days are omitted, the Lord's Day service abridged, some sentences in the office of Baptism and the Burial of the Dead omitted, for their Romish and water-regenerating drift, as well as some of the imprecatory Psalms, etc. Stevens says it also contained forms for "ordaining superintendents, elders, and deacons, the Articles of Religion, and a Collection of Psalms and Hymns." The late American edition does not conform to this, and altogether is an accommodational reprint. It was brought over by Coke in the sheets, probably for the portable advantage. There is no intimation by any one how large the edition was, but it is fairly presumable that it was enough for the wants of the societies, now numbering fifteen thousand members, should they adopt it. Wesley's obvious purpose was to conform the American societies more fully to the Wesleyan model under his authority, but with not so much as a dream of a Church, or else he would have enjoined it instead of modestly recommending it. Simple and indisputable as was the object, it is made to play an important part in the controversy of 1827-30, as shall be shown.

Thus accoutred, Dr. Coke and his associates, Whatcoat and Vasey, set sail from Bristol at ten o'clock on the morning of the 18th of September, 1784. He is possessed of his credentials as a superintendent, the little sketch, the circular letter addressed to the societies, and the Sunday Service, besides his luggage, including the canonicals, in which, like Wesley and other clergymen, he always officiated, with his books and papers. The vessel was bound for New York. After a tempestuous voyage of six weeks they reached their destination, November 3. He spent his time as a godly man should, in reading and prayer. The life of Xavier, the Catholic missionary, occupied him, as well as Hoadley on "Conformity and Episcopacy," and Augustine's "Meditations," and, to relieve the monotony, the "Pastorals" of Virgil, and, above all, his Greek New Testament. Disembarking, the three were met and conducted to the house of Stephen Sands, a member and trustee of the John Street chapel. John Dickins, the city preacher, was introduced, and as he was book agent and a leading preacher, Coke disclosed to him, Stevens says, "the scheme which he brought from Wesley. Dickins, being one of the Fluvanna brethren, emphatically approved it,

and requested that it might at once be announced to the public, assured that it would be received with joy. Coke deemed it expedient to disclose it no further till he could consult Asbury." Stevens gleaned this information probably from Coke's Journal, which Hampson cites to the effect that he opened Wesley's plan to a preacher in New York (Dickins it was), that he highly approved it, and, Coke adds, "he pressed me earnestly to make it public, because, as he justly observed, Mr. Wesley had determined the point, and therefore it was not to be investigated, but complied with." W. S. Stockton, the father of lay-representation in America among laymen, in the *Methodist Protestant* of December 28, 1844, points out that this "plan" could be no other than the "little sketch," and no one can doubt it. It is initial of the Christmas Conference business, and for its further full analysis a new chapter is demanded.

CHAPTER XXIII

The conscience of humanity rewrites history — "Methodist Episcopacy" rewritten by Alexander McCaine — Antecedents of the Christmas Conference — "Little sketch" of Wesley fully considered; Coke's disposition of it finally — Coke and Asbury at Barratt's chapel, 1784; interesting particulars; their private interview; Wesley's plan rejected, and Asbury's adopted by the "superintendents"; secret preliminaries to the Christmas Conference at Perry Hall — Asbury sees his opportunity, and his superior strategy prevails over Wesley and Coke — The Conference; who were present; order of the business; what was done; suppression of the Ritual paragraph in Wesley's letter and the motive for it explained — Were Coke and Asbury "elected"? fully considered — Asbury's credential from Coke — Garrettson a dissenter to the general superintendency — A Church organized of ministers, *by* ministers, and *for* ministers — Coke's explanation to Wesley of what they did — Asbury's ordination; to what?

A MODERN author has aptly said, "History is the conscience of humanity, since we are always looking at it from new points of view, and rewriting it in sympathy with our own feelings." No annalist, perhaps, can entirely divest himself of these feelings. Under its influence the proceedings of the chief actors in the Christmas Conference have been elaborately unfolded and justified in histories and monographs, so that nothing is left to be said on that side of it. The conscience of humanity, however, has never been satisfied with it. For three-quarters of a century it has been doubted and rewritten, and by no one so thoroughly as by Alexander McCaine in his trio of publications, "The History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy," his "Defence of the Truth," and his "Letters on the M. E. Church," with fugitive contributions. Unhappily, like James O'Kelly, he was irate, somewhat overbearing, bold to bluntness, and handled personal character unloved. It shall be the object of the writer to avoid extremes in traversing the same ground, but with the confession that his convictions are not in sympathy with the apologists of Coke and Asbury in the transactions of the Christmas Conference.

It has been found that Coke divulged the plan of Wesley for the government of the American societies to John Dickins, who approved and urged its immediate publication as determined by Wesley, and, therefore, not to be considered, but executed. Much

space has been given to these antecedents, but it will be found that satisfactorily settled much space will be saved when the heart of this ancient controversy is touched, in thus brushing away the irrelevant ramblings and inconsequent arguments which have entangled it. If, as Stevens says, Dickins was still an exponent of the Fluvanna brethren, then it may be safely assumed that the "plan" did not conflict with their liberal views, and hence did not suit either Coke or Asbury. It is difficult to ascertain precisely when Dickins's tergiversation as to church politics began; but it may be doubted whether he was at this time even as liberal as when he led the argument for a Presbyterian polity. And, on the other hand, it must be assumed that the "plan" was not that of Coke and Asbury, or there would have been no motive in suppressing it so that no trace of it has ever been found. The interrogations of McCaine to the preachers contemporary with Dickins and the early Bishops utterly failed of any admission that any one of them had ever seen it, or, indeed, ever heard of it. Coke probably lost his opportunity when he declined to make it public, as Dickins proposed. For on either of the foregoing suppositions he would have held the vantage. If the "plan" were a liberal one, Coke, by espousing it publicly before he conferred with Asbury—as nothing was plainer than that unless Wesley's authority was to be disputed or impaired it was not to be considered, but executed—would have brought over to him that large majority of the preachers and the people who favored such a plan, and no doubt still secretly entertained it. Such a course would have gathered about him an influence that Asbury would have found much more difficult to contravene than in the case of the Fluvanna brethren. If the "plan" were in accord with Coke's and Asbury's view he had nothing to lose by publishing at once. It may be said that something of courtesy was due Asbury before such a step was taken, and that this was the reason for Coke's refusal to divulge it publicly. But if this had any influence with Coke the same courtesy demanded that he should not have revealed it first to Dickins. By such reasoning a strong presumption, at least, is raised that the "plan" ran in neither of these grooves, and, if so, it establishes a moral certainty that it was Wesleyan simply; and, if so, then what it was is foreshadowed by Wesley's polity with the English Conference with, perhaps, such circumstantial differences as the emergency that made a "plan" for the American societies a necessity required. At least four things may therefore be assumed as parts of it: it did

not authorize, in the widest construction that could be placed upon it, the organization of a Church. This Wesley would never tolerate. It did not mean that the "setting apart" of Coke and Asbury as "superintendents" was anything more than the subsequent setting apart of Mather for Scotland and Black for Nova Scotia as superintendents under Wesley. Neither of these ever presumed upon their self-evident office and work as, it will be seen, did Coke and Asbury. It was never intended that Wesley's authority should be less absolute and permanent than it was in England. It may be also safely assumed that it contained no liberal provisions. All of these assumptions will be reduced to moral certainties as the story of American Methodism unfolds. The upshot of the "little sketch," then, is that Dickins kept the secret; Asbury, when it was divulged to him, dissented to its provisions; Coke concurred, suppressed, and, finally, destroyed it. It will appear again in this History only as it forms a part of the McCaine-Emory controversy of 1827-30.¹

It is well to remember that the transactions in England as to the ordinations had become quite generally known in America through the correspondence of Asbury with Wesley and Shadford; and the public papers, so far as they took cognizance of Methodist affairs at home, so that the coming of Dr. Coke and his companions was not a surprise, though the particulars of their commission were not known even by Asbury. Coke himself says in his Journal, "By some means or other the whole country has been, as it were, expecting, and Mr. Asbury looking out for me for some time." Asbury's semiannual tours of the continental work were methodical, so that it was not difficult to guess his probable whereabouts at any time. Coke ascertained in New York that he was coming northward and was put upon his trail. He did not wait, therefore, for him to reach New York in course of travel, though but a few weeks would probably have elapsed. "The king's business requireth haste," and this business is characterized with it to a suspicious degree, considering the momentous issues involved and the steps taken. So that Coke, after tarrying but a few days in New York, preaching and taking in the situation, hastened to Philadelphia, which he reached on Saturday evening of the same week. On Sabbath he preached for Dr. Magaw at St. Paul's Episcopal Church and at St. George's to the Methodist Society at night. Monday he was introduced to Dr.

¹ The reader is apprised that this "little sketch" matter is thoroughly considered in a foot-note towards the close of the tenth chapter of the second volume.

White, afterward bishop, and the governor of the state. Learning that Asbury was in Delaware, he set out and reached Bassett's house in Dover where he met Garrettson, then a young American preacher whom he much admired. The next day, Sabbath, he reached, with Whatcoat, Barratt's chapel. Asbury is also in the immediate neighborhood, but did not make himself known. Coke took the pulpit and, in his full canonicals, preached to a "noble congregation," he says, "in the midst of a forest." Asbury was an auditor. It gave him time to look the stranger over, and he must have been pleased with him. Let Coke tell what happened: "After the sermon a plain, robust man came up to me in the pulpit and kissed me. I thought it could be no other than Mr. Asbury, and I was not deceived. I administered the sacrament after preaching to five or six hundred communicants, and held a love-feast. It was the best season I ever knew except at Charlemont in Ireland. After dinner Mr. Asbury and I had a private conversation on the future management of our affairs in America. He informed me that he had received some intimations of my arrival on the continent and had collected a considerable number of the preachers to form a council, and if they were of opinion that it would be expedient immediately to call a Conference it should be done. They were accordingly sent for, and, after debate, were unanimously of that opinion. We therefore sent off Freeborn Garrettson, like an arrow, from north to south, directing him to send messengers to the right and left, and to gather all the preachers together at Baltimore on Christmas Eve." Garrettson, long years after in his semi-centennial sermon, gives about the same account of it. Asbury says of it: "Sunday, 14th — I came to Barratt's chapel: here to my great joy I met these dear men of God, Dr. Coke and Richard Whatcoat; we were greatly comforted together. The Doctor preached on "Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." Having had no opportunity of conversing with them before service, I was greatly surprised to see brother Whatcoat assist by taking the cup in the administration of the Lord's Supper. I was shocked when first informed of the intention of these, my brethren, in coming to this country: it may be of God. My answer then was, if the preachers unanimously choose me, I shall not act in the capacity I have heretofore done by Mr. Wesley's appointment. The design of organizing the Methodists into an Independent Episcopal Church was opened to the preachers present, and it was agreed to call a General Conference to meet at Baltimore the

ensuing Christmas." The implications of this statement contain the gist of the whole matter. It makes it plain how it all came about. He adds, "My soul is deeply engaged with God to know His will in this new business." Not a doubt need be entertained of it. All his reading, all his prepossessions, all his conscience, all his purposes, were in the plan. He cemented it with his prayers. There is a tradition that at the quarterly meeting, which was called for Barratt's, ten of the preachers who had come at Asbury's call were privately informed of his plan for organizing a Methodist Episcopal Church. After hearing him six of them, it is said, dissented, and four concurred. Some five more afterward came in, and these fifteen, with Coke to assist, were "labored with," the plan being again opened to the preachers present, and it was agreed to — not the plan — "but to call a General Conference."¹ What had become of Thomas Vasey, Coke's and Whatecoat's companion? He had made a detour, being more intent upon preaching than scheming, in the surrounding country. Asbury came up with him, two days after the Barratt chapel interview, at Bohemia Manor.

It is no loss, perhaps, to the religious world that no minutes were ever made, much less published, of the conversations between Coke and Asbury in that after-dinner talk at Barratt's home, "a private conversation on the management of our affairs in America." What Wesley directed them to do and what they afterward did were so incongruous, and so questionable, that it is well that no man knows to this day. Asbury discloses a single feature, and it is pregnant of consequences, "My answer then was, if the preachers unanimously choose me, I shall not act in the capacity I have heretofore done by Mr. Wesley's appointment." It may be safely assumed that in that Sabbath afternoon private interview Coke showed Asbury the plan, or the "little sketch," his credentials as a superintendent, conveying authority to set him apart for the same position, and the circular letter to be printed and circulated among the societies. A crisis had arrived and Asbury was quick to perceive it, hence his demurrer. A joint superintendent with Coke. It did not accord with his purposes. Did Coke inform him how solemnly Wesley had charged him that the title of bishop as synonymous with superintendent should not be assumed, as Coke had given him reason to suspect would be the case? Under Asbury's cross-examination it may be concluded that nothing was kept back. He finds Asbury

¹ See *Methodist Protestant*, Vol. II. p. 268.

a pronounced hierarchist and a believer in apostolical succession, views most in accord with his own. A joint superintendent with Coke. He was to be watched and reported to Wesley by one equal in authority. Had he not been the paternal head of the American Methodists for thirteen years? Was he still to be under "tutors and governors," the chief three thousand miles distant? There were reasonable and honest objections to it, and it will be found that a few years after, when Wesley more fully appreciated what was done at the Christmas Conference and remonstrated with Asbury for his apparent insubordination, he frankly uncovered. Wesley writes, 1789, "I received some letters from Mr. Asbury affirming that no person in Europe knew how to direct those in America."¹ Prior to this he had written to Brackenbury, as Coke relates in his famous letter to Wesley, urging his own ordination, "he saw a letter in London from Mr. Asbury, in which he observed that he would not receive any person deputed by you to take any part of the superintendency of the work invested in him, or words evidently implying so much." In the introductory chapter the position is taken for this stage of the History that "a tripartite contention will be disclosed as the key to the mystery of otherwise unaccountable transactions of these three in dealing with each other." The beginning of it is disclosed. It shall be developed step by step, and the conclusion then reached vindicated.

In the hours of the Sabbath afternoon in a private interview Coke and Asbury arrived at an understanding. What it was will be unfolded at the Christmas Conference. Other details were talked about, for Coke says, "he and I have agreed to use our joint endeavors to establish a school or college." It is the sequel to suggestions which had been made by John Dickins, who had the English Kingswood school in mind, some time before. Just forty days would elapse before Christmas. An immense amount of work had to be done meantime. Garrettsen to notify all the eighty-three preachers widely scattered, and mail facilities almost nugatory for such hasty business. Asbury generalised the campaign. Coke says farther of the Barratt meeting: "Mr. Asbury had also drawn up for me a route of about a thousand miles in the meantime. He has also given me his black man (Harry by name) and borrowed an excellent horse for me. I exceedingly reverence Mr. Asbury; he has so much wisdom and consideration, so much meekness and love; and, under all this, though hardly to be

¹ McCaine's "Defence of the Truth," pp. 97-99.

perceived, so much command and authority." It is a pen-picture indeed. He was already under the spell of that magnetic presence.

The route mapped out by Asbury carried Coke over much of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. "Black Harry was small in stature and perfectly black, but had eyes of remarkable brilliancy and keenness, and singular readiness and aptness of speech." He travelled extensively with Asbury, Coke, Whatcoat, and Garrettson. He was as popular with the white as with the colored congregations. Indeed, he acceptably took the place of those with whom he travelled. Flattery and hospitality led him to the use of wine, and he fell from grace. He recovered, however, was reinstated in confidence, resumed his labors, and died in Philadelphia in 1810, followed to his grave by a great procession of whites and blacks. Thomas Ware met with Coke and gives a good description of him, which Stevens cites, as well as a fragment of his conversation as to Asbury: "In the presence of Mr. Asbury I feel myself a child. He is, in my estimate, the most apostolic man I ever saw, except Mr. Wesley." He baptized in this tour thousands of children, and the Lord's Supper was celebrated almost whenever he preached. The purity of his English, the fluency of his style, and the evangelical fervor drew great crowds to hear him. Meanwhile Asbury, with Whatcoat and Vasey, had taken the Western Shore of Maryland. Everywhere they went they talked of the plan agreed upon, not Wesley's plan in the "little sketch," though the publication of it and its dissemination among the congregations would have expedited information, but Asbury's plan for a Methodist Episcopal Church. At the Calvert quarterly meeting he met Poythress, a leader among the preachers. "Brother Poythress and myself had much talk about the new plan." He does not say that Poythress approved it. A few days afterward he records, "I observed this day as a day of fasting and prayer, that I might know the will of God in the matter that is shortly to come before our Conference; the preachers and people seem much pleased with the projected plan; I myself am led to think it is of the Lord. I am not tickled with the honor to be gained — I see danger in the way. My soul waits upon God. Oh, that He may lead us in the way we should go. Part of my time is, and must necessarily be, taken up with preparation for the Conference." Later, "The Rev. M. W——s and myself had an interesting conversation on the subject of the Episcopal mode of church government." What was the honor he ingenuously confesses did not tickle him? Surely

not the simple setting apart of himself to be a joint superintendent with Coke. He was already that in fact, the form of it was nothing, if it was to mean only what Wesley meant when he set apart Coke for the same relation. But a godly man such as he was would see danger in being a Bishop of a Methodist Episcopal Church. It loomed up before him and he had a struggle with the phantom. December 14 he met Dr. Coke at Abingdon, "Mr. Richard Dallam kindly taking him there in his coach. . . . We talked of our affairs in great love." They were together at Perry Hall on the 18th, and remained until the morning of the 24th. William Black, the English missionary for the British dominions in Canada and "superintendent," also met them. He was south trying to secure recruits for his work. They all met, except Whatcoat, at Perry Hall on the 17th of December. Coke says, "It is the most elegant and spacious building in this state. Here," he adds, "I have a noble room to myself, where Mr. Asbury and I may, in the course of the week, mature everything for the Conference." Whatcoat arrived on the 19th. Black says they then began the revision of "the Rules and Minutes," and made other provisions for the approaching session, adds Stevens. Four days were spent in this task. One might wish that they had told all about it. Out of it some excuse might be framed for what they did, but business that requires concealment is always open to suspicion. It may be groundless, but the burden of proof lies upon those who conduct business in secret, or their apologists. All being in readiness and their respective parts agreed upon, Asbury and Coke, Whatcoat and Vasey, as well as Black, and it may be others in the vicinage, travelled to Baltimore, fifteen miles distant, starting early on the morning of the 24th of December, so that they reached Lovely Lane chapel in time to organize the first General Conference at 10 o'clock A.M. The chapel was not yet finished, but a stove was provided and backs put to the seats for the comfort of the preachers.

Reader, look in upon the gathering. There are conflicting data both as to the day the Conference convened and the number present. The date named is that now agreed upon, and the number of preachers present sixty-five, including Coke, Asbury, Whatcoat, and Vasey, out of eighty-three — the whole number of itinerants. Garrettson, who was there, could congratulate himself on the success of his endeavor to notify them, though Jesse Lee in his "History" intimates that he could have done even better, but being fond of preaching he loitered on his way, and, in conse-

quence, some of the more southern preachers did not get notice, himself among them. McCaine, who had unequalled opportunities and diligently employed them, says of those who assembled: "A list of the names of the members now lies before me; but whether it is correct or not we have no means of ascertaining. Instead, therefore, of transcribing their names we shall give the number of those who are marked present, and the years they were in the travelling connection when the Conference met." Dr. Coke says "About sixty were present, and most of these were young men." "Of these," says McCaine, "one had travelled 10 years; three, 9 years; three, 8 years; eight, 7 years; four, 6 years; six, 5 years; eight, 4 years; thirteen, 3 years; eight, 2 years; and eleven, 1 year."¹ This analysis shows forty of them had travelled under four years and were probably under twenty-five years of age. Coke was thirty-seven and Asbury thirty-nine, quite a father among these striplings, and fourteen years in America. The minutes were printed the following spring in Philadelphia, bound up with the Sunday Service sheets, which Coke had brought over; but there are no official documents of this Conference, save what is in the printed Minutes of 1795, and the "Discipline" of that year, so that the information is very meagre. Glimpses are furnished by Coke, Asbury, Whatcoat, Ware, Garrettson, O'Kelly, and Watters, who were present. Were there any spectators? Coke preached every day at noon, and it is probable that the society members came at this time, but during the deliberations Wesley's and Asbury's method of closed doors was observed. McCaine says, "We have never seen any document which would justify us in saying that sittings and deliberations of that Conference were conducted with open doors." The Conference began on the morning of the 24th, Friday, and ended on Monday, January 3, 1785. Stevens endeavors to furnish something of a consecutive account of the proceedings by a patchwork method, the best that could be done. Observe what can be made of it.

Dr. Coke presided as Wesley's appointed superintendent. Religious service ended, Stevens says, "Coke presented a letter from Wesley, dated Bristol, September 10, 1874, and addressed to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our brethren in North America." Let the reader refer back to chapter 22d and keep the full text of it before him. Stevens gives it, minus the section of paragraph fourth. Lee, as early as 1810 gives it, and Bangs, minus the

¹ "Letters on M. E. Church," 1850, pp. 77, 78.

suppressed section. Not one of them furnishes any hint that the text had been tampered with. The first did not know it probably, though in its official form it was printed in the minutes of the British Conference of 1785.¹ The last two did know it. As they do not explain their own silence it must be explained for them as far as it can be.

The explanation offered is, that it was the first of three palpable departures by Coke, with Asbury's approval, of Wesley's instructions, and it is printed in its garbled form in the minutes of the Christmas Conference. Finding it in this altered form, officially published as the letter Wesley sent, they discreetly, for their side of the story, leave it alone. It is dangerous to touch — it is verbal dynamite. It may be well to reproduce the omitted section. "And I have prepared a liturgy, little differing from that of the Church of England (I think the best constituted National Church in the world), which I advise all the travelling preachers to use on the Lord's Day, in all the congregations, reading the litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the elders to administer the Supper of the Lord on every Lord's Day." It seems impossible to conjecture the motive for this liberty with Wesley's letter intended for the societies. Even McCaine, ready as he was to construe and find motives, does not attempt to assign any. The fact of its omission is the material point.² There is no evidence that Coke's credential as "superintendent" was read to the Conference.

Perhaps the motive for the suppression of the liturgy paragraph may be found in the opening of the letter, "Whereas many of the people of the southern provinces of North America, who desire to continue under my care, and still adhere to the doctrine

¹ O'Kelly gives the letter in full, in his "Apology." My copy was printed at Pittsburgh, Pa., but the imprint has no date, though it must have been not later than 1800. He claims that it is a literal copy, and in it the letter is broken into twenty paragraphs, each one numbered, so that the suppressed portion forms a distinct one, and is numbered fourteen. Lee's "History" was not published until 1810, and he must have known of O'Kelly's "Apology." This makes it the more strange that he should have followed the mutilated copy in the minutes of 1785, and not the true letter. Perhaps at that time he felt that he should give not what Wesley gave, but what the "superintendents" chose to give of it.

² Several years after these statements were written the writer discovered that the full text of this letter was also printed very shortly after the adjournment of the Christmas Conference in the *Baltimore Gazette* by an anonymous writer who is severely arraigned for it by other correspondents as violative of a confidence among these early officials. This new phase is fully treated near the close of the tenth chapter of the second volume of this history, to which the reader is referred in course.

and discipline of the Church of England," etc. It would have flatly contradicted any intimation that Wesley had given his consent, not to say his approval, to the organization of an independent Church, which Coke and Asbury had predetermined. Its suppression is the more remarkable from the fact that on its evidence Coke, in his urgent letter to Wesley asking for some form of ordination, relied to overcome the objection of the American preachers to his authority, which he assumed would exist. There is not the slightest evidence that Wesley's "plan" for the government of the American societies committed to Coke was exhibited. Unlike the credential, it never saw the light, and must have been destroyed by Coke. This "little sketch," more than the credential, would have forestalled the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church as having the countenance of Wesley. With the aid of these side-lights a reason for the mutilation of the circular letter of Wesley appears. It implicates with emphasis that Wesley meant to continue his absolute direction of the American societies as such and not as a Church. The first two of these facts, the mutilation of the circular letter and the suppression of Coke's credential, are not denied, and for the reason that they could not be, are never referred to by the apologists of Coke and Asbury. The third fact, the suppression and final destruction of the "little sketch," is never referred to, except by Dr. Emory in his "Defence of Our Fathers," a reply to McCaine's "History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy." It is so cogently put by the latter that it was impossible for the former to evade it, and his absolutely puerile explanation shall be considered in the proper connection.

Constructively, the reader and writer are spectators of the daily sessions. It will be remembered that the American Conferences, like the British, were not voting but simply deliberative gatherings of the preachers. Wesley for England, Coke for a series of years by appointment for Ireland, Rankin and Asbury for America,—the method was the same. "On hearing every preacher for or against what is in debate, the right of determination shall rest with him (the presiding Wesley or Coke or Asbury) according to the minutes." So after the reading of the mutilated circular letter, what next was done? The personnel of the body again invites attention. There are forty who had travelled less than four years and do not average over twenty-five years of age. They are a ruddy, rugged class, mostly dressed in "Virginia cloth," an excellent homespun. They listened eagerly and

prayed fervently, for this was their part; not one of them, perhaps, opened his lips during the Conference. Of the remaining twenty-one it may be that a short dozen took part in the questions and answers which were proposed, for that was a method also. Asbury was venerated; for most of them were his "sons in the gospel," and he called them by their given names. He is a striking figure, an impressive presence, as he sits with Dr. Coke, now "Superintendent in America," clad in full canonicals, and so the cynosure of all eyes. He is genial, but authoritative. What was next done? Nobody knows. Stevens says the next thing was "in accordance with this document" (the circular letter). "It was agreed," and he quotes Asbury in his Journal, "to form ourselves into an Episcopal Church, and to have superintendents, elders, and deacons." But certainly that was not done quite so precipitately. It must be taken as preliminary that Coke opened his commission verbally, and a straight guess may be made, from what did take place, that he informed the preachers of his new office, and that he was authorized to "set apart" their beloved Asbury as a "joint superintendent" with himself. Mr. Wesley had at last responded to their entreaties for ordination and the sacraments. It was a strong point. It was what the Fluvanna men had long been urging, and the Asbury men were equally anxious, so that it should be Episcopally done. They were agreed anent this as a necessity of their situation. Coke advanced cautiously, keeping Wesley well in front of him, for that was another vital point.

It has been seen how a letter from Wesley through Asbury quelled disaffection and was an end of all strife. He had sent over by Coke a Sunday Service adapted to America; a prayer book, with articles of religion and forms for ordaining, not bishops, priests, and deacons, but superintendents, elders, and deacons. It meant about the same thing, Coke likely suggested. And since he had conferred with Mr. Asbury, and saw the actual condition of things in America, it had occurred to him that what they needed, seeing he had come with full authority and Mr. Wesley was three thousand miles away, was to be organized into a Church and go on in an independent career subject to the authority of Wesley, under him and Asbury, in matters of church government. Indeed, he was quite sure that there would be no difficulty about it so far as Wesley was concerned, for did not the letter say that they were "now free to follow the Scriptures and the primitive church"? It may be that the "little sketch" was now in his side coat-pocket. But had he not been acting for

Mr. Wesley in Ireland, and often in England assumed what he was not authorized to do? It has been found that he often did, and was chided and rebuked for it. Stevens says that it is certain that the following of the preachers were present: Garrettson, Gill, Ellis, Cole, Ivy, O'Kelly, Hagerty, Reed, Cromwell, Lambert, Dickins, Glendenning, Poythress, Everett, Black of Nova Scotia, Phoebus, and Ware. And Lednum gives a conjectural list of others who from contiguity of territory are assumed to have been present. Among these are found Dromgoole, the senior of them all, having travelled ten years, Peddicord, Cox, Forrest, Bruce, Hickson, Moriarty, and others not so conspicuous in history.

In order of time Stevens puts the organization of the Conference into an Episcopal Church, first, and the recognition of Coke and Asbury as superintendents, second. There is no evidence of this, however, and it does not seem antecedently probable, for after they had become an Independent Church the question of Wesley's appointment of Coke and the authority to set apart Asbury for a joint position had lost its significance. However, Stevens proceeds, "Asbury declined ordination to the superintendency, unless, in addition to the appointment of Wesley, his brethren should formally elect him to the office. Coke and he were unanimously elected superintendents." Thus the pregnant events of the Conference are set forth. As to the latter act the testimony is inextricably mixed. Stevens makes his averment on the statement of Lee's "History," but Lee was not present. Whatcoat, who has left in his Journal the most specific account, does not mention the election. He furnishes one item of legislation, however, no one else gives. He says, "On the 24th we rode to Baltimore; at ten o'clock we began our Conference, in which we agreed to form a Methodist Episcopal Church, *in which the Liturgy* (as presented by the Rev. John Wesley) *should be read*, and the sacraments be administered by a superintendent, elders, and deacons, who shall be ordained by a presbytery, using the Episcopal form, as prescribed in the Rev. Mr. Wesley's prayer book. Persons to be ordained are to be nominated by the superintendent, elected by the Conference, and ordained by the imposition of the hands of the superintendent and elders; *the superintendent has a negative voice.*" The italics are his own. In the first instance they refer to the fact contained in the suppressed portion of the circular letter, for the matter of the prayer book was submitted to the Conference and it was accepted, though the use of it soon fell into desuetude with the

newly organized Church. This is the more remarkable when it is considered that nothing was left undone to give it an Episcopal basis, so that the failure of the prayer book is one of the forms of dissent on the part both of the preachers, who declined to use it, and the people, who stood by them in its discontinuance. In the second instance they refer to the "negative" of the superintendent to any ordination, even though fully approved by the Conference. Practically it was given, however, a wider application. The election of Coke and Asbury is not mentioned either in the minutes of 1795, as issued by John Dickins, of which one of the original edition is now before the writer, or in the minutes with the discipline attached, printed in Philadelphia by Charles Cist, 1785, a reprint of which is also before the writer.

James O'Kelly, who was present at the Conference, says, "Thomas and Francis [Coke and Asbury] were our superintendents as President elders, according to John's [Wesley] appointment, but they were not elected by the suffrage of Conference, although it is so written in the book of discipline." As it has been found that it is not in the discipline of 1785, how is his statement to be reconciled? Turning to a "Form of Discipline," etc., "considered and approved in Baltimore on Monday, the 27th of December, 1784," etc., and printed in Philadelphia, 1790, a copy of which is before the writer, being the sixth edition, under Section III., and in answer to the question, "What is the proper origin of the Episcopal authority in our church?" the whole answer making Section III. is new, and is dovetailed between Section II. and Section IV. of the Discipline of 1785. As the whole of it will come under review later, only the portion pertinent to the present purpose is cited: "At which time the General Conference held in Baltimore did unanimously receive the said Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury as their Bishops, being fully satisfied of the validity of their episcopal ordination." The printed capitalizing has been followed. Who wrote this new section? Coke and Asbury, as is confessed in their opening address or preface, to this effect, "We have made some little alterations in the present edition, yet such as affect not in any degree the essentials of our doctrines and discipline. We think ourselves obliged to view and review annually the whole order of our church," etc. Even in this statement the word "receive" and not "elect" is used, much to the confusion of the truth, as will be seen. The query obtrudes, If they were unanimously received, and the word is used synonymously with elected, why is this

important fact not included in the printed Minutes of 1785? Nothing but conjecture can now be indulged. One is offered, as the first of a series of proofs that Wesley did not recommend or approve anything that was done at the Christmas Conference, as it bears upon the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The printed Minutes of 1785, as ordered by Coke himself, and bound up with the Sunday Service, were those which would come under Wesley's eye. Coke left Baltimore for Philadelphia January 3, and was there from the 8th to the 19th, during which time the minutes were printed. He returned, and on the 2d of June sailed for England and was present at the British Conference, July 26, 1785. He undoubtedly carried copies of the printed Minutes with him. It would have made his explanations awkward of what was done in America if, after reading that the Conference in Baltimore determined, "During the Life of the Rev. John Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his Sons in the Gospel, ready in Matters belonging to Church-Government, to obey his commands. And we do engage after his Death to do every Thing that we judge consistent with the Cause of Religion in America, and the political interests of these States, to preserve and promote our Union with the Methodists of Europe" (capitalizing followed), he had also learned from these minutes that Dr. Coke was not received as his superintendent in America, and that Asbury declined the office until the Conference had unanimously by vote appointed him also, and in the same manner passed upon Dr. Coke.

Of nothing, perhaps, had Wesley such a dread as suffrage or voting. He never allowed it. McCaine says, "There is now lying before me a letter from a preacher who was a member of the Conference of '84, which contains the following sentence, 'Dr. Coke in 1787 made a second visit, and brought instructions with him from Mr. Wesley, which instructions I never saw, or heard but in part.' I received a letter from a preacher who had seen them, and quoted from them the following words: 'Put as few things as possible to vote. If you (Dr. Coke), brother Asbury, and brother Whatcoat are agreed, it is sufficient.'" McCaine farther affirms that, if this letter be questioned as a third-hand report, he refers to Rev. Nelson Reed as having the same information.¹ This was about the time that Asbury, in pursuance of the same policy, and utterly at variance with that proposed at the Christmas Conference of putting things to vote, conceived the "Council plan," and the foregoing letter may have

¹ "Defence of the Truth," p. 85.

been received by him through Coke, in response to his views on the subject. And it was in reference to this very Council plan over which he exercised a negative, and when urged to give it up, replied, "My negative is my own."¹ This is in proof of the affirmation that the privilege accorded him by the Conference of 1784, as noted by Whatcoat, of declining to ordain any one elected by a Conference, was extended by him without limit. These details, if not intimately germane to the question considered, are so interwoven with it that no better place could be found for their introduction. Were Coke and Asbury unanimously voted into position? Asbury himself affirms that they were, and that everything was decided by vote in this Conference. It is in place to record what he says of the Conference, and as it is so brief, it may be given in full. "Continued at Perry-Hall until Friday, the twenty-fourth. We then rode to Baltimore, where we met a few preachers" (this is remarkable, when it is known that sixty-one of eighty-three were there, and may be in proof that some allowance must be made for his Journal statements); "it was agreed to form ourselves into an Episcopal Church, and to have superintendents, elders, and deacons. When the Conference was seated, Dr. Coke and myself were unanimously elected to the Superintendency of the Church, and my ordination followed, after being previously ordained deacon and elder, as by the following certificate may be seen:—

"Know all men by these presents, that I, Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil Law, late of Jesus College in the University of Oxford, Presbyter of the Church of England, and superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to his glory; by the imposition of my hands, and prayer (being assisted by two ordained elders) did on the twenty-fifth day of this month, December, set apart Francis Asbury for the office of a deacon in the aforesaid Methodist Episcopal Church. And also on the twenty-sixth day of said month, did by the imposition of my hands, and prayer (being assisted by the said elders) set apart the said Francis Asbury for the office of elder in the said Methodist Episcopal Church. And in this twenty-seventh day of the said month, being the day of the date hereof, have, by the imposition of my hands, and prayer (being assisted by the said elders) set apart the said Francis Asbury for the office of a superintendent in the said Methodist Episcopal Church, a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern, as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ. In testimony hereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty-seventh day of December, in the year of our Lord, 1784.

"THOMAS COKE."

¹ "Defence of the Truth," p. 91.

The hand of the reputed author of the Deed of Declaration is seen in this legal phrasing and iteration, as well as the educated mind. In large part it follows the "testimonial" Wesley gave Coke of his setting apart as a superintendent. "Twelve elders were elected and solemnly set apart to serve our societies in the United States, one for Antigua, and two for Nova Scotia. We spent the whole week in Conference, debating freely and determining all things by a majority of votes. The Doctor preached every day at noon, and some one of the other preachers morning and evening. We were in great haste and did much business in a little time."¹ One marvels at this record also. The business was of such a character that haste was unseemly, yet the session was longer by several days than the usual Conference. It is evident also that the business was "cut and dried" before the Conference assembled. Perhaps not a thing was done that either Coke or Asbury or both had not matured at Perry Hall. The Conference registered their pleasure. Not that dissentients were wanting, but the whole denouement was such a surprise, the salient advantages such as all desired, as it secured ordination and the sacraments with a church organization; and as they were impressed that the whole was Wesley's suggestion and recommendation, the last allegement alone, for the time at least, overslaughed all open criticism, and brought with it an outward show of unanimity. Is there any evidence to this effect? Freeborn Garrettson says: "In the evening news came to my room that Dr. Coke had arrived. I felt a spirit of rejoicing and hastened downstairs to receive him. I was somewhat surprised when Mr. Wesley's plan of ordination was opened to me, and determined to sit in silence." Note, it is not the "plan for governing the societies" that was opened to him, as it had been to Dickins, but the ordinations. And in accordance with the purpose then formed he no doubt did sit in silence during the Conference. For he was a dissenter through life to Asbury's continental superintendency. The same authority says that in 1792, traveling with Asbury to Rhinebeck in New York, some months only before the O'Kelly secession over the right of appeal, he quotes Garrettson as recording in his Journal, "On the way we had some close conversation on church government. On this subject there is not a perfect unanimity of sentiment," on which this authority comments: "What particular point of church government it was concerning which they discoursed, we are not told; but it is pre-

¹ Asbury's "Journal," Vol. I. pp. 486, 487.

sumed that it related to the general superintendency, as Mr. Garrettson was of opinion that, instead of having the whole continent under one general superintendency, it would have been better if it had been divided among several, making each superintendent responsible for his own particular district to the General Conference. To this opinion I believe he adhered through life, though he calmly acquiesced in a decision of a majority of his brethren in this as well as in all matters relating to the regulations of the discipline."¹ Garrettson was of high reputation with the preachers for unfeigned piety and sterling abilities, and was possessed of considerable means, so that Asbury suffered from him, as he did from Nicholas Snethen, free criticism of his polity. There is no way of determining how many more sat in silence and permitted without dissent the proceedings which they saw to be foregone to have their course. Thus was organized a Church of ministers, *by* ministers, and *for* ministers. Its only parallel in organization is the Roman hierarchy. It was also a Church of priests, by priests, and for priests. The specious arguments by which the former was and is justified and the refuting New Testament precedents and allied facts and arguments shall be produced at a later period. The parental system of Asbury in imitation of that of Wesley may be condoned and excused up to this formal usurpation of the right to select a form of church government, to organize and proclaim it by the ministerial class solely. The task is to fasten upon it the responsibility of all the divisions of American Methodism. Historically what has been eduuced thus far is preliminary. Presently the consequents of that usurpation will demand almost continuous attention for a hundred years.

The question recurs: Did the Conference unanimously elect Dr. Coke and Asbury superintendents? How can positive statements for and against be reconciled? If the fact be recalled that the method of decisions was by questions and answers, there seems a simple solution of the difficulty. It must have been a surprise indeed to these preachers, when Asbury made his demurrer to an appointment as superintendent by Wesley, as he had appointed Coke. The motive for such a demurrer did not appear. It could not be that he had under the political inspiration of the American Revolution suddenly changed his views as to voting, in which he fully agreed with Wesley; for within three years it will be found that he is dissatisfied with the Gen-

¹ Bangs's "Life of Garrettson," edition 1830, p. 230.

eral Conference idea and proposed the Council plan of a half-dozen presiding elders of his appointment to supersede it, and over this small group of legislators, judges, and executors to have a veto. Lying back of his action are some facts that side-light the proceeding. Upon complaint of the preachers, Wesley had appointed Rankin as General Superintendent, and thereby superseded Asbury, and until now he could not be induced to restore him. In the intervening time such were the representations made to Wesley by Rankin and other returned missionaries from America that he actually wrote a letter of recall, as has been found, but which did not reach Asbury until countermanded. Under all this he fretted, and it must be confessed not without reason. An election by the Conference would virtually release him from Wesley's authority and make impossible a recurrence of such a trial as he had endured. "It was not practical expediency," to use his own expression, to serve under Wesley—he will be a king in his own realm. Must not, then, the form of the question have been like this: Shall Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury be received by the Conference as superintendents over the American societies? No one dissents, *ergo*, it is unanimously carried. And so probably passed other measures. Asbury was satisfied with it as an election, and, technicals aside, so it was; but O'Kelly did not so regard it. The difference about it may mean no more than this implies. However it was, it has been traditionally taken as an election, and so the old preachers regarded it. It was a point to be guarded, and it was successfully by Wesley; but not by others more keenly critical under adverse opinions. Hence it is found that Whitehead, commenting on this very matter, as stated by Dr. Coke, says: "But Dr. Coke tells us 'our bishops have been elected, or received, by the suffrage of the whole body of our ministers through the continent, assembled in General Conference.' Now these surely were not elected in any sense whatever, either by the preachers or the people. But they were 'elected or received'—when a writer thus links words together of different import, as though the meaning amounted to the same thing, we have just cause to suspect that he intends to deceive us, and lead us into a false notion of the subject he is discussing. Received perhaps they may be under a system of arbitrary government, which leaves no alternative to the people, nor to many of the preachers, but that of passive obedience, or to go about their business and quit the connection."¹ There is

¹ Whitehead's "Life of John Wesley," p. 264.

no way to avoid the force of these strictures, though some allowance must be made for the severity of the reference to Coke, whose artful methods were well known to Whitehead.

What else was done by this Conference of moment? The resolve already cited that they would obey Mr. Wesley during his life in all matters of church government, and after his death do all that would be possible to preserve the union with the English brethren. How did it get before the Conference? No one knows. It is certain that Asbury did not father it; for his own declaration is: "It is true I never did approve of that binding minute. I did not think it practical expediency to obey Mr. Wesley, at three thousand miles distance, in all matters relative to church government; neither did brother Whatcoat nor several others. At the first General Conference I was mute and modest when it was passed; and I was mute when it was expunged."¹ It is passing strange that a man of his strong common sense should conclude that he thereby escaped responsibility in either case. Dr. Coke, if he did not offer the resolution, most probably originated it and gave it his support; for it was essential that he should have it to fall back upon when he should come to explain the organization of a Church contrary, as he well knew, to Wesley's intentions. As has been found, Asbury stood ready to break with Wesley at any opportune time, and he felt this to be such a time. Open opposition allied to his mental protest in the matter would have revealed this secret purpose, as well as placed Coke in an awkward predicament when he returned to face Wesley, so he was mute. It shall be shown that it did answer Coke's purpose with Wesley, nor was he undeceived as to its hollowness until, several years after, he attempted to exercise the authority they said, and he thought, had been reposed in him, only to find that it was a resolution of unmeaning words. These are some of the conclusions that must be reached as to this business. It may be dismissed, as it will again come under review when the McCaine-Emory controversy over it shall be in place.

Asbury was ordained—to what? It will never be settled. Several views are entertained and pressed by the respective advocates. The contention of these pages is that it meant nothing more by Wesley than the appointment of Mather as superintendent in Scotland, yielding, in the former case, to the overpersuasion of Coke as set forth in his letter of September 3, 1784,

¹ "Journal," Vol. II. pp. 323, 324.

to dignify the appointment with a form of "setting apart," that he might have the benefit of such seeming to his authority in America. Another contention is, that it was an ordination to the bishopric in the sense of the Alexandrian church, which selected its officer and ordained him bishop. And a third, which claims for the American superintendents that they were bishops as a third order, as understood by Episcopalians. Coke himself claimed to have made Asbury a Bishop. So he wrote in his Journal while in Philadelphia in 1784, as may be seen from the *Arminian Magazine* of 1789, p. 291. His words are, "I ordained brother Asbury a Bishop." It is true that in his Journal, published in London in 1793, there is no allusion at all to the ordination.¹ This vexed question may also be dismissed until the controversy of 1827-30. On the second day of the Conference session he ordained Asbury a deacon, assisted by Whatcoat and Vasey. On the third day these ordained him an elder. On Monday he was set apart as a superintendent, and by Asbury's request Coke invited Otterbein, of the German Church, to assist. They were warm personal friends through life and had much in common. No explanation, however, has ever been attempted of his participation on the theory that it was understood as an ordination to the bishopric. Otterbein could not have taken part, by conviction, in such a ceremony. No doubt it was a solemn and impressive service conducted by these godly men. A modern painter of average ability threw the scene upon the canvas, and for some time it was on exhibition in the historical rooms of the Baltimore Preachers' Meeting. Afterward it was exhibited at the Woman's College in the same city, but subsequently claimed by the painter's executors and removed.

¹ Dr. Coke was a man of sober second thoughts, and did not hesitate to expunge and change records if expedient. It is known that his severe denunciations of Asbury and the American Conference for erasing Wesley's name from their minutes which garnished his memorial sermon in Baltimore after Wesley's death, were all expunged when the sermon was printed in London. Now it is also found that his Journal made in Philadelphia after 1785, on its reprint in London in 1793, two years after Wesley's death, omits all reference to the most eventful transaction of his life, to wit: the organization of the M. E. Church and the ordination of Asbury. There must have been a motive for it. What was it? Conjecture can be indulged. He returned in haste to England on the death of Wesley, and it was believed by the English preachers that his sudden coming was in the hope that he would succeed Wesley. This hope he cherished for some years. He knew that the whole American business was looked upon with suspicion by the preachers, and practically repudiated by them. It would remove a source of irritation to them if his reprint Journal should omit all reference, and it was done. If not the correct reason, it is amenable to reason.

The college, as Coke would call it, while Asbury was content to speak of it as a school, came under consideration on Saturday the 1st of January, 1785, and the plan was matured, Dickins taking large part in it. It was to be located at Abingdon, Md., and after much difficulty a name selected for it, which Coke proposed—Cokesbury, a combination of the two names of the superintendents. A considerable sum was soon subscribed by the willing and generous laity of the societies or Church. They also responded to the appeals of Coke for assistance to the brethren who were to go to Nova Scotia in the sum of \$50. Coke's sermon prior to the ordination of Asbury was a fine effort, and spiced with the assumption that he was now a brother with himself of high degree. It was printed and widely circulated. One more item, and all that is known of the Christmas Conference will have been considered. Among the regular proceedings of the Conference is the following minute: "It is recommended to all our brethren to suspend the execution of the minute on slavery till the deliberations of a future Conference; and that an equal space of time be allowed all our members for consideration, when the minute shall be put in force. N.B. We do hold in the deepest abhorrence the practice of slavery; and shall not cease to seek its destruction by all wise and prudent means." What was the inspiration of this change of base? Most probably Dr. Coke; for, as it has already been discovered, his policy while in the West Indies was to deliver himself freely on the subject, but to make no attempt to incite insurrection or run counter to the civil laws. He may have suggested the wisdom of this course to the Conference when he found what had been previously done of a more drastic character. The institution had wrought itself into the very fibres of the domestic, social, and civil relations of the people. More than three-fourths of the Methodist membership was in the slaveholding states. Their personal piety could not be impugned. To continue to counsel coercion meant a conflict which must have eventuated in an abandonment of the territory. The institution had not yet assumed the proportions of a political power and party.

The minutes contain a list of the preachers, and the plan of appointments; for this Conference was made to supersede the three meetings called for April, May, and June of 1785, and no formal meeting again occurred until a year later in North Carolina, Virginia, and Baltimore, Md., in February, April, and May, 1786. The numbers in society were reported at 18,000, a gain of

3000. Asbury, in his *Journal*, says: "May 30—We went to Abingdon to settle our college business; and took a bond for the conveyance of the grounds; we then returned [to Baltimore] and fixed our plan for the approaching Conference. June 1—Our Conference began. I was unwell during the session, etc. On Thursday the Doctor [Coke] took his leave of us for this visit. We parted with heavy hearts. June 4—I spent three hours profitably in reading the printed minutes of the Conference," *i.e.* the minutes of the Christmas Conference which Coke had bound up with the Sunday Service in Philadelphia. The Conference referred to in these notes must have been an informal one, for no minutes of it are printed with the volume issued in 1795. No regular Conference was held in Baltimore or elsewhere until 1786.¹ For the first time, the plan of appointments found in the minutes of the Christmas Conference distinguishes the Presiding Elders formally as in charge of districts.

¹ Jesse Lee, in his "History," says that the three Conferences appointed in 1784 for North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, were held, that in Baltimore on the first of June, as Asbury notes in his *Journal*. Lee's notes complicate the situation, and are given that the reader can make his own opinion. "This was the first time that we had more than one regular Conference in the same year. For a few years before this we had two conferences in the same year, but they were considered only as one, first begun in one place and then adjourned to another. Now there were three and no adjournment. I have therefore considered the conferences as but one in the year, and have numbered them accordingly; but from this time I shall consider the number of the conferences as I find them in the minutes. This year, and the two succeeding years, the minutes were called 'Minutes of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America.' The business of the three conferences was all arranged in the minutes as if it had all been done at one time and place." The last remark is certainly true. There is not an indication in the printed minutes that these three conferences were held so soon after the Christmas Conference, or that they were held at all. Nor can you tell from the printed Minutes, so-called of that Christmas Conference, a copy of which is now before me, but which minutes are, in reality, a reprint of the Discipline as agreed upon, largely taken from Wesley's larger minutes, what was the actual business of that Conference, and nothing at all as to the ordinations; neither do they include the service for ordinations. But as these are found in the Sunday Service, it was unnecessary to include them in the Discipline also. So it may be that the action anent the suspension of the rules on slavery was had at the three subsequent conferences, and not at the Christmas Conference; and so as to the plan of appointments forming a part of that Conference according to the printed Minutes of 1795.* There is a wonderful crudeness in all the proceedings as they have come down. Perhaps clearness was not one of the objects sought, so that some questionable proceedings are in the obscurity best befitting them, as shall be presently shown.

* The apparent contradiction of these statements is reconciled with the averment of a few pages back that the plan of appointments, as made by the Christmas Conference, superseded the three called conferences of 1784-85 only in that fact. As Lee avers, they were formally held, but without a change in the appointments until that in Baltimore in the spring of 1786.

CHAPTER XXIV

Drew on the private interview at Barratt's — Wesley's plan; Coke's confession that it was not carried out, and Moore's averment that Wesley had nothing to do with the organization of 1784; evidences in support of it — Coke and Asbury garbled the minutes of 1784, when printed in 1795; cumulative proofs — Historical preface to the Discipline erroneous, and should be expunged — It was done by the M. E. Church South, in 1866, and the M. E. Church will yet do it — Futile attempts of historians to show that the "people" approved the polity of 1784 at the time — The hierarchy in operation under Asbury — Snethen's foresight in aphorisms; logic correct, but facts not realized — No change of power, but of administration.

DREW, in his "Life of Coke," says as to the private meeting of Coke and Asbury after the Barratt chapel interview: "On leaving the chapel they repaired together to the house of a hospitable friend, who had anticipated their interview on their arrival. Here they took into consideration the plan which Mr. Wesley had devised for the government and discipline of the societies in America, and concerted measures for carrying his designs more fully into execution; especially as the measures to be adopted met the full approbation of Mr. Asbury, and therefore ensured their mutual coöperation."¹ He was dependent for his information upon what Coke told him, and he probably only told him as much as the case required. Drew was not a party to the private interviews of Wesley and Coke, as Henry Moore claims to have been to the essential matters Drew here mentions. He states the case precisely in accord with the common opinion of the American preachers, not only at the time, but down to McCaine's investigations in 1827-30. Coke and Asbury did take into consideration Wesley's "plan," but it was amended in execution by reason of Asbury's dissent to various features, so that no man knows what that plan was. How is it known that he dissented? In one particular, as already fully exposed: from his own pronounced deliverance; he would not be a superintendent according to Wesley's appointment. How is it known that his "plan" was not followed? From Coke's confession in his letter

¹ Page 99.

to Bishop White of the Protestant Episcopal Church, written from Richmond, Va, in April 24, 1791, without Asbury's knowledge, although he was travelling and sleeping with him, and some days before he had heard of Wesley's decease. In that letter Coke says: "I am not sure but I went farther in the separation of our church in America than Mr. Wesley, from whom I received my commission, did intend. He did indeed solemnly invest me, as far as he had a right to do, with Episcopal authority, but did not intend, I think, that our entire separation should take place." The qualification, "I am not sure," every reader understands only makes the confession more emphatic. If he could have enclosed Wesley's "little sketch" of church government for the Methodists, his case would have been made very strong with Bishop White; but by this time it had been consigned to the "tomb of the Capulets." How is it known that Wesley's plan was not followed? From the emphatic evidence of Henry Moore, who declared that "Mr. Wesley never gave his sanction to any of these things; nor was he the author of one line of all that Dr. Coke published in America on this subject." "In this (calling themselves bishops) and in every similar deviation, I cannot be the apologist of Dr. Coke."¹ In passing it is important for the reader to note one expression here: "Wesley never gave his sanction to any of these things." This puts the burden of proof where it belongs, and this averment of Moore's is boldly reiterated, and has been, from McCaine to this day, and not a syllable, not a line, has ever been produced showing that he approved of the steps taken at the Christmas Conference, but much that is emphatically to the contrary, all of which shall appear in due time. How is it known that Wesley's plan was not followed? A mass of collateral evidence, which shall be produced when these matters recur in this History, but to elaborate for introduction here, will answer.

Turning now to the official record, as found in the printed Minutes of 1775 to 1794, issued by John Dickinson for the Methodist Church, with the imprint of "Philadelphia, No. 44 N. Second Street, near Arch Street, 1795," and inclusive of the minutes of the Christmas Conference of 1784, the following statement is found as historical. The title is: "Minutes of some Conversations between Ministers and Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at a General Conference held at Baltimore, January, 1785."

¹ Moore's "Life of Wesley," American edition, Vol. I. p. 279.

"As it was unanimously agreed at this Conference, that circumstances made it expedient for us to become a separate body, under the denomination of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it is necessary that we should here assign some reasons for so doing.

"The following extract of a letter from the Rev. John Wesley will afford as good an explanation as can be given of the subject:—"—

Here is inserted the Circular letter of Wesley to the American Methodists minus the paragraph which in O'Kelly's reprint of the full text of it is numbered fourteen. And it may be observed, before leaving it, that as these minutes were to come under Wesley's eye, it was a necessity that the truth should be told, at least in speaking of the Circular as published as an "extract," or Wesley's truth-loving instincts would have demanded an explanation of the mutilation of his letter. After the circular letter these remarkable words are appended:—

"Therefore, at this Conference, we formed ourselves into an Independent Church: and following the counsel of Mr. Wesley, who recommended the Episcopal form of church government, we thought it best to become an Episcopal church, making the Episcopal office elective, and the elected superintendent or bishop amenable to the body of ministers and preachers."

When and by whom was this historical statement made? It is obviously not in the minutes as taken at the time. The minutes themselves say in answer to the third question: "As the Ecclesiastical as well as Civil Affairs of these United States have passed through a considerable Change by the Revolution, what Plan of Church Government shall we hereafter pursue?"

Answer: "We will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church under the Direction of Superintendents, Elders, Deacons, and Helpers, according to the Forms of Ordination annexed to our Liturgy, and the Form of Discipline set forth in these Minutes" (capitalizing followed). Nothing here about following the "counsel of Mr. Wesley, who recommended the Episcopal form of Church government," etc. Moreover, the historical statement is in the past tense,—"It was agreed," "We formed ourselves," "We thought it best," etc. So that the question recurs: When and by whom was it written? It will be remembered that, a few days after the Christmas Conference adjourned, Dr. Coke hastened to Philadelphia, and there had the minutes printed and bound up with the Sunday Service he had brought over from England in sheets, and to his pen must be attributed the histori-

cal statement now under consideration. That it was in accord with the impression made upon the Conference by Coke there can be no doubt; for it is the traditional view held by the preachers as to Wesley's connection with the new departure of an "Independent Church." Two other things will be observed of these minutes as printed. To that portion of Wesley's circular letter which speaks of the setting apart of Coke as a "superintendent" an asterisk follows the word, and a foot-note is supplied to this effect: "As the translators of our version of the Bible have used the English word Bishop instead of Superintendent, it has been thought by us that it would appear more scriptural to adopt the term bishop."¹ Accordingly "us," who could have been no other than Dr. Coke, and, constructively, Asbury, in the body of the historical statement, uses the terms as interchangeable,— "the elected superintendent or bishop," — but the Episcopal word does not appear in the disciplinary minutes as taken, at the time of the Christmas Conference. These then are pure interpolations of what the Conference did, and are the fragile basis of the whole Episcopal invention as it appertains to the Methodist Episcopal Church. And this historical statement furnishes satisfactory reasons for the destruction of the plan of Wesleyan government contained in the "little sketch"; of the suppression of the "testimonial" of ordination Coke carried with him, and of the mutilation of Wesley's Circular letter for the societies in America.

No marvel that Asbury spent the 4th of July, 1785, as already quoted, reading, "I spent three hours profitably in reading the printed minutes of the Conference." They can be quite carefully read in half an hour, but they furnished food for serious reflection, and much admiration for the adroitness of his compeer in

¹ There is a moral certainty that the foot-note was not added and the word bishop interlarded in this historical statement, until after the title bishop had been assumed in 1787, if indeed it was not the work of Coke and Asbury when the minutes from 1775 to 1794, inclusive, were printed in one volume by John Dickins under the authority of the now called bishops in 1795. When the minutes of 1786 were printed the preachers discovered that without consulting the Conference the title superintendent had been changed to bishop by Coke and Asbury themselves, and they were called upon at the Conference of 1787 to explain. They then asked that the word might remain, and after a contest, not a few of the preachers demurring, it was finally allowed by a majority of them. This was the probable reason for inserting the foot-note and the word bishop as synonymous with superintendent. This view is sustained by Dr. Atkinson in his "Centennial History of American Methodism": "Such a notable procedure required explanation and justification. Therefore a note was inserted in the minutes as follows: 'As the translators,' etc." See pp. 88, 89.

office, "superintendent or bishop," Coke. Asbury's long cherished plan for organizing an Episcopal Church was realized. He had moulded Dr. Coke to his views, and as the plan agreed with his own conceptions, he was not hard to persuade. He saw that there were practical obstructions to Wesley's plan, and the contention of these pages is not that a strong case cannot be made for Asbury's view of it; it is that the methods employed to impress the preachers with the conviction that Asbury and Coke's plan was Wesley's plan, and that "he counselled and recommended it," and by so doing giving a gloss to the facts of history, were questionable and unwarrantable. It is intended to make this position a demonstration when the subject shall be closely analyzed under the McCaine-Emory controversy of 1827-30. The contention is that the truth of history demands that all reference to the counsel of Wesley and his recommendation of the organization of American Methodism into the Methodist Episcopal Church shall be expunged from the historical preface of the Discipline of that Church now persisted in under modifications for more than a hundred years, in the face of facts and arguments that incontestably prove the contrary. McCaine first exhumed these facts and arguments, and so thoroughly satisfied himself that he pronounced the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, so far as it claimed Wesley's counsel and recommendation for it, a "fraud," as "surreptitiously introduced," as "foisted upon the Methodist societies." He found a spade, and he called it a spade, as shall be exhibited later. These pages, however, shall not so characterize the methods, but will claim and demonstrate that they were "questionable and unwarrantable." At the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in New Orleans in 1866, the committee appointed for the revision of the Discipline did subsequently expunge the entire historical preface on this subject, and which had been also perpetuated in that Church from 1846, when organized, down to 1866.¹ It has

¹ Inquiring of my friend, Bishop Alpheus W. Wilson, of that Church, for an explanation of this action, he furnished me this information with the pleasant remark that some of them were not so well pleased that it was done. Why did the committee on revision do it? Since our conversation with the Bishop the following motive was suggested by my reflections. The leader in that committee was the late learned Rev. Dr. Summers. He was a Wesleyan preacher before he came to the United States, and though strongly partisan in his attachments to the M. E. Church both before and after the division of 1844 when he went with his section of it, he knew full well that few Wesleyan preachers or people believed that Wesley counselled and recommended the M. E. Church organization; so in the interest of the truth of history he quietly, as chief reviser, left the preface out of

never been restored, so that unwittingly as to the Church in general and its ministers, it has set itself right on this vital question of ecclesiastical veracity. A later generation of Methodist preachers have looked into these matters with some degree of impartiality, appropriating the facts elicited by McCaine and other workers in this realm of the esoteric in their Church history, and have become convinced that their Church cannot longer afford to carry this stigma of unattested statement. Rev. Dr. Warren, President of the Boston University, of the M. E. Church, in an able article in the *Methodist Review* prior to the General Conference of 1892, called for the expurgation of the misstatements; but it was not pressed upon that General Conference, and nothing was done.¹ It will yet be done; the truth-loving men will cast it out, even though it will demand of them to bear the shame of an unmerited but unmitigated obloquy cast upon the name and the memory of Alexander McCaine and others.

Having traversed the antecedents and given the current story of the Christmas Conference, its consequents demand careful consideration. Stevens, speaking of this Conference, says, "The session was a jubilee to the Methodists of Baltimore and its vicinity." Such it undoubtedly was. Never before had they a commissioner direct from Mr. Wesley of such winning personal presence, clad while in Conference and during all public services in the full canonicals of the Church of England. There was preaching twice a day at Lovely Lane, and on the Point, and in Otterbein's chapel. What the Conference did from day to day

the Discipline. Should this motive for the act be questioned, let a better one be suggested, and it will be accepted. In this the Church was wiser than their quondam brethren North, as well as in introducing full lay parity of delegation in their General Conference at that same meeting in 1866.

¹ This statement needs qualification. That General Conference appointed a committee to revise the Discipline, of which Bishop Andrews was chairman, and an examination of the revised book shows that the Historical Statement came under the revision, probably the work of Bishop Andrews. Dr. Warren's suggestions, reinforced by other indubitable facts, may have led to this recast of the old preface. The objectionable wording; claiming John Wesley for the direct paternity of Methodist Episcopacy has been eliminated, though the bold declaration is made—"The plan of Mr. Wesley was submitted to them (the Conference of 1784), and it was unanimously and heartily approved." So that the statement still needs expurgation on the ground that it cannot be verified, while the facts of this History distinctly disprove it. In one other particular the Bishop makes an effort to shoot around the corner when he states that Mr. Asbury was duly "consecrated a Bishop." This is the modified language of the amended Form, but fails to state the truth in the light of 1784.

was given out to the people, and under the gloss, as already found, that the whole was of Wesley's prompting and recommendation, it was received with all the authority his name carried with every loyal Methodist. The preachers were to be ordained, and they were to have from their loved pastors the ordinances, and no longer be compelled to seek them, as best they might, from such Church of England rectors as could be found, few and far between. It gave general satisfaction to the societies. They were to have a new name. Dickins had proposed it,—The Methodist Episcopal Church; Coke had advocated it, and it was acceptable to Asbury, who seemed to acquiesce simply in the proceedings, knowing that the grooves carved out would be followed, interposing only when his far-seeing mind, taking in the future, saw peril to his primacy in America. The fervor of Methodist devotion was in a flame. No statutory laws were passed. The "Rules and Regulations" were such as they had had, and little attention was paid to the implications. A few of the more brainful preachers, perhaps, had made some mental analysis of the doings, but it seemed inopportune to make open exceptions where they were entertained. Their deliverance from past disabilities and the prospect of unity on almost any basis were welcomed, so that it is an easy task to quote from such of the preachers as in after years left journals and letters in which they set forth their approval, and certify that the people were also in full accord with the new order of things. Strange to say it is upon this testimony greatly that the defenders of Coke and Asbury depend in making it appear that, if the people were not consulted formally and had no part in the legislation, so far from protesting against anything that was done — after it was done, for no opportunity was theirs before — they quietly acquiesced and enjoyed the spiritual feast the Conference spread for them. It was a guileful application of the legal maxim: what you do by another, you do yourself. Great stress is laid upon this alleged popular approval, quoted to show, not as has been just exhibited, of the removal of disabilities only, but of the polity under which they had been placed and which they now indorsed. To this end Bangs cites these witnesses as though it was conclusive of the question, italicizing for effect the most telling portions. First, he summons Lee in his "History": "The Methodists were pretty generally pleased at our becoming a Church, and heartily united together in the plan which the conference had adopted, and from that time religion greatly revived." All of this from the word "heartily"

he italicizes for Lee. Suppose the italics are placed instead upon the words "were pretty generally pleased," and how does the matter stand? The contention of the Fluvanna Conference, which thoroughly represented the wishes of the people, centred in the ordinations and ordinances, so that it may be safely averred that none of the "people" objected to this action of the Christmas Conference. Evidently Lee knew that there was a minority not pleased with something. What could it be? It is safe to affirm that it must have been the exclusive rule of the preachers under the Episcopacy, for the trend at Fluvanna was toward a liberal Presbyterian polity, and it was then and afterward such a strong underswell that Coke's knowledge of its extent may be repeated from his letter to Bishop White: "Our societies would have been a regular Presbyterian Church but for the steps taken by Mr. Wesley and myself." It will be remembered how Asbury stamped it out. But it was not dead; it could not be with American born men and women. Bangs cites Watters, "We became instead of a religious society a separate Church. *This gave great satisfaction through all our societies.*" The italicized portion is by Bangs and with the same object. He calls Cooper, who, after stating the fact of their becoming an Independent Church, says: "*This step met with general approbation both among the preachers and members.* Perhaps we shall seldom find such *unanimity* of sentiment upon any question of such magnitude." The italics are again by Bangs. Getting out of these witnesses all that was possible by the force of italics, he sweeps the gamut and declares all was harmony: "Nor has a murmur been heard, except from a few disaffected individuals, through all our borders, on account of the measures which were adopted at that conference and the consequences which have resulted fully sustain the opinions above expressed."¹ The truth of this averment will come under review as this History progresses and the "Consequences" emphasized.

The year 1785 was a year of great spiritual success. The reinforced polity was at once put into operation. Asbury took to the saddle after Coke left for England; the Sunday Service bound up with the minutes was distributed, and the preachers settled down to work; and not a few of them to think over what had been done. The Eldership was formally inaugurated, henceforth they were to be the eyes and ears of the Superintendents with the circuit of a continent. So soon as Asbury came into the territory of one he was expected to travel with him over his district and thus

¹ Bangs's "History," Vol. I. pp. 165, 166.

the hierarchy was established; the bishop, the presiding elder, the elder, the deacon, the helper, the class leader: wheels within wheels. There never was but one thing more efficient and centralized as a human polity: the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. Was it borrowed from it? Depart from the New Testament principles — the equality of the brotherhood, the parity of the ministry — and a hierarchy is inevitable. The people prayed, payed, and obeyed, and they did it with the loyalty of the truly converted. Their overseers of every grade were held in affectionate reverence. The class leader was a sub-pastor, and the appointee of the circuit elder; the exhorter and local preacher were in the next circle, dependent also for renewal of license upon the quarterly conference, all of whom were also dependent upon the circuit elder. The deacon served the elder and copied him; the elder was obedient to the presiding elder, for on him his appointment depended as he represented him to the bishop; the presiding elder was selected by the bishop and held office at his will and pleasure, so that virtually every official from the highest to the lowest was an appointee of the bishop.

But did it not make a strong government? Undoubtedly. The officials of every grade had a common interest and a common dependence, and Snethen has wisely observed: "Men who have the same interests will be prone to act alike; and as long as they perceive that their interests are mutual they will act together. It would be a miracle, that is, an event contrary to the course of nature, if either priests or preachers, with the legislative and executive power of the Church in their hands, should not manage the interests of others so as to promote their own." Again: "We are indeed free to declare our disbelief in the omnipotent virtue of any system; as we know that ambition, as well as other evils, come from within, out of the heart of man; but we cannot help prognosticating danger when the system under which men act has a natural tendency to inspire them with a desire for the distinctions of office. One may be habituated to climb until it shall be painful to walk on level ground. Every office in our Church is so organized as to have one above it, on which it depends, up to the bishops, who are equal among themselves. It is a problem which time alone can solve, how they, after having been schooled on the step-ladder of inequality, will agree to manage their coördinate jurisdiction. It will be happy for them, and happy for us all, if no strife creeps in among them, who shall be greatest." And, finally, for the culmination of this prognostication, "We

hope that our prediction will not secure its own fulfilment; but really our presentiment is, that before the middle of the present century a motion will be introduced into the General Conference, in effect to make an archbishop, and that party spirit will run high enough to cause it to pass to a second reading." The presentiment is logical in its sequence and based upon an axiomatic truth he uttered in another connection, namely, "No temptation to ambition is greater than opportunity." Again, "The body must be one, and the name one, that the head may find no resistance in council or command." Once more he speaks with the wisdom of a seer: "Mr. Hume, in a very able essay, explains the fact that the Persians submitted for a long time to their conquerors, the Greeks, by proving that the successors of Alexander adopted the polity of the Persian kings. Their polity was the same in civil matters that ours (M. E. Church) is in church government. In one view it seems very humiliating that a whole community, whether civil or religious, should be entirely dependent upon one man; but in another it is easy to perceive that such a state of dependence must generate expectation, that the same hand that humbles us may exalt us also. By sweeping away every element of aristocratic authority, as well as personal liberty, it is that all absolute governments, whether in Church or State, animate the hopes of all, from the least unto the greatest, so that the men who have no security for their highest honors are, nevertheless, stimulated to the greatest fidelity and zeal in the service of the superior, knowing that all are waiting and watching for their place. Were it not for this great principle of attachment and hope, all the monarchies and hierarchies, and ours among the rest, would soon fall into ruins." Snethen was not without evidence in his day of the tendency here vaticinated. On the same general subject he farther declares, "The body of the preachers to the west and south of Maryland, with a part of the Episcopacy [this was written when there were three bishops], and some preachers elsewhere, claim for the senior bishop a precedence; which, though they have not clearly defined, cannot be easily misunderstood in those cases in which his judgment happens to conflict with the Conferences." The current of history shows, however, that the fulfilment of his presentiment was arrested ere it matured. His logical sequence was correct, but he did not make sufficient allowance for that conservative force of democratic tendency inhering in the preachers. It never got farther than the *senior* bishop, so that the hierarchy of the Methodist Episcopal Church is a clear

instance, ecclesiastically, of arrest of development. There was not wanting in a later day a sickening toadyism, and aping of titles, indicative of a trend in the arrested direction. On the death of Bishop Morris, then senior bishop, one of the *Advocates* dubbed him, "The Right Reverend Father in God, Bishop Thomas A. Morris."

The logical certitude of Snethen's well-ordered mind led him to several other conclusions, which, tried by the logic of facts, turned out to be erroneous. In 1822 he wrote: "It cannot be long, I am fully persuaded, before the travelling preachers must give up their supremacy. If they will not be advised and warned with the voice of friendship and love, they may expect that the providence of God, which is so evidently abroad in the earth, vindicating the injured and insulted attribute of the lawgiver of the universe, will make its displeasure fearfully evident." He lived nearly a quarter of a century after this utterance of indignant warmth, only to learn the truth of the legend left to Reformers by one of their earlier zealots, who later became a bishop and exercised the very power he denounced, Rev. Dr. John Emory, "The march of power is ever onward, and its fearful tendency is to accumulation." Nearly a half-century more has passed away, and there has been but slight relaxation of the vise-like grip of ministerial prerogative, and it may be truthfully averred that the concessions so far made have been involuntary, wrested by the overwhelming force of a rising sentiment. Snethen also logically foresaw the overthrow by the preachers themselves of the Episcopacy. In this he is also corrected by the logic of facts. Nugatory efforts in that direction have been made, but the legal status has been untouched from the days of Asbury and M'Kendree, except that in administration a great change has come over the spirit of its dream. Exceptionally the iron hand in the velvet glove squeezes and crushes insubordination, actual or putative; but as a rule the noble men who have been elected to succeed in the Asburian line have magnified their high office with such traits of Christian gentleness and fairness, that those whose names and destinations are annually on the points of their pens have little of which to complain.

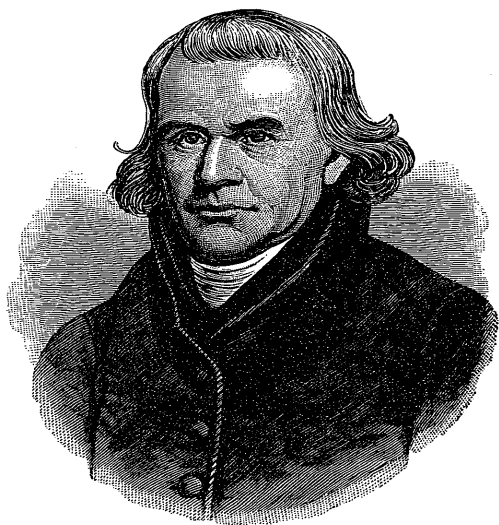
CHAPTER XXV

Asbury travelling and feeling the pulse of the societies and the public as to the new organization of the Methodists; appears in bishop's canonicals; natural history of them — Gowns and the Sunday Service fall into desuetude together — June 2, 1785, Coke returned to England; how he explained his doings to Wesley covered by an ingenious subterfuge, and what came of it — Wesley hoodwinked, but when his eyes were opened was grieved, and rebuked the offenders, Coke and Asbury — Garrettson in Nova Scotia as Wesley's superintendent; the appointment objectionable to Asbury; he could not bear another so near his throne; cumulation of proofs; new evidence and demonstration — Coke in England, and again in America.

RESUMING the thread of the narrative, the consequents of the Christmas Conference shall be farther traced. It has been found that Superintendent Asbury at once took to the saddle, and he can be tracked through his Journal down into Virginia with Hickson as a companion. He ordains Willis, who had been elected an elder, at Carter's church. Sunday, January 9, 1785, he records a temptation, "I am sometimes afraid of being led to think something more of myself in my new station than formerly." The good man, firm in his convictions that the Episcopal office to which Dr. Coke, "joint superintendent" in America, had ordained him, and which he assumed in palpable violation of his instructions and understanding with Wesley, as abundantly discovered already in his ordination sermon before the Christmas Conference and afterward, was the office of a Bishop; leaving his hearers and correspondents to interpret the term as it only can be interpreted, except by a mere juggle with the word, as a third order in the new Episcopal Church of the Methodists in America. No one need hesitate to believe that both of them thought it was to the glory of God. If Coke had any misgivings as to the legitimacy of the bastard thing there is no sign of it now. Later it will be demonstrated that he had not a shred of confidence in Wesley's ordination of him. To Asbury it was a temptation. He had a struggle with the concomitants of the new position, and presently it will be disclosed how the temptation overcame him. He continued his tour down

into South Carolina, feeling the pulse of the people and of other denominations as to the departure of the Methodists from the Episcopal Church of England, now in process of reorganization as the Protestant Episcopal Church. He gives us a brief consensus of this outside opinion: "Nothing could have better pleased our old Church folks than the steps we have taken in administering the ordinances; to the *Catholic* Presbyterians it also gives satisfaction; but the Baptists are discontented." Capitals and italics are his own. The deliverance is enigmatical in part. By old Church folks he seems to mean the Episcopals, but it is known that the tried friend of the Methodists in Virginia, Jarrett, the rector, was much displeased at the separation and was never fully reconciled, though he resumed personal relations of a friendly character with Asbury subsequently. By the Catholic Presbyterians he must mean those of High Church leanings, while the dissent of the Baptists, ever protesting against kings and bishops and the whole spawn of hierarchists, is easily understood. He meets with Jesse Lee, who missed attendance at the Christmas Conference, "I was comfortable in brother Lee's company."¹ Lee was quite a young man, now in his second itinerant year. Lednum, following Dr. Lee's History of his uncle Jesse, makes record that, at Colonel Hindorus's in North Carolina, Lee was surprised to see Asbury open a Methodist meeting by reading the Sunday Service "and clad in gown, bands, and cassock." The natural history of these canonicals, had it been preserved, would be a matter of the deepest interest. If the events have been properly synchronized, the Episcopal toggery must have been manufactured for him in Baltimore before he began this, his first official tour. Whether home-made or tailor-made, and other questions germane, could have been historically settled. Perhaps this was not the first time the suit was worn — it is at least the first recorded instance. Snethen naïvely says: "No habit could be more inconvenient for a horseman, and the want of a vestry, or dressing-room, to the

¹ Dr. Scudder, in his "American Methodism," 8vo, cloth, 1870, illustrated, furnishes a conspicuous instance how pseudo-Methodist historians draw upon their imagination for their facts. In Chap. XII., he describes at length the substance of an interview between Asbury and Lee at this time, so adroitly framed as to mislead Rev. G. C. Bacon in his booklet on the "Polity of the M. E. Church, and the Baltimore Conference resolutions of 1895," into quoting from Scudder a section of this imaginary conversation of Asbury and Lee as fact and not fiction. Scudder is full of errors, notably locating Strawbridge's log church "in Fairfax County, Va.," etc., etc. His book is a literary romance, but utterly unreliable for reference.



FRANCIS ASBURY.

country chapels exposed the *gownmen* not only to much difficulty, but also to some ridicule. These trappings of Episcopacy were finally given up, and all the heart-burnings that they occasioned have long since subsided." This was written in 1822. Lawn and silk are very compressible, however, and, bating the starched bands, Asbury managed no doubt to stow away the Episcopal belongings in his capacious saddle-pockets. The good man struggled with this temptation for a year or two and then succumbed to the inevitable. If the doctrine of the survival of the fittest applies to ecclesiasticals, then the discontinuance of the millinery and the Service is collateral evidence that Methodism and Episcopacy are not compatible. Asbury's fine pulpit presence made the habit very becoming. He must have looked every inch a Bishop, if he was only a Superintendent. Perhaps he parted with the stuff without a sigh. Methodism has many historical relics. Pity it is that gown, bands, and cassock were not preserved also. Lee makes brief reference to the custom: "The superintendents and some of the elders introduced the custom of wearing gowns and bands, but it was opposed by many of the preachers, as well as private members, who looked upon it as needless and *superfluous*. Having made a stand against it, after a few years it was given up, and has never been introduced among us since." In like manner the Sunday Service fell into desuetude. Its use had been confined mainly to the towns and cities, but the morning love-feast, with its flow of soul and spiritual jubilation, crowded upon the preaching hour, compelling intermittance of the lessons and prayers, for every Methodist had his appetite whetted by the love-feast for the sermon, and from intermission it was not far to abandonment. No official action, however, was ever taken by the Conference, so that the Service is legally permissible to-day. The Book Concern in New York has recently republished it with additions, answering some demand for it; but it can only come largely into use as the formal supersedes the spiritual in Methodism and the old love of aping Episcopalians is revived.¹

Asbury worked his way back to Maryland, Willis and Lee accompanying him part of the distance. April 21 he writes:

¹ The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1866, also ordered its republication, but if published it is not used. "The People called Methodists" are not Episcopalians, and if they were legislators they would not have the *sham* of it, not even the title "Bishop," for the plain, godly Superintendent, Wesley intended.

"On my way I stopped at A——'s and baptized some children: the poor mother held out a piece of gold to me. This is the pay of the priests here for such service; Lord, keep me from the love of honor, money, and ease." Twenty-second of June he was in Annapolis, Md., and rode to Alexandria, Va., having crossed the Potomac into Virginia some distance up the river. The object in going to Alexandria was "to meet Dr. Coke; he did not come, however, until the next day." They had planned a visit to General Washington, perhaps at Coke's instigation—the loyal Englishman wished to see the loyal American general, now in the heyday of his popularity as the "Father of his Country." "Thursday, 26th—We waited on General Washington, who received us very politely and gave us his opinion against slavery." They return to Annapolis, thence to Baltimore, and out to Harry Gough's for the splendid hospitality of that munificent host. They went to Abingdon and settled for the Cokesbury College ground, and thence to Baltimore for the June Conference, hitherto noticed. June 2, 1785—"On Thursday the Doctor [Coke] took his leave of America for this visit. We parted with heavy hearts." Six years afterward they parted again in this city, but their hearts were alienated for reasons that had intervened.

It will preserve the chronological order of events if Dr. Coke is followed to England. The last day of the Baltimore Conference was delayed until midnight, as Coke had arranged to embark the next day by ship for home, which he reached after a week's adverse winds on the American coast. Information of the Christmas Conference and its doings had probably preceded him. Charles Wesley, alert for evidence in substantiation of his prognostications as to Dr. Coke's intentions with the quasi-indorsement of his brother John under the ordination seeming, was not slow in denouncing what he called "Dr. Coke's Methodist episcopal Church in Baltimore," coupled with the assertion that he had returned to make the English Methodists an Episcopal Church also, and implicating that his brother, having prepared the way by his assumption of Episcopal prerogatives in the ordinations for America, was guilty of complicity. The discussion got into the secular papers, and the Methodist Societies were greatly excited. Dr. Coke was put upon the defensive. His ordination sermon in Baltimore, at the setting apart of Asbury, was quoted against him, and effectively, as it contained not a little abuse of the clergy of the Church of England. Coke vindicated himself by admitting that there were some harsh expres-

sions in the sermon; but, without attempting to meet the charges of Charles Wesley in detail, he fell back upon the authority of John Wesley for all his official acts. Never did his strategy more conspicuously appear. What must have been the tenor of his report to Wesley to justify this public challenge to his chief? He carried back with him the minutes of the Christmas Conference bound up with the Sunday Service Wesley had sent over by him in sheets. They were laid before Wesley. It will be remembered that they contain not one word to the effect that the proceedings were recommended by him and were done by his counsel and advice. These are in the statements prepared by Coke while in Philadelphia overseeing the printing of the minutes in that form of them which was given to the American Church as a kind of preamble to the plan of appointments for the year, as well as the term "bishop" as interchangeable with "superintendent" and with a foot-note explaining it, so that these emendations did not come under Wesley's eye. If they had, Coke would have met with an indignant reproof like that administered to Asbury three years later, when Wesley found out that Coke had made Asbury a Bishop and that Asbury claimed to be one. The face of the minutes Wesley saw was fair enough. Coke was no doubt plied with various questions, not very conveniently answered, as to the calling of the Christmas Conference, the forming of an Independent Church, and the submission of questions to vote. On all these points Coke could make plausible answers which involved no one seriously but Asbury. He informed Wesley, undoubtedly, that on arriving in America and interviewing Asbury and the brethren, he found a state of things quite different from what he expected and from what Wesley had assumed to exist. The calling of a Conference; the formal separation from the English Church, but not from Wesley himself; the declination of Asbury to accept the appointment as superintendent without the sanction of the preachers; and the submission of other matters to vote, were all parts of one logical transaction, each being a sequence of the other. Coke had simply yielded to the exigent. He had done the best he could in the circumstances. Instead of remaining in America as coadjutor with Asbury, whom Wesley still held under the prejudice Rankin and others had incited in him, he had returned to make a full report of his doings. Nowhere is there extant any record of these interviews. It is an unavoidable surmise that after them Coke called attention to the attack of Charles Wesley upon him, and reminded John of their tacit

understanding in the persuasive letter of September, 1784, "Either it will be known or not known. If not known then no odium can arise; but if known then you will be obliged to acknowledge that I acted under your direction, or suffer me to sink under the weight of my enemies, with, perhaps, your brother at the head of them." The very exigency had occurred. Guileless, and true as the magnet to steel, Wesley came to his relief against his brother Charles and the other "enemies" in the American matter. Coke had not failed to emphasize the fact, made such at his own instance, as offsetting any other infractions of Wesley's orders, that the American preachers had resolved "During the life of Mr. Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the gospel, ready in matters belonging to church government to obey his commands." It was a salvo very dear to him and largely condoned the irregularities of Coke and the obstreperous temperament of Asbury. Wesley accordingly took part in the newspaper bout, and declared over his own name: "I believe Dr. Coke is as free from ambition as from covetousness. He has *done* nothing rashly that I know; but he has *spoken* rashly, which he retracted the moment I spoke to him of it. He is now such a right hand to me as Thomas Walsh was. If you will not or cannot help me yourself, do not hinder those who can and will." It was addressed to his brother Charles.

There is not a syllable in Wesley's Journal about these matters, and the English Conference itself, which was opened July 26, 1785, was dismissed with a few lines. The apologists of Coke and Asbury have, however, seized upon this deliverance of Wesley as a full and satisfactory indorsement of the Christmas Conference doings. It is the straw at which the drowning man catches. Examined critically, however, and it is found as unreliable as such a straw, logically speaking. The reader is requested to remember references in this history and put in juxtaposition Wesley's verdict as to Coke then and now. Then he found him ambitious. Then he knew him to be rash and often rebuked him. Now he is eighty-two years old and has a friend in peril. Now he does not know all the facts as consequents of the Christmas Conference, or he could not and would not have attempted this vindication of Dr. Coke. A writer who cannot be charged with bias against Dr. Coke says of this vindication of Wesley, "It has been confidently quoted to refute the allegation that at the Christmas Conference Coke exceeded the authority with which Wesley invested him. Had Mr. Wesley known that Coke claimed he ordained Asbury a

Bishop, would he thus have exculpated him from the charge of rashness? "¹

Time must be taken to restate the true logical position on this question. It has been put by Henry Moore, already quoted for this purpose, "Mr. Wesley never gave his sanction to any of these things." Not a line has ever been produced to show that he did, and this burden of proof lies upon those who assert that he did to this day. But is there any proof to the contrary? As demanded by the situation logically, it need not be produced, but it is overwhelming in its character. It may be summarized here, as it will be itemized in the controversy of McCaine *vs.* Emory, of 1827-30. It is in proof that when Wesley discovered what had really been done and was made to feel the consequences of it, he was grieved and severely rebuked the principals in it. He was never known to write or recognize the title, The Methodist Episcopal Church, nor did the British Conference ever write or recognize it in their official communications with the American Methodists for thirty-five years afterward, or down to the fraternal visit of Rev. Dr. Emory in 1820. He bitterly repented of his American ordinations, before he died, in view of the advantage which had been taken of it at said Christmas Conference, and well-nigh lost all patience with Dr. Coke for the part he took in bringing about the separation. His letter to Asbury reviewing his assumptions will stand forever as one of the severest examples of Christian rebuke ever administered; which cannot be explained away nor mitigated, it contained much more that is collateral and cogent to the same purpose.

Coke, rehabilitated by Wesley's indorsement, travelled extensively through the United Kingdom, everywhere attracting large congregations, which gave him opportunity to enlarge upon the bright era for Methodism in the New World. It was this visit undoubtedly that inspired him with the foreign missionary propaganda, the lustrous side of his versatile character ever afterward. William Black was at the Christmas Conference, whither he had gone in quest of volunteers for the work in Canada, especially Nova Scotia. He had been sent over by Wesley at the request of many loyal King George Methodists who had fled to the north during the Revolutionary War. Coke became deeply interested in the Nova Scotia work, and raised funds in England for its more vigorous prosecution, volunteered to go himself, and prevailed on Wesley to send with him Hammett,

¹ Atkinson's "History," p. 95.

Warrener, and Clark as reinforcements, to Freeborn Garrettson, who, with James O. Cromwell, had been ordained in Baltimore and sent to the same promising field. Coke and his helpers, as already discovered, never reached their original destination, being driven southward from off the coast of Newfoundland by a severe gale which threatened the ship and the lives of all on board. They made for the West Indies and reached Antigua, where they found that little group of Methodists under the slaveholding layman, Gilbert, whose work was now established and enlarged by this providential intervention.

The mention of Garrettson in this connection makes it opportune to introduce an episode in his history which has more significance than has been allowed it by the historiographers. He was a man of ample patrimony, unaffected piety, retiring modesty, and more than average abilities as a preacher. He accepted the mission to Nova Scotia, and not long after the rise of the Christmas Conference made his way with Cromwell to Halifax, in Nova Scotia. His biographer, Dr. Nathan Bangs, furnishes the facts which when collated lead to the conclusion the writer draws from them. Early in March, 1785, he wrote Superintendent Coke from Halifax, giving an account of his labors. He placed himself in communication with Black and soon became popular as a preacher as he was at home, though he discovered some prejudice against him on account of his American birth. April 20, 1785, he wrote to Wesley, to which Wesley replied from Dublin, June 26, in which he said: "Dr. Coke gives some account of you in his journal, so that, although I have not seen you, I am not a stranger to your character." He hoped the way would open for him to visit England, etc. Garrettson pushed his labors successfully, organizing societies in various places. He continued his correspondence with Wesley, the letters being given in full by his biographer. Wesley wrote from London, September 30, 1786, and said: "I trust before this comes to hand, you and Dr. Coke will have met and refreshed each other's bowels in the Lord. I can exceedingly ill spare him from England, as I have no clergyman capable of supplying his lack of service; but I was convinced he was more wanting in America than in England." He urged him to send his journal. Again, under date of November 30, 1786: "As I take it for granted you have had several conversations with Dr. Coke, I doubt not you proposed all your difficulties to him, and received full satisfaction concerning them, etc. P.S. I see nothing of your journal yet. I am afraid of another American

Revolution. I know not how to get the enclosed safe to Dr. Coke, probably you know: on second thoughts I think it best not to write him at present."

Thus it will be seen that his communications with Wesley and Coke were closely confidential. Garrettson answers these letters from Halifax, March 10, 1787, in which he informs Wesley of the miscarriage of the ship with Coke and company, also of Cromwell's ill-health, of the work of John Mann, Black, Grandine, and others. September 25, 1786, Bangs inserts a letter of Garrettson's to Wesley in which he says: "Some months ago I received a letter from Mr. Asbury in which he intimates the desire they had of my being ordained to superintend the work in the north. A few days ago I received one from the Doctor [Coke] on the same subject." He also intimates his declination. Under date of 1786, with the month omitted, a letter is given from Garrettson to Asbury in which the sentence occurs: "I made bold to open matters to Mr. Wesley, and begged him to send one preacher from England, as a number of people would prefer an Englishman to an American," etc. Garrettson continued his labors until near the American Conference in Baltimore, of May 1, 1787, when he met with it under summons from Coke.

Now the gist of all this preliminary matter is that Bangs, his biographer, further declares, without giving either date or letter as authority, that "Mr. Wesley, having witnessed the sincerity, zeal, and devotedness of Mr. Garrettson in the work of the ministry, *had designated him as the future superintendent of the Methodist societies in the British dominions in America.* Dr. Coke, on his arrival at this Conference, made known the wishes of Mr. Wesley in this respect, and the subject was submitted to the Conference, and was by that body 'unanimously sanctioned.'" Evidently there is here more esoteric Methodist history. It would have thrown much light upon this transaction if Dr. Bangs had given the date of the letter Garrettson wrote to Asbury, and also the evidence as to date of Wesley's designation to Garrettson of his appointment by him as a "superintendent" in the north. Did it precede or follow Asbury's intimation of the same character of an appointment from him? The suppressions give room for the belief that Wesley's designation preceded that of Asbury's and was approved by Coke. Bangs says that Garrettson in his semi-centennial sermon gives "a fair and candid narration of the facts in the case, with a view to correct an erroneous impression," but this correction, instead, rather confirms

the belief that Asbury resented the interference of Wesley and Coke, as a presumption and arrogation of authority over himself, and thus is exposed the true inwardness of the conflict. Quoting Bangs, let Garrettson speak in the sermon: "Dr. Coke, as Mr. Wesley's delegate and representative, asked me if I would accept the appointment. I requested the liberty of deferring my answer until the next day. I think on the next day the Doctor came to my room and asked me if I had made up my mind to accept the appointment. I told him I had on certain conditions. I observed to him that I was willing to go on a tour and visit those parts to which I was appointed for one year, and if there was a cordiality in the appointment with those whom I was requested to serve, I would return to the next Conference and receive ordination for the office of superintendent. His reply was, 'I am perfectly satisfied,' and he gave me a commendatory letter to the brethren in the West Indies, etc. I had intended, as soon as the Conference rose, to pursue my voyage to the West India islands, to visit Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, and in the spring return. *What transpired in the Conference during my absence, I know not; but I was astonished, when the appointments were read, to hear my name mentioned to preside in the Peninsula.*" The italics in both these citations are furnished. By the Peninsula is meant the Eastern Shore of Maryland, as the minutes of this year confirm — Garrettson is the Elder on that shore of the Chesapeake. Bangs, in his final observations on this subject, writes like an unsophisticated brother, and may be he was in Methodist Church esoterics. He says: "It would appear from this plain statement of Mr. Garrettson that some alteration took place in the mind of the Conference respecting his appointment to the superintendency of the British provinces of America, and that it was finally agreed among themselves that it was not expedient that he should go at this time. . . . It is certain that it was a source of disappointment to himself, of some grief to Wesley, and contrary to the wishes of many of his brethren in Nova Scotia;" and he gives letters from Black in proof. Bangs's last words about it are: "Having thus relinquished the thought of returning to Nova Scotia, and having received his appointment to preside in the Peninsula, as above stated, he entered upon his work with his accustomed diligence, though not without some pressure of spirit, as he had reason to suspect that some unfriendliness had been manifested toward him, though he knew not by whom. To Dr. Coke he felt a strong attachment and the sincerest affec-

tion, and says that 'they mingled their tears together at this Conference.'¹

A few observations are called for on these statements. It was not the Conference that altered its mind, and the implications all are that it did not. If it had during any of the after temporary absences of Garrettson from the sessions, he would assuredly have been informed of it. He declares that he had no suspicion of any change in his destination until his name was read out for the Peninsula.² Who was it then exhibited this unfriendliness? In a system like that of the Methodist Episcopal Church the power behind the throne is a frequent factor in administration, but palpably in this case it need not be looked for as it did not exist. It could not have been Wesley, nor Coke, nor Black, nor Cromwell; it was Asbury. Had Garrettson signified promptly his acceptance of the superintendency from Asbury, there is little doubt that it would have been confirmed instead of repudiated at this Conference. He showed instead a disposition to confer with Wesley and Coke by preference. It was enough to decide the question adversely while other reasons may have entered into it. Another superintendent on the North American continent might have proven inconvenient, if not of Asbury's appointing.

Subsidiary facts establish the hypothesis. Wesley, either in honest simplicity of confidence in the resolution to obey him in all matters of church government, or as a test of the honesty of the resolution itself, in a letter dated September 6, 1786, ordered Dr. Coke to call "a General Conference of all our preachers in

¹ Bangs's "Life of Garrettson," pp. 150-187.

² Jesse Lee's account differs somewhat from this view, but what he says cannot invalidate Garrettson's own declarations. Lee says: "Mr. Wesley had given directions for brother F. Garrettson to be ordained a superintendent for Nova Scotia; but when the business was taken into consideration, some of the preachers insisted that if he was ordained for that station he should confine himself wholly to that place for which he was set apart, and not be at liberty to return again to this part of the country. Mr. Garrettson did not feel free to enter into an obligation of that kind, and chose rather to continue as he was, and therefore he was not ordained." It may be assumed that the preachers who offered such an argument echoed the views of Asbury, and thus only confirm the conjecture that he could not brook another superintendent on the American continent. It does not seem probable, however, that Garrettson had given any reason for such an argument, inasmuch as he knew full well that he would be under Wesley a superintendent for Nova Scotia alone, just as he set apart Coke, and through him, Asbury, as superintendents for America, and afterward Mather as superintendent for Scotland. If, however, he did make the point alleged, and would not be circumscribed, then the case simply antedated by one hundred years the recent one of Bishop Taylor, who claimed to be a full-fledged bishop, while the General Conference finally interpreted that he was only a missionary bishop for Africa.

the United States to meet in Baltimore on May 1, 1787." It was a principal cause for leaving Wesley's name off the minutes at that very Conference, and of the degradation of Dr. Coke by compelling him to sign an instrument that he would never thereafter exercise his office as a Superintendent when absent from America, and that he would surrender all right to make the appointments when present, and confine himself to travelling and ordaining. These crucial events are here mentioned only for the specific purpose of connecting this arbitrary Episcopal assignment of Garrettson to an unexpected field with them.

What his own personal opinions may have been of the transaction there are no means of knowing, inasmuch as Garrettson never was a preacher with a grievance. Manly in the statement of his views, he never provoked hostility by persistent combativeness. Hence, he remained true to the Church of his choice to the end, though he may be claimed as the first of Reformers among the preachers antedating Snethen in this field. In proof, his biographer furnishes unwittingly enough for the purpose. Elected a member of every General Conference from that of 1812 to the close of his life, through the respect and confidence he commanded of his brethren and not by truckling subserviency, his biographer says: "In this character, though he often differed with some of his brethren on certain points of church government, he always manifested the most stern and inflexible opposition to any innovation upon the established doctrines of the Church; at the same time cheerfully bowing to the will of the majority on matters of indifference." In 1792 he was pronounced in favor of the election of the presiding elders by the Conference, and of a diocesan Episcopacy instead of the General Superintendency, and he adhered to his opinions to the end. In the General Conference of 1824, though he had not reached the stage occupied by Snethen and his compeers, his biographer admits: "Though Mr. Garrettson, in coincidence with the majority of his brethren, thought it inexpedient, under present circumstances, to grant the prayer of the petitioners for a lay-representation, yet he seemed to think that some modification in the general outlines of the government might be usefully introduced." Bishop George was unfavorably affected toward him on this account. His biographer again says: "Having seen Mr. Garrettson only occasionally at the General Conference, and sometimes being under the necessity of differing from him on some points of ecclesiastical polity, the bishop had formed an idea that Mr. Garrettson was rather austere in his

manners, and somewhat bigoted in his views," but these opinions were dispelled when he saw him under his own roof. Having necessarily digressed thus far to bring out the facts as to Asbury's dealing with him in 1787, it may be made the appropriate place for a final disposition of Garrettson in these pages. Born in Maryland, August 15, 1752, he early in life devoted himself to God. He entered the itinerant ministry, and maintained a position excelled by few of his compeers. No one of them, it was believed, was instrumental in the conversion of a larger number of people. He retired from active service after the General Conference of 1824 and spent his days at his well-ordered home at Rhinebeck, near New York City. He died triumphantly September 26, 1827, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the fifty-second of his ministry, being at the time the oldest travelling minister of the Church. He retained the confidence and friendship of Asbury, though often differing from him, and with Dr. Coke he maintained close relations until his death.

Dr. Coke was indefatigable in his labors while in England during this visit, but it is unnecessary to follow him in detail. He was busy planning missionary advances, and finally concentrated his labors upon Nova Scotia. While making preparations for his departure he had reprinted in London the Sunday Service and the minutes of the Conference of 1784, with the title "The Methodist Episcopal Church," inserted. The additional Article 23d, as ordered by the Conference of 1784, as to the Rulers of the United States, was also inserted. The significant thing about this republication is the fact that it bears the imprint: "The Sunday Service of the Methodists in the United States of America, with other occasional services. London, printed by Frys and Couchman, Worship Street, Upper Moorfields, 1786." This was not Mr. Wesley's press on which the Service of 1784 was printed, and all other subsequent editions, except this under the supervision of Dr. Coke and at his own expense. The unanswerable argument will be submitted in the McCaine-Emory Controversy that no motive can be conjectured that will bear the slightest investigation, but that assigned by McCaine, namely, the dissent of Wesley to have it thus printed upon his press because of the implication, at least, that he gave his approval to the Christmas Conference proceedings in the organization of The Methodist Episcopal Church. It may therefore be enumerated as the first of not a few evidences that, as Moore has expressed it, "He never gave his sanction to any of these things." There

is no information how this new edition reached America; the presumption is that it was shipped with Coke and his helpers, and from the West Indies was transmitted to the book agent, John Dickins, in New York City.

Wesley's letter to Coke ordering him to convene a General Conference in Baltimore, May 1, 1787, bears date September 6, 1786, and Dr. Coke left England for Nova Scotia September 24 of the same year, so that it is quite certain that he bore it with him. Reaching Antigua, he found that Gilbert, deceased, had been succeeded by Baxter in charge of the Methodist work. Dr. Coke landed December 25, 1786, and at once entered upon missionary work, the details of which make a chapter of the most interesting reading furnished by Drew, his biographer, inclusive of the labors and sufferings of Black Harry of St. Eustatius. Among both the blacks and whites the heart-witnessing religion of Wesley and Whitefield, of Coke and Asbury, made itself felt and known. Chapels were built, and the Lord Jesus Christ found many followers, even unto death, in these islands. Leaving Baxter in charge, who continued his labors until 1805, when he exchanged worlds, Dr. Coke, with Hammett, who had opportunity of displaying his wonderfully popular gifts as a preacher with much force of personal character during this sojourn, took ship February 10, 1787, for Charleston, S. C., which port he reached in eighteen days, having been absent from the continent much longer than he intended, or from June 2, 1785. Leaving him at Charleston with Hammett, who at once entered upon his extraordinary career in that city, with its sequel, hereafter to be developed, return is made, in a new chapter, to Superintendent Asbury and the work in the United States during these twenty months of Coke's absence.

CHAPTER XXVI

The tripartite contention of Wesley, Coke, and Asbury, for the supremacy — Burning of Cokesbury College, with moralizings — The system of Asbury operative — Wesley calls through Coke a General Conference for 1787; how the news reached Asbury: how he met it; and how he circumvented both Wesley and Coke; the former's name left off the minutes, and the latter compelled to abdicate his Episcopal powers; the incidents dramatic; Whatcoat rejected as a superintendent; how it was brought about; Asbury pulling the wires — Fatal error of the preachers in 1784 — The true contention of this History; proceedings of 1784 "questionable and unwarrantable" — Examination of character; hero preachers of this day.

AN ecclesiastical chessboard, figuratively speaking, lies before you. The illustration is employed because nothing else is so apt. Wesley, the guileless and ingenuous, under the delusion of the Christmas Conference resolve, to obey him in all matters of church government, is looking on as the mentor, and at times directing the moves. Coke is the strategist, now consulting Wesley with much obeisance, and now conferring with Asbury; but, mistrustful, he ventures to slide out his pawns with an eye ultimately to win the game for himself. Asbury, conscious that he is securely master of the situation, also looks on complacently, deferential to Wesley and watchful of Coke, with every new move of either or both he plays a hand soft as velvet, and astonishes Coke and sets Wesley to thinking, for he manages to turn every combination into a checkmate. It is the tripartite contention mentioned in the opening chapter of this History, and is now being disclosed. Three conscientious men, as each was, controlled by his educational convictions, are striving for the mastery, that they may the better glorify God and save souls. Wesley, greater than any bishop, brushes aside from his onward path musty traditions. A king, he makes another king, but never intended that he should be greater than his maker. Coke, ambitious of the high-sounding title as any child of plume and sword, accepts the minified thing, but never forgets, and loses no opportunity to make gold of the glitter, — a real successional apostolical bishop. Asbury, when proffered it, kneels for the coronation, but, like another Napoleon, he sets the crown upon his own head. History affords no more

interesting study of human nature than these three. But for the time it shall be incidental only to the spiritual work of these twenty months. It is much more congenial to portray these chief actors and their helpers as gospel preachers than as church politicians.

It will be remembered that after the rise of the Christmas Conference Asbury started upon his first official tour, reaching Charleston as its terminus, having Willis and Lee with him. They opened preaching in an abandoned Baptist church, and met with great success, Lee preaching the first Methodist sermon, though Pilmoor had held service there on passing through the city. It was left in charge of Willis, and this is the work Coke and Hammett found on their arrival twenty months after. Asbury returned to Maryland and bid adieu to Coke, June 2, 1785, in Baltimore. On the 5th of June, 1785, he laid the foundation of Cokesbury College at Abingdon, Md. Strickland, his biographer, says: "Attired in his long silk gown, and with his flowing bands, the pioneer bishop of America took his position on the walls of the college" and preached the sermon. When finished the college was 108 feet in length and 40 feet in breadth, located on the summit of six acres of land. It had, when in operation, a regular college curriculum and was well officered. It continued in fairly successful operation until December 7, 1795, when it was destroyed by fire, of probable incendiary origin. Asbury was in Charleston, S. C., at the time, and makes record: "We have now a second and confirmed account that Cokesbury College is consumed to ashes, a sacrifice of about £10,000 in about ten years. If any man should give me £10,000 per year to do and suffer again what I have done for that house I would not do it. The Lord called not Mr. Whitefield nor the Methodists to build colleges. I wished only for schools—Dr. Coke wanted a college. I feel distressed at the loss of the library." In this Asbury does not exhibit either his usual prescience or wisdom. Can it be that a man of his volitional temperament was fretted as much that the collapsed institution was not his own creation as the absolute loss materially? It was monumental, however, as a preintimation, both of the liberality of the laity and the colossal character of the future educational plants of the newly organized Church. Millions have since been contributed for buildings and endowments.¹

¹ Jesse Lee says in his "History," "When the college was built it was well understood that the whole management of it was to be under the direction of the

Leaving the corner-stone ceremonies he enters upon his travels, through Maryland, up into Pennsylvania, New Jersey, down the Eastern Shore of Maryland, back to Baltimore, on to Annapolis; buys a "wagon" to ride in; exchanges it for a second-hand sulky; pushes on; sick several times with his old complaint, the quinsy; exposed to all kinds of weather; down into Virginia; undertakes a revision of the Discipline—it is not to his liking; gets to Winston, N. C.; takes to horseback again as he cannot get on with the sulky; and turns his head homeward, if Baltimore and Harry Gough's can be called home to a man who was always moving and had but little patience with preachers who were not always moving also. "April 15, 1786 — Read our form of Discipline in manuscript which brother Dickins has been preparing for the press." Arrived in Baltimore on the 26th; employs himself "inspecting the accounts of the Book Concern." "Monday, May 8, our Conference began at Abingdon, where love, candor, and precision marked our deliberations." That is all of it. He makes no mention whatever of the Conferences appointed at Salisbury, N. C., February 21, and at Lane's chapel, Virginia, April 10. The preachers in all that section were watched and discounted in the matter of church legislation. What they did, if not confirmed by the Baltimore Conference, was null and void. What Baltimore did was referred to them, and they were expected to acquiesce. Asbury's personal influence with the Baltimore preachers was paramount—he could depend upon them to register his will. Jesse Lee says that the North Carolina and Virginia Conferences were held at the times appointed.

The minutes from 1786 to 1787 were titled "Minutes of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Those of 1786 furnish but little information. It may be well to note that the initial question is, "Who are the Superintendents of our

Conference. But after some years Mr. Asbury consented for it to be incorporated, which was done, and done without the consent of all the conferences. And the trustees which were named in the act of incorporation had the management of the institution among themselves, and the Conference was deprived of all the power of making rules or giving orders for the future welfare of the children. This step was disliked by many of our friends, who, from that time, concluded that the institution would not prosper, and the business was not well conducted afterward." This means only that centralization is the very genius of an autocracy. The ruling will grows less and less inclined to consult anybody. That it fomented discontent, and often disaffection, is not weighed, for the same autocratic power is armed to crush disaffection. A government by a board of trustees was undoubtedly the best, but when it had no amenability but to the autocratic head, the preachers of the common sort and the patrons, the people, lost interest in its perpetuation.

church? *Answer*, Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury." The number of members is 18,791, with 1890 blacks. The previous year 18,000 were reported in round numbers without discrimination of color. Conferences were ordered for North Carolina, May 17, 1787, Virginia, June 19, and Abingdon, Md., July 24. Thus it will be seen that the net increase was less than eight hundred for 1785-86. There must have been an adequate cause for it. The old doctrines had lost none of their saving power. There are not wanting hints that the minds of the preachers were distracted by the new Church order. They saw the Episcopal bud, a very innocent thing it seemed to be at the Christmas Conference, bloom out into full flower under Asbury, the Sunday Service, the canonicals donned by the leading preachers, and the presiding Eldership virtually introduced from 1785. Lee says—"The form of the minutes was changed this year, and all the Elders, who were directed to take the oversight of several circuits, were set to the right hand of a bracket, which enclosed all the circuits and preachers of which he was to take charge. This may be considered as the beginning of the presiding elder's office; although it was not known by that name at that time: yet in the absence of a Superintendent, this elder had the direction of all the preachers that were enclosed in the bracket against which his name was set." Briareus must have a hundred hands to keep in secret touch with the humblest preacher, and yet swing away from him while making the circuit of a continent. Besides these causes of distraction, it is in evidence that the English missionaries of Wesley, prior to 1780, kept on harrowing Asbury at home. Dr. Coke opened correspondence with some of the American preachers, for Lee says that, among the complaints urged against Dr. Coke at the Conference of 1787, was one for "writing improper letters to some of our preachers, such as were calculated to stir up strife and contention among them." James O'Kelly in the South was discussing the situation and strengthening himself for a tussle with Asbury, who was not idle in circumventing his unfriendly critics, while he kept himself in sympathy with a number of the leading preachers, and the wonderful charm of his personal presence sufficed to overawe the less influential. And all this was poured into Wesley's ear, preparing him for the decisive steps he took, as will be seen, to constrain Asbury to uncover, and through the American Conference either adhere to their Christmas Conference resolve of fealty to him; or do as they did, repudiate his authority and seat Asbury untrammelled on the Episcopal throne. All

these causes combined probably had their depressing influence, so that while in some sections there were gracious revivals, the numerical increase fell below the previous average largely.

Beverly Allen was among the notable preachers of this period, but died an apostate. He had great success in Charleston, S. C., and elsewhere. Henry Willis is a name fragrant with spiritual memories in the early work, as well as John Hagerty, who labored much in New Jersey. Thomas Morrell had been a revolutionary officer, and was converted under Hagerty, who led him forth to the ministry, which he afterward adorned. His name is conspicuous in the controversy with Hammett, to be noticed briefly later. He lived to his ninetieth year, not dying until August 9, 1838. Robert Cloud was also a collaborer with Morrell and widely useful. There was not a little controversy mingled with the preaching, as Universalists and Calvinists had to be confronted and confuted by these homespun, but brainy men of Methodist renown. The doctrine of the Trinity and the Godhead of Christ were subjects largely traversed. Garrettson's labors have already been noticed. Watters was a prince in Israel and left his mark in many places. Jesse Lee rapidly grew in favor. Of stalwart figure, hard commonsense, and as much culture as his environment allowed, he was a preacher of power, and bore down all obstructions before him; not in the South only, his native heath, but in the North, and among the educated communities, he planted Methodism. James O'Kelly, in his chosen field of North Carolina and eastern Virginia, swayed a great influence for his quick wit, strong understanding, fervid piety, which Asbury often felt and noted; but, cast in the mould of Strawbridge, he was independent, self-willed, and as a presiding elder made himself felt and feared by his subordinates. Asbury vainly endeavored to control him, and contrary to precedent left him in this high office for ten successive years in the same territory, but it availed nothing to his subordination, but contributed to the confidence he gathered that he was able to cope with Asbury. Presently he will be seen wrestling with him on a vital question with the ill-timed and disastrous secession he led in 1792-93.

The missionary propagandists must not be overlooked at least for embalmmnt in memory. Jeremiah Lambert had labored in Antigua, but, health failing, he returned to America and was actively employed in the South until 1786, when he peacefully departed. James Haw and Benjamin Ogburn volunteered for Kentucky, then the outpost of civilization. Williamson, a young

man, soon joined them. And in passing it must be observed that, in most of the dangerous and laborious work of early Methodism, the pioneers who blazed the forests and kindled camp-fires on mountain and prairie were volunteers, so that what is attributed to the Episcopal system, as such in sending them, needs to be discounted to this degree, and the fact is elicited that it was the consuming zeal of regenerated men with the love of God in their hearts that impelled them, and this motive would have existed and been operative under a more liberal polity as well. John Tunnell and Thomas Ware were leaders in Tennessee. Space would fail to enlarge upon the equally arduous and successful labors of Foster, Ellis, Ivy, Bruce, Poythress, Cox, Chew, Matson, Reed, Owens, and Boyer. Whatcoat piously pursued his quiet way. Vasey sulked under Asbury, not finding his appointment by Wesley to America what he thought it ought to be. Ezekiel Cooper, next to Garrettson and coeval with Snethen became a Reformer in after days. Gill and Pigman and Forrest and Hartley. These all lived and died in the faith. For brief and reliable memoirs of most of them see Atkinson's "Centennial History of American Methodism," the most impartial and truthful view of early American Methodism yet published by a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Conference year of 1786 was eventful for its great revivals in various sections of the country, so that, by the Conference of May 1, 1787, Lee says, there was a net gain of 8592, the whole being about 25,000 members. Ten new circuits were taken in and thirty-four young preachers received. There were now sixty-five circuits and 131 travelling preachers. Asbury unremittingly continued his travels and labors over a wide circuit. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were compassed up to the close of December. He was ill in New York, and says, "Spent some time in looking over my journal, which I have kept for fifteen years back. Some things I corrected and some I expunged. Perhaps, if they are not published before, they will be after, my death, to let my friends and the world know how I have employed my time in America." February, he is in North Carolina, and is on horseback, for in no other way could he make progress over the bad roads. Early in March he is in South Carolina making for Charleston. On the 15th he writes, "Preached at the new church at S——'s: here I heard that Dr. Coke was in Charleston: . . . we arrived in Charleston and met Dr. Coke." It must not be inferred that Asbury had

no knowledge of his coming from England; Coke had no doubt written to him from the West Indies and other preachers, but it is singularly coincident in the seeming that, as Coke did not reach Charleston with Hammett until about the 1st of March, Asbury should have made his way down there and they met a few weeks afterward.

It will be remembered that Coke came with orders from Wesley to convene all the preachers in Baltimore, May 1, 1787, and also to ordain Whatcoat a Superintendent of the American Methodists. It is impossible to tell whether either Wesley or Coke had communicated his commands by other conveyance than the ship that was to have landed Coke and company in Nova Scotia, but was driven to the West Indies. It does not seem probable, for the official information came to Asbury after this Charleston meeting of the "joint superintendents" for America. March 25, Asbury writes, "We held our conference in this city," by which he must simply mean that Coke, Willis, Lee, and possibly any one else of the preachers within hail had an interchange of opinions; indeed, two days after he records, "We exchanged sentiments on matters freely." On the 29th, "Our conference ended." It would make stimulating reading if it were known what was said; Coke, in his Journal of 1793, says, "Asbury received him very coolly."

It will be remembered that the Conferences for this year were appointed for Salisbury, N. C., May 17th; at Petersburg, Va., June 19th; and Abingdon, Md., July 24. But here is an order from Wesley to convene all the preachers in Baltimore, May 1, 1787. Asbury does not appear to have given any sign of resistance to this exercise of authority, clearly reposed in Wesley by the Christmas Conference; but who can tell the letters that were written on the route back as Asbury and Coke travelled together, preaching on the way and notifying the preachers of the change of base, with inklings of Wesley's commands. Can there be any doubt that they were tentative? That Coke and Wesley meant to test Asbury? The two reached Salisbury where the first conference was to be held. Asbury preached and they travelled on, one or the other and sometimes both preaching. They reached Richmond, Va., where Coke preached, and on the 28th of April, in Alexandria, Va., he also preached, thence to Bladensburg, and to Baltimore by Monday noon, April 30th, the day before the Conference. Momentous as were its transactions, Asbury's Journal dismisses it with the observation, "We had some warm and

close debates in Conference; but all ended in love and peace. After much fatigue and trouble, our Conference ended on Monday, the 6th of May." There is here a strange mingling of terms, much trouble, warm debates, love, and peace. Jesse Lee says the conference that was to have been held at Salisbury, May 17, was held March 17, and that which was to have been held in Petersburg, Va., June 19, was held at Rough Creek, Va., on the 19th of April. Asbury and Coke must have both been present, but, as already seen, Asbury makes no mention of that at Salisbury, and the printed Minutes do not recognize it. Notwithstanding, it seems quite certain that a number of these preachers attended the Baltimore Conference, which gave it the character of a General Conference. But as already discovered, these southern conferences since the Fluvanna days were ignored legislatively. Neither is it known who, or how many, of the preachers were present. The printed Minutes, though they occupy eleven pages, a larger space than usual, make no note of the salient and vital events of the Conference. The incidental business was: regulations for the spiritual instruction of the negroes, now so termed; that married preachers shall not demand more than £48 (Pennsylvania currency) for salary a year; register books for marriages and baptisms, and a rule for organizing the children into classes to be met weekly where practicable; and the appointment of six conferences, the last in Baltimore, September 10, 1788. The opening question and its answer by a parenthetical sentence reveals the vital business, "Who are the Superintendents of our Church for the United States?" Thomas Coke (when present in the States) and Francis Asbury."

A new paragraph is demanded for its consideration and understanding. It may be assumed as the natural order that soon after the formal organization, Coke by precedence occupying the chair, he opened his new commission from Wesley; the Conference had been convened by his order, under a change both of time and place as appointed by the Conference of 1786, with his recommendation that Whatcoat should be ordained a Superintendent for America, as well as the recognition of his appointment of Garrettson as Superintendent for Nova Scotia in the British dominions. Such unexpected claims put a number of the leading preachers upon their mettle. It was clearly seen that the issue was raised between Wesley and Coke, and Asbury and the Conference. The "cool" manner in which Asbury received Coke at Charleston was a precursor of the treatment he was to receive by the Conference.

Not a few of the Baltimore preachers had come to revolve around Asbury like satellites around their superior orb, and his displeasure at what he regarded as an officious interference was no doubt well known to his Conference friends before he reached Baltimore. The line of action was already determined, and it developed so soon as Coke named his business with this "General" Conference. Had he hoped that by assembling the preachers from Virginia and North Carolina as well he would summon an element supposed not to be loyal to Asbury? If he had, disappointment awaited him in this also.

For information as to the course of debate dependence must be placed almost entirely upon Whatcoat's *Journal*, Lee's "History," and O'Kelly's "Apology." The latter says that the matter was opened at the Rough Creek, Va., Conference, and he opposed the ordination of Whatcoat as a Superintendent. Asbury shrewdly and wisely kept himself in the background of the debate. O'Kelly says, "The chief speakers on the subject were Thomas [Coke] and James [O'Kelly]. Francis [Asbury] was opposed to the Joint Superintendent, yet said but little, for he was under authority. . . . I spoke after this manner: that the free people of America were exceeding jealous of the growing body of Methodists, because of the European heads. Moreover, I did not consider the person [Whatcoat] adequate to the task because of his age; and that also he was a stranger to the wilderness of America, etc. Above all I urged that two heads would produce two bodies. Francis proposed for the Baltimore Conference to decide the dispute, to which we all agreed." Other reasons in opposition were brought out at Baltimore. Lee says, "When this business was brought before the Conference most of the preachers objected and would not consent to it. The reasons against it were (1) That he [Whatcoat] was not qualified to take charge of the connection. (2) That they were apprehensive that if Mr. Whatcoat were ordained Mr. Wesley would likely recall Mr. Asbury and he would return to England. Dr. Coke contended that we were obliged to receive Mr. Whatcoat because we had said in the minutes taken at the Christmas Conference when we were first formed into a Church in 1784, 'during the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the gospel, ready in matters of church government to obey his commands.' Many of the members of that Conference argued that they were not at the Conference when that engagement was entered into, and they did not consider themselves bound by it. Other preachers who had said they were 'ready to

obey his commands,' said they did not feel ready *now* to obey his commands. The preachers at last agreed to depart from that engagement which some of the elder brethren had formally entered into . . . they made the engagement of their own accord and among themselves, and they believed they had a right to depart therefrom when they pleased, seeing it was no contract with Mr. Wesley or any other person, but an agreement among themselves. It was further argued that Mr. Wesley, while in England, could not tell what man was qualified to govern us as well as we could who were present and were to be governed. We believed also that if Mr. Wesley were here himself, he would be of the same opinion with us." There is something ingenuous in this statement of the case — a chain of specious reasons, but not one of them sound, from the only legitimate premise: the Conference action of 1784. Rev. William Phoebus, who was present, in his "Memoirs of Whatcoat," gives the summing up: "The motion to remove his [Wesley's] name having a second, was debated and carried in the affirmative. They soon turned their attention to his son, Coke, as he would still possess the supreme rule, and it was feared he would abuse that power. To prevent the abuse of it was talked of in a desultory and in a menacing way till Dr. Coke, to free them from their fears, or pretended fears, said he would relinquish his power as Superintendent, as far as it respected supreme jurisdiction and supreme rule; and that he would claim no authority but to preside when the Conference did assemble; so he consented to become a mere moderator rather than to have his name left off the minutes. Seeing they had prevailed so far, some asked more than his word, so he gave them his bond for the fulfilment of his promise." No farther attention need be paid to the argument, now that it is so clearly established that the conclusion reached was foregone. The following is the instrument of abdication he signed before witnesses.

I do solemnly engage by this instrument that I never will, by virtue of my office as Superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church, during my absence from the United States of America, exercise any government whatever in the said Methodist Church during my absence from the United States. And I do also engage that I will exercise no privilege in the said Church, when present in the United States, except that of ordaining, according to the regulations and laws already existing or hereafter to be made by said Church, and that of presiding when present in Conference, and lastly that of travelling at large. Given under my hand, the second day of May, in the year 1787.

THOMAS COKE.

Witnesses: JOHN TUNNELL, JOHN HAGERTY, NELSON REED.

Was ever defeat more overwhelming — was ever humiliation more complete? And this is the explanation of the parenthetical qualification of the minute (when present in the States). Asbury probably took no open part in the debate whatever; but it is evident that not a step was taken about which he was not consulted by his loyal adherents, so that the action of the Conference was his action as well. Well might Coke take up the soliloquy of Banquo—"Thou hast it now, King, Cawdor, Glamis, all." With the expunging of the minute, Wesley's name disappeared entirely from the official records. "Who are the Superintendents of our Church in the United States? Thomas Coke (when present in the States) and Francis Asbury."

The next important matter was the nomination of Whatcoat to be a joint Superintendent. It was easily disposed of, for the king being dethroned, the arguments of O'Kelly prevailed and the Conference resolved to non-concur. As late as 1796, Coke in a letter avers that, at the Charleston conference of 1787, Asbury *acquiesced* in the appointment of Whatcoat as a joint Superintendent, and Philip Bruce in the same year affirmed that he was not opposed to the appointment, and Whatcoat himself declared that he received a letter from Asbury shortly after the arrival of Coke in Charleston advising him to meet Asbury at the warm springs in Virginia, "and we will make out a plan for your route through the continent." And Snethen, through Asbury in his Reply to O'Kelly reminds the latter that at Dick's Ferry upon Dan River, he told O'Kelly that it was "best to accept Richard Whatcoat." This evidence is collocated by Dr. Emory in the McCaine-Emory Controversy. No doubt Asbury on the first blush of the subject thought it "best" to "acquiesce." He was far too politic a man to throw himself into a deadly breach before he had time to reconnoitre.¹ But who does not see that, with his dominating influence with the Baltimore Conference whenever he chose to assert it, he could have turned the scale for Whatcoat by saying as much then, two months later? The same may be said of leaving Wesley's name off the minutes. In this, too, Emory, citing from Snethen's Reply to O'Kelly, Asbury, speaking through Snethen, who simply edited the manuscript Asbury had himself prepared as a Reply, as will be shown later, says—"Asbury was not deserving of the smallest blame in the whole business." This,

¹ Guirey fully confirms these conjectures as to the politic conduct of Asbury, in Wesley's appointment of Whatcoat as a Superintendent in America, pp. 337-343.

however, goes farther than Asbury himself ventures to go in his Journal account — "I was mute when it was expunged." And for this very reason the responsibility lodged with him. He was content to see it done and the more so because he did not seem to be the doer of it. For who does not see that his persuasive force and iron will, if at all exerted, could have prevented it? Wesley, when he received the account of it through Coke and the minutes as well, and, perhaps, through others of his American correspondents, would not condone Asbury's conduct, ready as he always was to extenuate the lapses of his friends. Years afterward, 1796, Asbury let out a secret of his correspondence with Wesley, and says: "For this [leaving his name off the minutes] Mr. Wesley blamed me, and was displeased that I did not rather reject the whole connection, or leave them if they did not comply. But I could not give up the connection so easily after laboring and suffering so many years with and for them." It is not often that Asbury is betrayed into special pleading like this — in modern parlance, availing himself of the "baby act." He was the connection. It might leave him, as it did at the Fluvanna Conference, only to disclose this very fact — he was the connection. A wave of his hand in stay of proceedings and the minute with Wesley's name would have remained. There can be no question with the impartial that these several acts brought about the culmination of Asbury's desire, — an end of which he never lost sight: to be the Primate of American Methodism. Atkinson has well said: "Henceforth Francis Asbury was recognized as, what he had long been in fact, the governing mind of American Methodism. He was the Wesley of the New World." Nicholas Snethen gives the same verdict while combining with it a high tribute to Asbury: "I assume it as a fact that Francis Asbury was the father of the system which goes under the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Without his agency and influence it never could have been what it is now. Mr. Wesley and Dr. Coke might have written, but their theories would have remained, in a great measure, a dead letter. The vast ability with which this great man presided over these elements was fully equalled by his sincerity. He had the utmost confidence in the plan as the best that could be devised to promote the work of God in this country."

The work is monumental to-day — it girdles the world; but its greatest boast is not due to the system of Asbury, much as it may have done in a contributory sense, but to its doctrines and the impulse of the Holy Spirit through them; for other forms of

Methodism share fully in this impulse under a totally diverse, and, as the writer believes, a more scriptural, rational, and ideally correct theory, which has proven itself in practice all-sufficient for the successful embodiment of every Methodist feature. In all its forms it remains true, "A revival Church in its spirit—a missionary Church in its organization." As to the system, presently it will be seen that its exponent did not fully understand his own spirit—no autocrat ever does. His assumptions grew rapidly until the spirit of Americanism, not to say of apostolical religion, could brook no more, and his iron will was measurably broken. Presently it will be seen that the system is responsible—the postulate from the beginning—for rending the body by schism, a foretoken of many that were to follow and which must be fathered upon the system. Wesley, soon after the Conference of 1787, found out his fatal error in the ordinations, in view of his manifest purpose to keep the Methodisms of the world under his personal authority while he lived, and, constructively at least, a part of the Church of England. The American preachers found out that they committed an error in breaking away from his authority, not then seeing that one just as absolute would take its place, and upon some of them it dawned—an increasing number as time and events grew upon them—how much was lost, when the Fluvanna Conference surrender of their inherent Christian and natural rights took place.

And the mention of rights leads by association of ideas to the contention of the apologists of Coke and Asbury in the doings of 1784 and 1787: the contention of Bangs and Stevens and others in monographic displays that the preachers had a right to organize an independent Church; that they had a right to set aside Wesley's authority when it became too meddlesome. There can be no doubt of it—there is no contention on the other side over it. What is contended is that Wesley never intended the organization of an independent Church; that he never recommended the Episcopal, or any other form of church government, except that contained in the "little sketch," of which nothing is known, and that he meant to be mandatory without a General Conference or any other kind of a conference. Nevertheless, the impression was made upon the preachers in 1784 that such was the fact, and traditionally it was so received down to the investigations of Alexander McCaine. That this impression was consummated by the suppression of some papers, the garbling of others, followed by the violation of Wesley's most positive injunc-

tions, known to Coke and presumably to Asbury. That to make a show of Wesley's participation, unhistorical averments were introduced into the Discipline and changed in phraseology from time to time as they were made before and after Wesley's death. That these averments have been persisted in despite of abundant proof of their not having been verified in the Methodist Episcopal Church to this day.

As noted before, the extreme ground of Alexander McCaine is not taken in this History, but the position is believed to be impregnable that the proceedings were "questionable and unwarrantable." This will be made transparent in the McCaine-Emory controversy of a later day. Neither is there contention that what was done in 1784 and 1787 cannot be largely justified by expediency. Such questions only raise a controversial dust to obscure or hide the real issues, as shall be disclosed in season. And it may be repeated that no contention is made that the system of Asbury was not efficient and potential, as much so in its measure, as that of Rome as perfected by Ignatius Loyola. The contention is that the system of Asbury was false to manhood in its natural and inalienable rights; false to New Testament precedents and the apostolical Church; false to the equality of brotherhood and that priesthood of the people inculcated by the direct precepts and positive implications of the Christian's only Master,—the Lord Jesus Christ. The treatment of these subjects by Bangs is pronounced in its partisan prejudice and needs no notice. That by Stevens is more amenable to reason, and, though based in part upon misinformation or the lack of information, and often fallacious, is masterful in its weakness of conclusion, and shall receive respectful consideration in the proper place. It is certain that he would not and could not state the case to-day as he did thirty years ago. Atkinson has rearranged the story, and, with his additional lights and native candor, presents the whole matter as fairly and fully as any one could not a Methodist Dissenter. The view of this History is that of such a Dissenter, which has never before been so fully eluded and, it is claimed, fairly presented.

A brief paragraph will suffice for the remaining doings of the Conference of 1787. As though conscious that Wesley and his commissioner had been roughly handled, the preachers, Lee says, endeavored to mollify him with a letter: "We then wrote a long and loving letter to Mr. Wesley, and requested him to come over to America and visit his spiritual children." No record is known

of this letter. It was no doubt "long" and "loving" and kindly intended; but there is a flavor of sarcasm in the invitation to cross the ocean to an old man of eighty-four years. Richard Owens, "one of the first local preachers on the continent," has a brief obituary this year. The question recurs at all these Conferences, continued in some form to this day, and has been a guarantee against irregularity of life and immoral conduct in the preachers: "Are all the preachers blameless in life and conversation? They were all strictly tried, one by one, before the Conference." The Methodist Church in all its organizations has never waited for charges to be preferred—it has sought them out by this examination. Conferences were ordered for "Charleston, S. C., March 12, 1788; in Georgia, April 9; at Holstein, May 13; at Amelia, Va., June 17; at Beesontown, July 22, and at Baltimore, September 10."

CHAPTER XXVII

Asbury and Coke reciprocally — Coke sailed for England May 27, 1787; his interview with Wesley at the Irish Conference; what a tale he had to tell of the Conference of 1787; his authority set aside; name dropped from the minutes, and Coke degraded; how the venerable man grieved over it; the Shadford letter, and the controversy about it; Pompey and Cæsar — Coke's return to America, 1789 — O'Kelly and Vasey; other incidents — Asbury's reprint of the Minutes; the changes made in them; how and by whom; rationale of the proceedings; title of Bishop; historical preface false to facts — Asbury's new "succession"; himself an apostle — Hero preachers of the time.

IMMEDIATELY after the adjournment of the Conference of 1787, Coke and Asbury retired to the restful home at Perry Hall. They talked over the proceedings. Coke, more than ever impressed with the reserved power and masterful skill of Asbury, received the emollient advances which his former compeer, but now superior in office, felt that he could well afford to bestow upon him with gracious condescension. In the present situation there was nothing else for him to do but to make the best of it. In his Journal for 1787, he writes, "Mr. Asbury, who is assuredly a great man of God, has treated me with much respect." Asbury had a high appreciation of Coke's abilities and sought coöperation with him, so that after each strain of their personal relations in Coke's attempts to recover his lost crown, either through Wesley or by means of his own contrivance, friendly correspondence was resumed after Coke had made amends that satisfied Asbury for the time. Specially will this be found true in the years that succeeded 1791, when they parted in apparent irreconcilable mood. They spent but a few days at Perry Hall, then on to Cokesbury College, of which Asbury says, "Drew a deed for the conveyance of the property of the college, and settled our temporal matters there." On to Elkton, to Wilmington, to Philadelphia, Coke doing the preaching "with great energy and acceptance." On to Elizabethtown, N. J., and thence to New York. Here they parted, Asbury going to Long Island. He had an abhorrence of city life: "I am now out of the city, and have time to reflect; my soul turns to its rest, and to its labor for souls, in which I can

live more by rule." Coke, finding no ship in New York homeward bound, returned to Philadelphia, where he found one bound for Dublin, Ireland, and after a leave-taking and a final sermon, he boarded her May 27, 1787. Of his parting with Coke, Asbury makes no mention whatever.

Drew, Coke's biographer, tells that he arrived in the bay of Dublin June 25, a speedy voyage in those days. On reaching Dublin he found the Irish Conference in session, Wesley himself presiding. It was a joyful meeting with his old friends, and he narrated to them his experiences while absent. In his private interviews with Wesley what a tale he must have had to tell. To the Conference he gave his exoteric experience, but to Wesley his esoteric. He had recovered himself, but what a disappointment were his revelations to Wesley — his authority set at defiance by his American preachers who had promised to obey him, and his son in the gospel, Asbury, never lifting either voice or hand to arrest the insubordination. It was a new experience, and he was much grieved and not a little indignant. How is it known? He wrote a letter of remonstrance and censure to Asbury, chiding him upon his want of fidelity. Asbury never suffered that letter to see the light, and if Wesley preserved a copy his executors suppressed it; but Asbury, to defend himself for the doings in 1787, revealed, as already quoted, how indignant Wesley was over the action — his name left off the minutes, thus disowning him; Coke, his commissioner, degraded; Whatcoat ignored as his appointee for Superintendent, and his assignment of Garrettson as Superintendent for Nova Scotia annulled, not by the Conference, but by Asbury reading him out as presiding elder for the Peninsula of Maryland. Coke probably bore with him, as there was no more direct and speedy transit, the "long and loving letter" of the brethren. They read it over together, and Coke did what he could to mollify the venerable father and founder of Methodism, but what must have been the chagrin, and what the astonishment, of Wesley!

The Irish Conference over, with eleven of the preachers, they cross the Channel and arrive at the English Conference, held this year at Manchester. The story is told again, and more of the facts leak out. It was at this Conference undoubtedly that Rankin heard of the deposition of Wesley and exclaimed before he received the details, "That is Frank Asbury's doing." It savored of his prejudice, but it was near enough to the truth for practical purposes. Asbury had kept up his confidential corre-

spondence with Shadford, and it was probably about this time also that Shadford disclosed to Wesley — the events were such as to bring out all seeming confirmatory evidence — a part of the correspondence bearing on the subject now fermenting the English preachers. It came out in a letter Wesley wrote to Beverly Allen, once, as has been seen, in high repute among the American Methodists. It is under date of "London, October 31, 1789," when he was eighty-six years of age. The third paragraph reads: "He [Asbury] told George Shadford: 'Mr. Wesley and I are like Cæsar and Pompey — he will bear no equal, and I will bear no superior.' And accordingly he quietly sat by, until his friends, by common consent, voted my name out of the American Minutes. This completed the matter and showed that he had no connection with me." This letter disturbed the equanimity of Asbury greatly, and this allegation, specially, he felt called upon to explain away, if possible. The genuineness of it has been fully proved, and Asbury never denied that he employed such language in his confidential letter to Shadford. During the Morrell-Hammett controversy, which led to its publication, Hammett having received it in his correspondence with Wesley, Asbury became aware of it and in his Journal makes the brief comment: "Mr. H. [Hammett's] quotation of a clause of my confidential letter to brother S——d [Shadford], is not altogether just." In a letter of date August 6, 1806, he farther explains: "On the momentous matter you wrote, I must be prudent. I have suffered by a change of things with Mr. Wesley. When it was thought some persons should come from England to preside, George Shadford was in contemplation. I wrote to him, and it was applied to Mr. Wesley; what a mistake!" That is, there was a time when Wesley thought of superseding Asbury and among those spoken of as a coadjutor, was Asbury's former bosom friend, Shadford. Now, Asbury acknowledges that, learning of it, he wrote to Shadford that such an arrangement would not answer, as he and Shadford would be like Pompey and Cæsar, etc. But his qualification amounts to nothing, inasmuch as Shadford would have been the appointee of Wesley, so that Shadford did not misrepresent him under any misapprehension of Asbury's final meaning. This matter occupies considerable space in the McCaine-Emory controversy, and the latter squirms under it, and ends with a denial of it, and says the letter was forged. But the view just given offers the only extenuation of its well-established facts.

Dr. Coke remained in England until after the Conference of

1788, busying himself with Wesley in the mission work of the societies, having practically abandoned America, for reasons every reader will determine sufficient in a man not entirely lost to all self-respect. The course of its events as framed by Asbury was closely observed by both Coke and Wesley, and correspondents were not wanting to keep them posted, often no doubt with some exaggerations of Asbury's career of undisputed leadership and autocratic domination.

Other missionaries were appointed to the West Indies, to which Coke again turned his attention, and soon after the English Conference of 1788 they set sail for Barbadoes. Dr. Coke, with Hammett as his leading man, whose abilities were of the most pronounced type and his piety stamped with fervor and zeal, continued his labors among these islands until late in January, 1789. Coke afterward published a volume covering this period. It will not be concluded that alienation between Wesley, Coke, and Asbury had reached the pitch of estrangement of worldly men. As Christians they maintained relations by letter exchange. Asbury courted it—it was politic to do so under a sincere admiration for both of his contemporaries, now that he was securely fixed in his Primacy. There are not wanting, however, evidences of the triangular movements of the three on the ecclesiastical chess-board, Asbury to retain, and Wesley and Coke to recover, lost prestige and position in America. Drew, Coke's biographer, states that Coke, with Hammett, arrived at Port Royal in Jamaica, January 19, 1790,¹ and "once more sailed for the continent. He reached Charleston, S. C., on the 24th of February, 1789, at which place he expected to meet Mr. Asbury, who was to come thither for that purpose by previous appointment. But as their voyage had exceeded the time of their respective calculations, Mr. Asbury had left the place a few days prior to his arrival, and proceeded on his way to Georgia, that he might be present at the approaching Conference. Dr. Coke instantly followed, and, by making extraordinary exertions, overtook him on the road, and became his companion through the remaining part of the journey."

Asbury, when he parted with Dr. Coke, May 22, 1787, retired to the country on Long Island, N. Y. Here he repaired his spiritual estate, for his deep religious experience of the things of God he never suffered to lapse. His personal acceptance through Christ in a clear assurance he valued first, then the conversion of souls, and then the "care of all the churches" under a persuasion

¹ One of his numerous chronological errors. It was 1789.

that he was called of God to oversee them all and direct the preachers scattered over a continent according to his "godly judgment," and would brook no interference with what he regarded as an apostolic authority. The whole structure of his character led him into this groove, utterly blind to his own assumptions and to the baleful consequences of such unamenable executive power. When they cropped out it never occurred to him to modify himself as a remedy, but he put it down to the weakness, jealousy, pride, ambition, or the want of religion in the obstructionists. He turns his horse southward again. June 28, came to York, Pa., and says: "I found it necessary to stop brother Hickson from going to Nova Scotia." The next day, "I was in prayer until midnight. O Lord, make me all life and love and patience and resignation under the troubles of the Church, and disappointments of its ministers." The General Superintendency and the itinerant plan were the very apple of Asbury's eye, in fact the gospel itself. Snethen says pertinently: "All men do not, cannot, judge alike of their own sincerity and impartiality. Whenever Mr. Asbury was accused of partiality, his standing reply was, 'I am set for the defence of the gospel,' meaning the travelling plan; but it so happened that this defence was identical with the defence of the unlimited power which he held for life. He was personally interested in every case of this kind." And, mayhap, he was meeting, step by step, other troubles. Lee, who was in full accord with the doings of the Christmas Conference, at least until after his own defeat for the bishopric by Whatcoat, gives some hints: "This step of receding from the above engagement [with Wesley] was afterward considered by some disaffected persons, as improper. If there was anything improper in the business, it was in entering into the engagement, and not in departing from it." It is an echo no doubt of Asbury's opinion, but logically inconsequent. Those who kept silent during the proceedings, and by their silence and not by their concurrence made the action seem unanimous, now began to dissent and discuss it. Garrettson was probably one of the number. His lifelong intimacy with Dr. Coke, and his well-known objection to several features of the Asburian plan, made him a dissenter.

O'Kelly had given Asbury unexpected encouragement when at the Virginia Conference, being the principal speaker, he opposed Coke, and Wesley's plan for the ordination of Whatcoat as a joint superintendent with Asbury and Coke. Did he go the whole length of the Baltimore Conference? There are no records to

show, but it is probable that he did, for he was something of an extremist in any position he took. There is no doubt that he was one of the earliest to perceive that, if a change of masters was the point to be gained by eschewing Wesley, the gain was a signal loss, and soon he is found giving evidence of his repentance by plotting against Asbury, putting himself in correspondence with both Coke and Wesley, and with such encouragement as he may have received, stoutly resisting his authority and becoming clamorous for reforms. Asbury unwittingly furnished the ground; for, with the fatality attending autocratic minds, finding himself sole master in America, it occurred to him, as is always the case with such typical characters, that the safe way to meet these incipient demands for a more liberal administration, was to tighten the fetters of personal authority.

Reaching Philadelphia on his return tour southward, he makes record, "Here I found T. V. [Thomas Vasey] had scattered firebrands, and thrown dirt to bespatter us." Riding down into Maryland he adds, "I find T. V. has misrepresented us as having cast off Mr. Wesley, making this a plea for his reordination." Vasey had been disgruntled almost from his arrival in America with Coke and Whatcoat. He was evidently disappointed, so he sulked and probably did much to misrepresent American matters to Wesley and the English preachers. The course of Asbury and the preachers who shared his opinions did much to give the occasions. Vasey entered the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church and was put into the rectorship in Philadelphia. Asbury reaches Bath in Virginia, and meets with T. V. in person at the Widow Stroud's, some miles from Bath—he journalizes—"where I met with T. V., who made some acknowledgments for what he had said in the heat of his zeal at Philadelphia and at Bath." Asbury was back again in Baltimore by September, and also in Philadelphia. Southward again he turns, at times much depressed, his liver is torpid, producing malaise so that his spiritual moods are variable. He rides through the rain and meets every kind of discomfort. Back again to Maryland, down the Eastern Shore, up to Abingdon and—"opened our College, and admitted twenty-five students," December 6, 1787. A week after, "Brother H—— attempted to travel with me, but was soon glad to resign." Who could keep up with him? Later a few men, Lee, Henry Boehm, Snethen, and J. Wesley Bond made themselves equal to the service. Down into Virginia he dashes, to North Carolina, and Charleston, S. C., where the first of the Conferences was held March 14,

1788 — "Our Conference began and we had a free, open time." That is all of it. He is on to Georgia, where the next Conference is held April 9. A week before he says, "I rested and compiled two sections, which I shall recommend to be put into our form of discipline, in order to remove from society, by regular steps, either preachers or people that are disorderly." The only record of this Conference is — "began at the Forks of Broad River, where six members and four probationers attended." He is on to the Holstein Conference in Tennessee and crosses the mountains — "the first of which I called steel, the second stone, and the third iron." His description of the crossing makes one wonder that flesh and blood could endure such things. The Conference was very informal; indeed, they were nothing more than preparatory meets for the Baltimore Conference. It was about the same at the Virginia Conference. Crossed the Alleghany Mountains again, and this is a part of his experience with the brethren who came along: "Near midnight stopped at A——'s, who hissed his dogs at us, but the women were determined to go to the quarterly meeting, so we went on. Our supper was tea. Brother Phoebus and Cook took to the woods; old —— gave up his bed to the women. I lay along the floor on a few deerskins with the fleas. That night our poor horses got no corn; and the next morning they had to swim across the Monongahela." The next Conference at Uniontown (Beesontown either a misprint, or its old name in the edition of the Minutes of 1795 from which quotation was formerly made) in what is now West Virginia, July 22. A flash of wit is so rare in Asbury's Journal that notice must be taken of an almost solitary instance: "I attempted to preach at Bath, on 'the lame and the blind;' the discourse was very *lame*; and it may be I left my hearers as I found them — *blind*." He is in improved physical condition, as not only this flash but the record proves: "I am now closely engaged in reading, writing, and prayer — my soul enjoys much of God." Baltimore, September 10, 1788: "Our Conference began; I chose not to preach while my mind was clogged by business with so many persons, and on so many subjects." That is all of it. In Philadelphia an extra Conference was held, September 21. Asbury has been followed through the year and all the salient events he records in his Journal mentioned, except that Whatcoat is named at times as being with him. The good man whose life was like an "even spun thread" was a peace-lover and a peacemaker with no ambitions to foster. The great revivals of the

year receive also cursory mention. But the momentous events must be learned from other sources.

Jesse Lee in his "History" supplies the information. "In the course of this year (1787-88) Mr. Asbury reprinted the general minutes; but in a different form from what they were before." A reprint copy of 1788 is before the writer, with a title which challenges attention: "A Form of Discipline for the Ministers, Preachers, and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, considered and approved at a Conference held in Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, on Monday, December the 27th, 1784: in which the Reverend Thomas Coke, LL.D., and the Reverend Francis Asbury presided. Arranged under proper Heads and Methodised in a more acceptable and easy Manner. With some other useful Pieces annexed. Elizabethtown: Printed by Shepard Kollock. MDCCLXXXVIII." The statement that this Discipline was "considered and approved," at the Conference of 1784, next to Dr. Coke's prefatory allegations to the minutes of that Conference as found in the edition bound up with those up to 1794, with the imprint of 1795 by John Dickins, is the first of those easy-going departures in the printed official matter of the Church from the literal and exact truth, as made by Asbury and Coke. The truth of history is that essential portions of this Discipline were not "considered and approved" at the Conference of 1784. The following items are in this category. Quoting again from Lee's "History": "In this discipline, 1787, there were thirty-one sections and sixty-three questions, with answers to them all. The third question in the second section and the answer read thus: *Q.* Is there any other business to be done by the conference? *A.* The election and ordaining of Bishops, Elders, and Deacons. This was the first time that our Superintendents ever gave themselves the title of Bishops in the minutes. They changed the title themselves without the consent of the conference; and at the next conference they asked the preachers if the word Bishop might stand in the minutes; seeing that it was a scriptural name, and the meaning of the word Bishop was the same with that of Superintendent. Some of the preachers opposed the alteration, and wished to retain the former title; but a majority of the preachers agreed to let the word Bishop remain; and in the annual minutes for the next year, the first question is, 'Who are the Bishops of our Church for the United States?' In the third section of this form of Discipline, and on the sixth page, it is said: 'We have constituted ourselves into an Epis-

copal Church under the direction of bishops, elders, deacons, and preachers, according to a form of ordination annexed to our prayer book, and the regulations laid down in the form of discipline. From that time the name of bishop has been common among us, both in conversation and in writing.’ ”

It needs to be observed that the “History” by Lee was not written for twenty-three years after 1787, so that when he speaks of “our Superintendents” doing these things, he either forgets that Superintendent Coke was not in the United States during the year these changes were made in the Discipline, or that he knew it to be a fact that Asbury, by correspondence with Dr. Coke in England, had secured his approbation to the changes.

If so, Lee might have regarded him as constructively present. While it is not probable that Asbury secured his coöperation in this way, the inherent probability is that Coke would readily have concurred, as he claimed to have ordained Asbury a “Bishop,” as he was in fact a three-order Episcopalian. It is, however, certain that Asbury did not write to Wesley for his concurrence, for a reason to be given shortly, of so crushing a nature that almost any man but one constituted like Asbury would have been overwhelmed by it to the point of retraction. This work, then, of changing the Discipline without the consent of the Conference must be fathered upon Asbury alone. He had it reprinted this year, 1787–88. It seems passing strange that he should venture to make this substitution of Bishop for Superintendent in the face of the moral certainty that Coke had informed him of the solemn manner in which Wesley had admonished him, as Moore relates, that it must not be taken, and in view of the farther facts that Asbury and others had been compelled, from the force of Methodist disapprobation, to abandon the canonicals, and that the Prayer Book of Wesley soon fell into desuetude, because both were esteemed by the sober preachers, and the people, so far as they ventured opinion, mere apings of the Episcopalsians. It can be accounted for only on the principle that his ruling passion could not be controlled, and it was a *dernier ressort* for the revival of an empty dignity. That it was an error of judgment there can be no doubt, in view of the future unity and peace of the organization. There seems to have been in the Conference a pronounced opposition to it—an opposition which cannot be appreciated unless account is taken of the moral courage required to dissent to any proposal of the “Bishop.” A majority at last submitted, but it kindled a flame in the minority, however trampled

upon, and however suppressed, which continued to smoulder, and has never expired. It led to much discussion, and fostered the hierarchal notion among the preachers.

In letter addresses, the simple name, or the old custom of prefixing "Rev." prevailed; but this smacked too much of equality among the "orders," so that about a year after, Lee says: "At the conference this year (1789) the bishops proposed a new plan for directing our letters to each other, which was to this effect, that we should leave out the word reverend, and say 'to A. B. — Bishop, Elder, Deacon, or Preacher.' Many of the preachers adopted the plan; but others who did not favor the alteration, directed as they pleased, or as they formerly had done." O'Kelly says: "And it came to pass about the year 1787(?) Francis directed the preachers that, whenever they wrote to him, to title him Bishop. They did so, and this was the beginning of our spurious Episcopacy." This criticism Asbury felt called upon to notice ten years afterward. "The secret and truth of the matter was this: The preachers having had great difficulties about the appellation of the Rev. and Mr., that is, to call a man by one of the Divine appellations, supposing Mr. to be an abbreviation of Master ('call no man master on earth'), it was talked over in the yearly conference, for then we had no general conference established. So we concluded it would be far best to give each man his official title, as deacon, elder and bishop; to this the majority agreed." The reader may determine how far this explanation explains, as against his contemporaries, O'Kelly and Lee.

Lee says this Discipline of 1787 consisted of thirty-one sections. An examination of the reprint copy of 1787 reveals thirty-four, but the last three were added at this Conference. The thirty-second is the one Asbury says, as already cited, he drafted for the specific purpose of dealing more summarily with "disorderly members," as he styles them. It provided for trial, not for immoralities only, but for "disobedience to the order and discipline of the Church." Section thirty-three provided for trial of ministers, including bishops, and the thirty-fourth is a new regulation as to stewards. The one thing that certainly can be claimed for this new Discipline of Asbury's revising and supplementing on the title page is, "Arranged under proper heads and methodised in a more acceptable and easy manner." It has these qualities. A further examination discloses a new section, numbered First, which gives answers to the three questions—"What was the rise

of Methodism in Europe? What was the rise of Methodism, so called, in America? What may we reasonably believe to be God's design in raising up the preachers called Methodists in America?" The answers form a part of the historical preface to the Discipline to this day in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and is admirably stated: Section second is the same as section first in the Discipline of 1785, but section third is a recast with material changes and additions to Coke's prefatory statement as to the origin of the Church in the printed minutes of 1784, but not found in the disciplinarian minutes of the same year, the difference being accounted for only that the latter were intended for Wesley's eye and the former for the American Church.

The title as given to this section by Asbury is also pretentious, "On the Nature and Constitution of our Church." It is the first and, mayhap, the only time the word Constitution is used to describe the extra-constitutional proceedings of sixty-one preachers, without delegation from any one, instituting an organization, a body politic, without the consent of the governed; a proceeding without parallel in Church or State claiming to be constitutional, a term utterly malapropos to the conditions and circumstances; and which made it necessary one hundred years afterward that the General Conference of this Church should appoint a Commission to discover and define what is to be construed as its "Constitution"; but with very indifferent results as to the quest. In fact, the Constitution has never been found, and never will be, until the people in primary assembly shall meet and ordain one, the only way it can be established by all the recognized principles of jurisprudence and common sense. The reasons assigned for the organization of an Independent Church are totally dissimilar to those given by Dr. Coke. There is not a word about following the counsel of Mr. Wesley and his recommendation of the Episcopal form. Why the radical change? Was it too much for the conscience of Asbury who knew better? knew it as well as Coke himself; but he seems lacking in the effrontery to blazon it again as history. Or was it because he thus early hesitated to link the origin of his authority with Wesley, as he formally disallowed it not many years after? Asbury's first paragraph recites as reasons, that the Church of England is "deficient in several of the most important parts of Christian discipline"; that it has "lost the life and power of religion"; that it is "a National Church" and makes "servile devotion to the will of temporal governors"; that further connection with it might lead to "simi-

lar designs and attempts in these United States"; and opposition to a National Church as the "bane of truth and holiness, and a great impediment to the progress of vital Christianity." It is quite a severe, if a truthful, arraignment at the time. His second paragraph gives the gist of it: "For these reasons, we have thought it our duty to form ourselves into an independent church. And as the most excellent mode of church government, according to our maturest judgment, is that of a moderate Episcopacy; and as we are persuaded that the uninterrupted succession of Bishops from the Apostles can be proved neither from Scripture nor antiquity; we, therefore, have constituted ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of Bishops, Elders, Deacons, and Preachers, according to the forms of ordination annexed to our prayer book, and the regulations laid down in this form of discipline."

Ten years had now elapsed since Asbury usurped authority and, with his retainers, virtually expelled the regular Conference in Fluvanna County, Va., by reason of their liberal reconstruction of the American Methodist Society polity: organizing a Presbytery for ordination and opening the way to such a system. Then, as Drew, Coke's biographer, recites, gathering his information from Coke himself, Asbury "had not yet shaken off the rusty fetters of 'apostolical succession.'" His ecclesiastical reading at that date was confined to Potter. But, as his Journal indicates, in after years he came to widen his investigation into church history, and in this way he was delivered from the "rusty fetters." But it would be premature to conclude that his views were abstractly moderated. In declining to recognize Wesley as the source of his Episcopal functions in this revised statement, it will be plainly observed that he was growing into the opinion that in some sense, plainly enough defined in his own mind, he was an Apostle. It was not until 1805, seventeen years after the Conference of 1788, that he formulated and published it. He came to the Widow Sherwood's in New York State, May 22, and says: "In this state the subjects of *succession*, *rebaptism*, are much agitated. I will tell the world what I rest my authority upon. 1. Divine authority. 2. Seniority in America. 3. The election of the General Conference. 4. My ordination by Thomas Coke, William Philip Otterbein, German Presbyterian minister, Richard Whatcoat, and Thomas Vasey. 5. Because the signs of an apostle have been seen in me." It seems to mean that he had established a new "succession," of which evidence shall be submitted when the Conference of 1789 is reached in course.

The new Discipline, with its emendations and additions as set forth, was adopted. When the minutes of this Conference were printed another conspicuous change was made, and for which there seems to have been no Conference action. Lee says: "When the minutes for this year were printed the condition of Dr. Coke's being a bishop 'when in the United States' was left out, and the question was changed and was entered thus: Q. Who are the bishops for our Church for the United States? A. Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury." The change was immaterial, as the Conference held his abdication paper, and it may have been one of Asbury's methods of conciliating a man to whom he owed so much.

The preachers, Matson, Cloud, and Chew, are noted as "desisting from travel," but Lee says this was a mild way of expelling those who did not stand a trial. The rigors of the itinerancy — six months in a place — were so felt, that Boyer, Dudley, Cannon, Wyatt, Michael Ellis, and Pigman had "a partial location," having families. Four died, Major, Hickson, Curtis, and Elijah Ellis. Nineteen new circuits were taken in and fifty-two young preachers were received. There was an increase, Lee says, of 11,481, 9000 of them south of Pennsylvania. There were now 85 circuits and 165 preachers. Eleven Conferences were appointed for the ensuing year. Remarkable revivals of religion had taken place, and there were many more to follow. These stalwart men, full of the Holy Ghost, delivered a free salvation gospel with such unction and power that whole neighborhoods were converted. Indeed, converted fruit was looked for at all the services — they prayed and preached to this end.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Asbury's attempt to be ubiquitous as well as omnipotent ecclesiastically; Snethen's reflections — Meets Coke near Charleston, S. C.; they hold Conferences — Received, 1789, Wesley's "bitter pill"; history of it traced and demonstration made that it was the letter of September 20, 1788 — This letter given and analyzed with strange disclosures in a catenation of proofs never before brought together — Asbury and Coke travelling together — Unwarranted changes in the early minutes; motives for them — "Order" of Methodist Bishops instituted by Asbury and Coke with Wesley at the head; Dr. Emory's quibble — Division of 1844 foretold by Snethen and McCaine — General Conference of 1884 squelched the Bishop "Order" — The predicate confirmed by British historians; Wesley no party to the business at any time, and his tearful regrets over the ordinations of 1784 proved.

ASBURY is in Philadelphia the first Sabbath after the Conference of 1788 in Baltimore, and holds a Conference with a few, and then is on to New York where he holds another. Backward he turns, suffering in body from ill health, superinducing depression of spirits and distraction of mind from the pressure upon him of so vast a work, specially the debts and complications at Cokesbury. It never seems to occur to him to relegate part of his authority to another, and with it a part of his burden. Lee was stationed in Baltimore 1787-88, and was exhibiting all the qualities of leadership; and so was Wesley's appointee, Whatcoat, non-concurred in by the Conference; not to mention the fiery O'Kelly in the south, bold and masterful, whom Asbury handled cautiously, or leaving him to his own way, and so excited the jealousy of the other Elders. Under human limitation he would be ubiquitous as well as omnipotent, and he wore himself out in the effort to be such. Snethen's deliverances meet you at every turn as the phases of the Asburian plan develop. "Mr. Asbury, I know, was as sincere as he was indefatigable in his endeavors to make the hierarchy independent of the people; but he was my father, and we agreed to disagree. It was always a mystery to me, how a man of his great reading, and penetrating views of men and things, could so entirely lose sight of the danger of an unbalanced government. Of the ability of Mr. Wesley to govern, no one has a more exalted opinion than myself; but who will say that his system was the best that could have been

devised? Mr. Locke understood the science of government much better than Mr. Wesley: though the latter had the benefit of the writings of the former. Upon the maxim, 'necessity is the mother of invention,' it might be argued that men of the greatest talents for governing would be less apt to invent or make discoveries in the science than others of fewer resources in themselves. I can never be brought to believe that it argues any extraordinary sagacity in men to take for themselves and their successors as much power to do good as is possible, without any regard to the power which it would give them to do evil. Nothing is more evident than that this latter object never entered into the plans of our predecessors. To this day it makes no part of our discipline. Travelling preachers have no check from anybody but themselves." Again, "No period of the same duration in the history of any Church exhibits such a jumble of powers as ours did from 1784 to 1792."

In November, 1788, Asbury is down upon the Eastern Shore of Maryland. He is harassed with thoughts of fire at the college. He visits it and finds that a report to that effect is true: "an attempt had been made to burn the college." He is down in Virginia, in North Carolina, and in Charleston, S. C. He was expecting to meet Dr. Coke, as it was found when the thread of history disclosed his departure for Charleston from Barbadoes. He held the Conference and rode out into the country. "We were out of bread at P——'s, and we found our own stores of use. We had to send one of our weary horses eight miles to fetch the flour from the mill. Thursday, February 26 — Rode to Brutens and enjoyed uncommon happiness in God. Some time in the night Dr. Coke came in. He had landed in Charleston about three hours after I left the city; the next day he and myself both spoke at Ridgell's." They travelled and preached together until they reached Grant's in Georgia, where the first Conference for the year was held March 9, 1789. Asbury names an important item of business: "On Thursday we appointed a committee to procure five hundred acres of ground for the establishment of a school in the state of Georgia. Conference being ended, we directed our hasty steps back to Charleston. . . . Sunday, 15th — We reached the city, having ridden about two hundred miles in about five days and two hours. Here I received a *bitter pill* from one of my greatest friends. Praise the Lord for my trials also — may they all be sanctified!" The italics are his own.

A new paragraph is needed for an answer to the question, What

was this bitter pill he received? Preliminary, C. S. Nutter, to whom the Church is indebted for reprints of a number of the earliest Minutes and Disciplines, says in a preface to that of 1788, the changes of which are noted in the last chapter, "All efforts to find a copy of the third edition of the discipline, that of 1787, have failed; *it is, however, contained in this edition.*" Then, after giving internal evidence of its truth, he says, "From these data we infer that the edition of 1787 was nearly, if not exactly, the same as this [that of 1788], to the end of the thirty-first section." It of course included the historical changes as to the origin of the Church Asbury introduced, as well as the substitution of the term bishop for superintendent. The Minutes and the Discipline had no doubt reached Wesley some time during the last half of 1787 or the first half of 1788. It is not supposable that Asbury sent them to him—their personal relations at this particular period were far from amicable, and the assumptions they contained he must have known would be disapproved by Wesley; but he had correspondents enough in America, and some of them not in accord with Asbury's methods, to furnish the printed and the unprinted doings in America. Speculation as to his reflections on reading them are here indulged. Dr. Coke must also have received the Minutes and the Discipline, but whether synchronously, or whether they had opportunity of conferring over them, cannot be affirmed. Coke remained in England about a year, or from July, 1787, to August, 1788. Next to Coke, Henry Moore seems to have shared quite fully the confidence of Wesley in these years, and therefore he knew his mind as to these transactions, if any one did. Happily he has furnished some proof of it. He says: "A letter now before me, and which he (Wesley) wrote when I was with him, will clearly show how much he felt that deviation from the simplicity which is in Christ, in those whom he much loved. It was written to Mr. Asbury, and is dated London, September 20, 1788. After speaking of some general subjects, he adds:—

There is, indeed, a wide difference between the relation wherein you stand to the Americans and the relation wherein I stand to *all* the Methodists. You are the elder brother of the American Methodists; I am under God the father of the whole family. Therefore, I naturally care for you all in a manner no other person can do. Therefore, I in a measure provide for you all; for the supplies which Dr. Coke provides for you, he could not provide were it not for me—were it not that I not only permit him to collect, but support him in so doing.

But in one point, my dear brother, I am a little afraid both the doctor and you differ from me. I study to be *little*, you study to be *great*. I creep; you strut along. I found a school; you a college. Nay, and call it after your own names! Oh, beware! Do not seek to be *something*! Let me be nothing, and Christ be all in all.

One instance of this your greatness has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called a *bishop*? I shudder, I start at the very thought. Men may call me a *knave*, or a *fool*, a *rascal*, a *scoundrel*, and I am content; but they shall never by my consent call me a *bishop*! For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this! Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better.

Thus, my dear Franky, I have told you all that is in my heart; and let this, when I am no more seen, bear witness how sincerely I am your affectionate friend and brother,

JOHN WESLEY.¹

When did Asbury receive this letter? McCaine, referring to the note in Asbury's Journal already quoted, makes the "Query. Could this *bitter pill* be the above letter?" A little investigation will make it morally certain. The letter is dated September 20, 1788. Remembering that ship communication with America at this date was not only uncertain, but few and far between, it is not unreasonable to assume that a month intervened before it was posted by ship. Allow a voyage of six weeks, about the average time, to America, and it did not reach New York, or Philadelphia, before the close of November. Now comes its transmission by the slow passenger mail and the slower horseback pouch in the Southern states; the delays of redirection at the several distributing offices as the postal service sent it in search of Asbury, whose particular whereabouts was by no means certain, and three months and a half is not an over-allowance for the distance from, say New York to Charleston, S. C., where it was finally addressed to him, for it was known that he would attend the Charleston Conference set for the 12th of March, 1789. Asbury acknowledged the receipt of the "bitter pill," March 15, 1789. Collaterally, when he heard of the decease of Wesley, two years afterward, he made note in his Journal among phrases of highest compliment, "For myself, notwithstanding my long absence from Mr. Wesley, and a few unpleasant expressions in some of his letters written to me (occasioned by the misrepresentations of others), I feel the stroke most sensibly," etc. Moore takes immediate occasion to correct this impression of Asbury's, "Mr.

¹ "Life of Wesley," Vol. II. pp. 285, 286.

Asbury was, however, mistaken when he supposed that Mr. Wesley was influenced 'by the misrepresentations of others,' and not by the facts stated, when he wrote those letters." And on whatever other letters Moore had his mind, it is clear that he included this one of September 20, 1788, and so far forth it stands as an acknowledgment by Asbury that it had been received; but it is the only one he ever made, and that was covert, as is seen. Too much importance cannot be attached to this letter, despite the futile attempt of Dr. Emory in 1827-30 to minify it, to be noticed later, and of other annalists to the same purpose by sparse citation of it, or suppression of it altogether from their Wesleyan histories and monographs, so that no excuse need be made for a searching investigation into it.

And it is well to start with the fact that its genuineness has never been doubted, much less denied. How did Moore come into its possession? He says he was present when Wesley wrote it. Did he act as amanuensis and make the copy for Wesley? It was Wesley's habit to preserve copies of all important letters, and, knowing how vital it would be as an historical document some time not very distant, did Moore make the third copy for his own use, and is this the one from which he quotes? Or, did Wesley make the copy himself which was preserved among his papers? Moore's "Life" was not published until 1824, or thirty-six years after the letter was written, and yet he gives the Methodist world the first and only knowledge of it. It was not found in Coke's and Moore's "Life of Wesley," published in 1792, and it is not quoted or referred to by Whitehead; Asbury suppressed the original and finally destroyed it, as there was no hint of it among his posthumous papers. It will be remembered that Coke, Moore, and Whitehead were Wesley's literary executors, with authority jointly to publish or burn as they might decide. All the papers were soon thereafter put into Whitehead's hands to write Wesley's life. How did it occur then that he does not include this letter in it, unfriendly as he was known to be to both Coke and Asbury? Was it abstracted before he saw the papers, and by whom? If Coke knew of its existence, he never disclosed it. All these inquiries challenge you and will not down. The conclusion is irresistible: Moore either abstracted it, having access to the papers, or he made a third copy, and suppressed it for thirty-six years, long after all the parties were dead.

The reader is left to surmise the motive — the writer confesses that he cannot, except it be the unparalleled severity of it, and its

disclosures which show both Coke and Asbury in so unenviable a light. Moore gives a reason for revealing the letter even at so late a date: "I have thought it my duty thus to show how invariably Mr. Wesley cherished those principles which so eminently shone in the early period of his Christian course, and which issued in what may be called a hatred of all display, except that of truth, love, and victory over the world; and when the Lord had given him so great a people, and such a number of able coadjutors." He then endeavors to palliate the offence the letter so unsparingly denounces; but in turn he seems to forget that it is to him history is indebted for the kindred information that Wesley had solemnly charged Coke, and Asbury through him, that the prelatical title was not to be taken by either of them. It is plain that this is the gist of the offence. In proof, Jonathan Crowther, an English Wesleyan preacher, has limned the salient temper of Wesley with the brush of a verbal master. "His natural temper was warm and vehement. Religion had done much in correcting this, yet it was visible. Persecution from without he bore without wrath, and apparently almost without feeling. But when he was opposed by his preachers or people, his displeasure was visible. But never did the sun go down upon his wrath, nor did he in this respect give place to the devil; generally it was over almost in a moment: he was easily pacified, and ready to forgive injuries and affronts. It has been said of him, that:—

‘He carried anger as the flint bears fire;
Which, much enforced, shows a hasty spark,
And straight is cold again.’

Of this imperfection, however, he was very sensible, and very readily acknowledged it, and sometimes asked forgiveness in such a spirit of genuine humility, as greatly affected those who witnessed it."¹ This feature from life is so admirably drawn that it has been wrought into the historical compositions of others, and at times without credit. The point of it for present purpose is, that "when he was opposed by his preachers or people, his displeasure was visible," and concurrent testimony is to the same effect.

The letter itself now calls for analysis. The reader has observed that certain words in it are italicized. It is a literal copy from Moore's "Life," and so it must be assumed that the italicized words are made such by Wesley for the stronger emphasis of his vehe-

¹ Crowther's "Portraiture of Wesleyan Methodism," New York, 1813, p. 71.

ment denunciation. How cogently he points out to his insubordinate son Asbury, the difference in their relations to the Methodists, and that whatever advantage he availed himself of from Coke's ordination was due primarily to him. The biting sarcasm of his allusions to the "Cokesbury" College, shows him a master of this style when he felt impelled to employ it. He couples Coke and Asbury together (though Asbury after the college was burned extenuates his connection with it by declaring that he wanted only a school but Coke overruled him for a college, a fact not known perhaps to Wesley) in the guilt of this vainglorious title. But the culmination of his righteous indignation is reached when he comes to the transmutation of his simple Superintendents into Bishops by Asbury's surreptitious act, for it cannot be supposed that he had not been informed by some one or more of the minority who held out against the change of term as made by Asbury in the interval of the Conference, of the method of its introduction and adoption. It is repulsive to an impartial and candid mind to read the wriggling, squirming, twisting attempts of the apologists of Coke and Asbury to explain away the force of these denunciations. They are summed up in the distinction without a difference that the whole of Wesley's objection was to the *name* and not the *fact* as an explanation of the language of a man whose lifelong maxim was, "I dispute not about words."

Dr. Emory, in his "Defence of our Fathers," as to this special matter, tamely glosses it over with the admission that the letter "contains expressions too severe," and deprecates the fact that McCaine, in his "History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy," which Emory essayed to answer, "rejoices over it as one who had found great spoil." No reader not organized to convict on one side of the question will so estimate it. Emory, alluding to that portion of the Wesley letter — "Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better," and which McCaine refers to Coke's admission to Bishop White, but erroneously, brings out its plain meaning; but in so doing handles an edged tool to his own logical damage. Emory explains that Wesley had reference to the fact that the Presbyterians use the terms Elder and Bishop as interchangeable in the New Testament sense as applied to all pastors. Precisely true; but it shows that Wesley will not allow the use of the term even in this sense, inasmuch as you cannot separate the name from the fact of prelacy except to juggle with it to deceive the common people. That greatest philosophical mind of early American Methodism, Nicho-

las Snethen, clearly points out the danger there is in a change of title, and Wesley saw it just as clearly, and no sophistry can refute its truth. Snethen says: "The General Conference (1787) would have done better if they had preserved the title superintendent, as it was in the first edition of the discipline. It bears the same relative meaning to the term bishop that president does to king. King of the United States, with the same limited and restricted functions of office which the President has, could not be borne. The title would spoil the officer and the people. Old prejudices and associations are not to be broken at will. We cannot get rid of them by changing names. I do not hesitate to declare that, if it were in my power, I would change the present titles of office for superintendent—thus, superintendent of circuits and stations, superintendents of districts, and general superintendents. Insignificant as these changes may seem, even with all the present attributes of office attached to them, they would, I have no doubt, contribute much to modify the notions of office among us. *We never think or talk about bishops in common and sober sense. It is a word which inspires submission or resistance. It has been so long flattered or abused that it cannot be restored to a harmless meaning when applied to a living officer.*" The italics have been supplied for the purpose of emphasizing this portion as a sweeping and irresistible answer to all quibbles and extenuations and pretences and sophistries as to this substitution of Bishop for Superintendent by Asbury.

There can be no doubt that Asbury made the change because he wished to augment authority by its use. He made no mistake—it has subserved this very purpose, as the future will demonstrate. The whole question will be exhaustively treated under the McCaine-Emory controversy, though the gist of it is thus succinctly presented aside from the mass of literature extant upon the subject. The concluding paragraph of the letter seems dewed with tears of the good old man, now in his eighty-fifth year: "Thus, my dear Franky, I have told you all that is in my heart; and let this, when I am no more seen, bear witness how sincerely I am your affectionate friend and brother, John Wesley." It was his familiar, paternal style. A letter sent to William Black, missionary, and superintendent afterward for the British dominions, a year before, is subscribed "Dear Billy." The letter was written according to a well-known rule he had adopted through life: "Tell every one what you think of him, and that plainly, else it will fester in your heart. Make all haste to cast the fire

out of your bosom." The concluding paragraph is tenderly pathetic. He wishes the letter to stand as a witness of his true friendship for Asbury. The reader will marvel how he could suppress and destroy it; and how Moore, who held the only other copy, could conceal it for thirty-six years. It is mildness itself to declare that this was a part of the Wesley-Coke-Asbury proceedings, "questionable and unwarrantable." Let the painful subject be dismissed.

Asbury and Coke travelled together and slept together for the next three months, but there is no hint that the former ever named to the latter the Wesley letter, or, if he did, they agreed together, to use a choice word of Asbury, as to other questionable conduct of his, to be "mute" about it. They visited together the eleven Conferences of this year, extending in a chain from Georgia to New York. Lee says, "Several of these Conferences were within thirty or forty miles of each other, which was pretty generally disliked; but at that time the bishop had the right of appointing as many Conferences as he thought proper, and at such times and places as he thought best." The ruling practical reason probably was that it saved both time and expense to the preachers; and the prudential one probably was that it secured despatch of business and kept the preachers from concentrating and criticising the methods of the Bishops. There was much difference of opinion, and not a little opposition, now that the bud of Episcopacy was nearly full blown. They discovered that voting, introduced by Asbury in 1784, if tradition be true, for his own establishment in the Primacy, is now discarded by him. He wishes no more advice in the way of suffrage—it is found by him inconvenient. And then he was justified because it was Wesley's way. Indeed, as has been found, when Coke made his former visit, in 1787, he brought instructions from Wesley, already quoted: "Put as few things as possible to vote. If you [Dr. Coke], brother Asbury, and brother Whatcoat are agreed, it is sufficient." It stands, also, as a tacit protest against the voting in 1784, for Wesley "gave his sanction to none of those things."

Both Asbury's and Coke's account of their travels depict hardships almost incredible in the American wilderness of the South; but their hearts were cheered everywhere with the news of remarkable revivals of great power. Fourteen new circuits and stations were added; forty-five young preachers received: for the itinerancy had a certain romantic charm and offered a vent for the burning zeal of these new converts. There was a net increase

of 5911 and a total of over 43,000, the vast majority, as in the past, in the South. The six months' probationary rule was enacted in 1788, and has continued to this day in the Methodist Episcopal Church, but was abolished in the Church South in 1866. It was found that in this year the qualifications as to Coke (when present in the United States) were dropped, as a step of Asbury's toward his conciliation and that of his preacher friends in the Conference. And now it appears that a farther concession was made, in 1789, perhaps to mollify, if possible, Wesley, of whose treatment there began to be loud complaint; so the minutes were changed again, and the following is the remarkable record: "*Q.* Who are the persons that exercise the Episcopal office in the Methodist Church in Europe and America? *A.* John Wesley, Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, by regular order and succession." Here is an asterisk and a foot-note, "See the fourth section of the fifth edition of our Form of Discipline." That section disavows apostolical succession as held by high churchmen in England, but there is no evidence that it was appended in this year, while it is morally certain that it was added by Asbury when the minutes from 1775 to 1794 were printed and bound together, in 1795, or at the same time that the explanatory note was added as to Bishop and Superintendent being interchangeable terms and more scriptural, as already demonstrated. The minutes farther say: "*Q.* Who have been elected by the unanimous suffrages of the General Conference to superintend the Methodist connection in America? *A.* Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury."¹ These radical changes, let it be understood first, were the work of Coke and Asbury, and were not submitted to the Conference at all. The preachers came to their knowledge of them when the printed minutes were placed in their hands some months after adjournment. Nothing else has given the apologists of Coke and Asbury so much trouble as these questions and answers, and with good reason.

As to the motive for the changes, Lee confirms the surmise as to it, "As some persons had complained of our receding from a former engagement made by some of our preachers, that, 'during the life of Mr. Wesley in matters belonging to church government they would obey his commands,' and as others had thought that we did not pay as much respect to Mr. Wesley as we ought; the bishops introduced a question in the annual minutes which was as follows," etc.; then he gives question first. "The next ques-

¹ From a copy of this rare volume now before the author.

tion was asked differently from what it had ever been in any of the former minutes, which stands thus," etc., and then he cites the second question. Bangs, taking his cue from Lee, though without acknowledgment, makes a lame effort at a similar explanation, while his comments upon both the questions and answers, specially the "regular order and succession" sentence, show him ill at ease as the truth forced itself upon him; but of which his prejudices forbid the confession: so he straddles the difficulties, "There appears no little ambiguity in this question and answer," followed by a direct charge that Coke and Asbury did not say what they meant, and then proceeds to tell the reader what they did mean.¹ Stevens does not attempt to handle these questions and answers, except to say that it is "ambiguous" and "clumsy," certainly no compliment to the classical learning of Coke and the direct style of Asbury, and dismisses them entirely with a foot-note, "Both Lee and Bangs give the clause I have italicized (regular order and succession), but it is not in the bound reprint of the Minutes. Bangs animadverted cautiously on the peculiar phraseology of the answer."² He either had no knowledge of the printed and bound volume of minutes of 1795, or, purposely ignored it; for it is in this printed and bound volume of the minutes that the "regular order and succession" is found and nowhere else. Reprints after 1795 do not contain it, another evidence of the unwarrantable liberty the Bishops took with the only documents through which the truth of history could be conveyed, and without a parallel in the records of any other Christian Church, that of Rome alone excepted, in which similar changes and suppressions can be found. Let us look closely into it. "By regular order and succession" is found in these questions and answers, changed in order and in phraseology also, for reasons presently to be investigated, in the minutes of 1789, 1790, and in those of 1791; but omitted in those of 1792 and from this date onward. As the minutes were not again reprinted until 1813, and the volume of 1795 had become very scarce and rare³ in the eighteen intervening years, but few of the preachers knew

¹ "History M. E. Church," Vol. I. pp. 279, 280.

² *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 498.

³ Rev. Dr. John Atkinson, author of "Centennial History," writes to me March 22, 1894, "The only copy of the volume of minutes I know printed in 1795, is in the Episcopal Seminary, New York City." The writer has a well-preserved copy from which his citations are made, casually picked up in a second-hand book-store in Washington, D. C., by a friend some years ago. There is a copy in the Baltimore Methodist Historical Library, and Dr. Collins Denny informed me that several copies are preserved at Vanderbilt University Library, Nashville, Tenn.

that such sentences had ever been in the old minutes as inserted by Coke and Asbury, and after 1813, so oblivious had they become of it that, when McCaine exhumed these old records in his investigations into the origin of Methodist Episcopacy, it startled the Church of his day, 1827-30.

These questions and answers after this preliminary examination call for interpretation. "Q. Who are the persons who exercise the Episcopal office in the Methodist Church of Europe and America? A. John Wesley, Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, by regular order and succession." McCaine directed attention to this change of phraseology and stated, "By this answer Mr. Wesley is announced as one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church" by Asbury and Coke — for these questions and answers are evidently their joint work — and that while Asbury had Wesley's letter, the "bitter pill," in his possession, informing him how absolutely he rejected the title for himself and forbade it to any of his "sons in the gospel," and specifically, Coke and Asbury. McCaine's averment is based upon the fact that there is no difference between the "Episcopal office" and "bishop." The only attempt ever made to show a difference was by Dr. Emory, who made the quibbling answer: "this is not correct [enumerating Wesley as one of the bishops]. They did enter him as exercising 'the Episcopal office,' but they did not entitle him bishop. The former was not offensive to him. He well knew the distinction between the *title* and the *office*. The latter he did exercise and asserted his right to exercise it;" and then he crawled and beclouded the water by citing Wesley's declaration: "I firmly believe that I am a scriptural *Episcopos* as much as any man in England or in Europe. For the *uninterrupted succession* I know to be a fable which no man ever did or can prove." But did Wesley mean that he had, therefore, a right to create an *order* or an *office* superior to his own, as a Presbyter of the Church of England? No sane or honest man will so affirm, though the literature of this controversy is full of it; and if not, then there could be no difference in Wesley's mind between the Episcopal office and the order of Bishop. And the farther puerility of Emory that these Minutes, so worded afterward, came under Wesley's notice and "this gave him no offense." How does he know it did not? There was only one way — by some written word or spoken utterance of Wesley's to that effect. Not a shadow of such a thing can be produced, while there is abundant collateral evidence that he was not conciliated by this substitution of Episcopal office for his

own chosen designation, Superintendent. Why then did Asbury and Coke, when they printed the minutes of 1789, make this substitution? The hint has been disclosed. Coke knew that the title of Bishop was most offensive to Wesley, for he had solemnly charged that it was not to be taken when he reached America, while Asbury held Wesley's letter just received, denouncing them both for this violation of trust. Asbury, if not Coke, had escaped the "rusty fetters" of apostolical succession, but as intimated not far back, he had also reached the conclusion that he was in some well-defined sense an Apostle himself, and these questions and answers, as formulated for the minutes of 1789, were intended to express the new Methodist Succession. And to give it a legitimate beginning, it was found expedient for this reason; and it might reconcile Wesley to restore his name to the minutes as the first link in the new succession; and as McCaine nervously phrases it, "His name was placed at the head of the American minutes as one of their bishops," but under the evasive title "the Episcopal office." This view of its intention makes the whole record consistent, and suggests the need of the qualification "in regular order and succession." The foot-note already cited, although not inserted until 1795, only confirms the view that it was not the Church of England's uninterrupted succession, but the new Methodist Succession in regular order. How? Wesley — Coke — Asbury. Dr. Emory himself unwittingly adds his testimony. Some writer during the controversy of 1827-30 had seized upon the words "regular order and succession" as proof that the old succession was thereby claimed; and there would have been some pretence for this construction eight or ten years earlier when Asbury was an uninterrupted successionist; but later reading of church history, out of the ruts of Potter, had modified his views, so Emory is correct when he says, "The intention was simply to acknowledge Mr. Wesley's *precedence*. To guard against any other construction a *note* was added to that observation of the minutes, referring to another place, in which the idea of the fabulous apostolical succession is expressly resisted by the bishops themselves." Henry Boehm plainly shows that this new Methodist Succession grew in favor as the years ran by. Writing of the Conference of 1803 he says: "I was ordained a deacon at this Conference, and took the solemn vows of God upon me. I was in the regular succession, for I was ordained by Richard Whatecoat, who was ordained by Wesley."

¹ "Reminiscences," p. 90.

The new Methodist succession as an order grew and consolidated, and finally, in 1844, indirectly became the occasion of the disruption of the Church, the absence of a lay element equal in strength with the ministry being the proximate cause, as it made the division possible. As early as 1792, Rev. Thomas Morrell, in the General Conference, held the third-order theory in reply to Hammett: "Distinct ordination proves a different degree of order." In 1796 it cropped out again in solving the question: Should Coke succeed Asbury in the event of the latter's death; and Coke was asked at this Conference if he would accept it, that there might be a succession from Wesley; he answered affirmatively, whereupon Asbury, in the open Conference, stretched out his right hand to him, Phoebus says in his "Memoirs of Whatcoat," in token of reconciliation, and the Doctor took his right hand in token of submission, and there were "tears of joy to see the happy union in the heads of department, and from a prospect of the Wesleyan Episcopacy being likely to continue in regular order and succession." The same writer says that Whatcoat, when ordained bishop in 1800, "esteemed it not as an office taken at pleasure, but an order of God." Within a year after Whatcoat's ordination as bishop, Asbury wrote in his Journal, quoted in full earlier in this History, that there "could not be a perfect equality between a constant President and those over whom he was called to preside." Atkinson says, "That this high view of the Episcopate was shared by Asbury there seems little reason to doubt." The evidence submitted is in demonstration that he not only shared in it, but originated it, with Coke's connivance. Five years afterward he distinctly gave in his Journal the genealogy of this new succession of Bishops. This also has been already cited in the full text of it. It was generally accepted, at least by such leading preachers as lived in expectation that they might reach the honor. In 1827, the editor of the *Methodist Magazine*, Dr. John Emory, wrote, "At the same time that our Church does not subscribe to the *essentiality* of this order of ministers [bishops], it certainly recognizes it as superior to and different from the office of elder." So it continued until the General Conference of 1844,¹ — when the case of Bishop Andrews made it

¹ It is remarkable evidence of the wonderful forecast of both McCaine and Snethen that each predicted as a direct result of the Episcopacy of Asbury this disastrous division of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as well as other contentions and schisms. McCaine says in his "History and Mystery," p. 62, speaking

expedient that the high ground should be modified, and brought into accord with the action of the several General Conferences from 1796—which held that the Superintendent was subject to suspension or deposition from office at its will. But after the occasion had been served by this modification of opinion by the leaders, it was revived.

There is in human nature a constant hankering after the honors of hierarchal antichrist, and it plagued the aspirants in the Methodist Episcopal Church, so that as late as July, 1871, Dr. Whedon, editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, took the high prerogative view with a seeming earnestness that started an alarm among the rank and file of the preachers. The *Review* held to such sophistical language as the following: "The office conferred upon Dr. Coke had all the attributes ascribed to an order; namely, ordination, life tenure, and successional permanence in the future." And again, "Are not our Bishops consecrated by the most solemn of the three ordinations? How can there be an ordination, if not to an order?" Well might such views excite alarm. Even Dr. Stevens, from whom better things might have been expected, in his elaborate defence of the Episcopacy of Asbury, says, "And if he did ordain Coke, it may again be asked, as Coke was already a presbyter, to what was he thus ordained, if it was not to the only remaining office,—the episcopacy?" But that was more than thirty years ago, while he was a young man alive to preferment, and had not yet felt the touch of the Episcopal Ithuriel spear for too much independence of opinion as a Church official. Later than any of these, Rev. Dr. Miley of that Church has maintained publicly the third-order view. The remarkable fact remains that the General Conferences themselves, penetrating the thin disguise and lordly pretence, have always opportunely clipped the wings of these high flyers, whether in or

of the Episcopacy: "But as we believe it has been, and ever will be, productive of evil, we think it ought to be abolished. That it has been an apple of discord, engendering strife and contention, we think is quite clear. And that it will ultimately be the means of severing the connection is, in our judgment, beyond a doubt." Snethen, in the "Mutual Rights," Vol. I., 1825, p. 261, says on the same subject: "Their property and power were feared, and as was the fear, so was the flattery. Some of our bishops, we perceive, will be much flattered to the south and west of the Susquehanna, and much and deservedly loved, too. But it does not now seem probable that they will receive such eulogy from the north and east. If this shall prove to be the fact, will not the limits of their praise be the limits within which their power will be feared? We beg that these remarks may be attended to, and carefully kept in mind. These are the data on which we have predicated the separation of the north and east from the south and west."

out of the bishopric, and vetoed the claim, just as Wesley ignored the action of the Christmas Conference, and at least made tentative efforts to control his American superintendents down to his decease, as though such action was null and void; and so it was in Wesley's esteem. Finally, the General Conference of 1884 put an extinguisher on it by a rebellious rush at it, initiated by Rev. Dr. Neely of the Philadelphia Conference, a conference of "Radicals" in its lay membership almost in mass, and of the preachers as respecting their Christian manhood against all encroachments of the Episcopacy. The leaven dates back to 1820, from Ezekiel Cooper, William S. Stockton, and other staunch Reformers. The following resolution was passed by a large majority in 1884, "Resolved, that we reaffirm the doctrine of the fathers of our Church, that the Bishopric is not an order, but an office; and that in orders a Bishop is merely an Elder, or Presbyter." Dr. Curry, alert and favoring it, at once supplemented it by another resolution which almost unanimously prevailed, "Resolved, that these words be inserted at the beginning of the ritual for the consecration of Bishops (this service is not to be understood as an ordination to a higher Order in the Christian Ministry, beyond and above that of Elders, or Presbyters, but a solemn and fitting Consecration for the special and most sacred duties of Superintendency in the Church)." Thus, precisely one hundred years after the Christmas Conference, Wesley's simple intent is acknowledged; but what controversy, strife, ambition, lording it over God's heritage, political scheming, and final rending of the Church in twain, the Asburyan assumptions have cost the denomination! The theory is, perhaps, at last settled for the Church North, but the law-structure as to the Episcopacy remains largely unamenable, making abuse possible and redress difficult, of which ever recurring instances keep the thoughtful preachers on the rack as to what else must be done to keep, not so much any longer the office, but the officer, under limitations. Admission has already been offered that it has made, next to the Popedom, the strongest, and so far as strength alone makes efficiency, the most efficient church government in Christendom; but the exception inheres that a government that is so strong as to nullify the manhood of its adherents is too strong for the submission of self-respecting men. The primary question under consideration led to this trend, and it is followed historically to this disposal.

Returning to the averment of McCaine that the question of

1789 made Wesley the first of the Methodist Bishops, the opinion receives trenchant support from Tyerman, representing the traditional view of it as held by Wesleyan preachers, and showing that Dr. Emory's quibble affirming a difference between the "Episcopal office" and the "Bishop" was rejected by the common sense of the English Methodists. After quoting the question of 1789, Tyerman says: "This grandiloquent parade of office must not be ascribed to Wesley. He never sanctioned it; he positively condemned it. Besides, even allowing that Coke and Asbury had a right to designate themselves bishops of the Methodist churches in America, what was their authority for pronouncing Wesley the bishop of the Methodist Church of Europe? They had none. It was an unwarrantable liberty taken with the name of a venerable man, who had censured the use of such an appellation, and whose humility and modesty Coke would have been none the worse for copying. As it was, Wesley was held up to ridicule and made to suffer, on account of the episcopal ambition of his friends."¹

Let this dismiss for the time the unsavory business, except to cite the second question allied to the first in the Discipline of 1789. "Q. Who have been elected by the unanimous suffrages of the General Conference to superintend the Methodist connection in America? A. Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury." The phrasing is wonderful: that Asbury should make a parade of "elected by the unanimous suffrage," at the very time he was now scheming to do away with the last vestige of it in the "Council" which he set on foot only a few months after these minutes came from the press. And the modesty of it passes belief: "to superintend"—no longer a "bishop" for a purpose—"the Methodist connection in America,"—no longer the "Methodist Episcopal Church in America." And poor, vain, supercilious, yet cringing Dr. Coke is quite overborne because his name is once more coupled with Asbury's. He is now ready to do his bidding, and talked so freely of his exploits that the chagrined and disappointed Wesley lost patience with him in his efforts to bring about the same state of things in England. Pawson says in reference to the English ordinations: "A few months before his death, he was so annoyed by Dr. Coke's conduct in persuading the people to depart from the original plan, that he threatened in a letter to have no more to do with him unless he desisted from such a course." However Asbury's essay

¹ "Life of Wesley," Vol. III. p. 437.

to conciliate Coke had succeeded by these questions and answers in 1789, Wesley was not influenced by them. As a Christian gentleman he did not refuse answers to Asbury's letters; for, though some of them have been quoted to show how irenic must have been their relations, not a line has ever been produced indicating that he gave counsel for the organization of an Independent Church, or that he recommended the Episcopal form of government for it, or that he ever recognized the Christmas Conference, even to pen the title of Asbury's Church, or in any way to countenance the separation from him and the Church of England to the day of his death. He treated the whole business with silent repudiation, having better things to employ his time than in unavailing remonstrance. Once only was he exasperated into breaking that silence, but then it was to the purpose in the letter to Asbury of September 20, 1788.

Thus the negative evidence is complete, while the positive is cumulative and equally decisive. During this very year 1789, and onward to his death, Wesley publicly repented of his ordinations for America, and wherefore? His whole object had been abused and perverted by Coke and Asbury, for if in anything they had carried out his intent there would have been no occasion for his bitter regrets. One of these parties, Dr. Coke himself, is witness, though unwittingly. In his letter to Bishop White in 1791, he says: "He [Wesley] went farther, I am sure, than he would have done [the ordinations], if he had foreseen some events that followed. And this I am certain of—that he is now sorry for the separation." Another unimpeachable witness is Rev. James Creighton, who took part at Wesley's request in the ordinations, replying to a pamphlet of Samuel Bradburn's published in 1793, says with emphasis: "I must take the liberty publicly to contradict you [Bradburn had denied that Wesley ever expressed regrets]. He did repent of it [ordinations], and with *tears* in his eyes expressed his sorrow both in public and private." Again he says: "He likewise expressed his sorrow respecting this matter at Leeds Conference, in 1789, and occasionally afterward in London, until his death."¹ McCaine, quoting the reply of Creighton, from the pamphlet itself apparently, gives page 13 for these remarks. Tyerman quotes the same.² The Leeds Conference of 1789, referred to by Creighton, was attended by Dr. Coke, having just returned from America, bringing with him no doubt copies of the minutes with the questions and answers designed to placate the

¹ "History and Mystery," p. 85.

² "Life of Wesley," Vol. III. p. 441.

disowned Wesley. Coke, fertile of tongue and adroit in method, laid it before him with his explanations and glosses, and it would be a mine of conversational and diplomatic richness if it could be opened. Wesley, with his usual reticence about American affairs, makes no mention at all, except to note the presence of Dr. Coke on the Sabbath preceding the Leeds Conference: "I preached, and, with Dr. Coke's assistance, administered the sacrament to eleven or twelve hundred communicants."¹ The further proceedings of the American Conference of 1789 and the pregnant events that followed it must be deferred to another chapter.

¹ "Journal," Vol. II. p. 726.

CHAPTER XXIX

Lee on the state of the societies — Asbury's method of holding many conferences each year; its object; opposition to it led to the "Council" plan — The fullest account of it ever printed; O'Kelly's connection therewith and after opposition — Asbury's "negative"; end of the Council — Dickins and the Book Concern — Trial of members modified — Revivals — Asbury's travels and broken health — Lee's account of the Council — Imputations on O'Kelly's motives — Bangs and Stevens apologetic of the Council — The term "presiding elder"; when first used.

LEE is quite accurate and also supplies the facts as to the proceedings of the Baltimore Conference of 1789 (virtually the only legislative Conference of the eleven held this year for reasons already descanted upon in these pages) more fully than others, being not only present, but stationed in Baltimore. He notices the changes made in the mode of trial of private members for improper conduct, also the six months' probation, and the proposal of the "bishops" for a new plan for directing the preachers' letters, as Bishop, Elder, Deacon, or Preacher. He also declares "in the course of this year religion was pretty lively and prosperous in our societies, and in some places it was very remarkable," and gives some thrilling instances. He makes note of his transfer to New England; the inauguration of Methodism by him in that section with a success as great as the hinderances were formidable; the "first meeting-house ever built in that section, near the upper edge of Stratfield, and is now called Lee's Chapel." These itinerants were in their glory when revivals flamed and the ark of God went forward. They revelled in it, while the sufferings and deprivations only added zest to the work.

The method of Asbury of holding a dozen or more conferences each year, Lee declares "was pretty generally disliked." Asbury himself, blind to his assumptions of power, thought of nothing, perhaps, but the prudential advantages of it; it saved travel, time, and expense to the preachers, and it rid him of the trouble of their concentration when they were sure to assert their Christian manhood at times, and criticise the methods of their beloved but not infallible chief. It was so much easier to assign them to their

posts besides, a few days' talk together and he read them out, his saddled horse near by, which he incontinently mounted and was off before even complaint could reach his ears, and then at Baltimore the whole Plan of Appointments was finally settled by him and published in the minutes. These preachers — some of whom in person, or in that of their fathers, were in the Revolutionary struggle for liberty, which meant the overthrow of the principle, which England had endeavored to fasten upon the colonists (of Passive obedience and Non-resistance) — could not but contrast their new-found freedom in the State with this absolute subjection to the will of one man in the Church, so the murmur, if low, was deep and full of meaning. It was not much they modestly asked; only that they might all meet together once a year, or at least to be accorded the privilege, if not always availed of, in a General Conference.

But history only repeated itself in the manner Asbury met it. The autocratic mind is not warned while the storm only mutters. It has clear ideas of what is best for the underlings. The very segregation complained of, is intensified as a remedy for disaffection. There is an age-old story of the Israelites in Egypt. When they murmured that their task was too hard, the masters reported, and from the reigning Pharaoh came the interpretation, "Ye are idle," and the mandate went forth: not the tale of bricks only but they must now find their own straw. How did the American Bishop propose to manage it — after much prayer and reflection it must be assumed? Let Lee tell; for he knew more about it than others except O'Kelly, and his story does not give the text, but is rich as to the manipulation of the plan. "At these Conferences in 1789, a plan was laid for the holding of a *Council*. The Bishops said they had made it a matter of prayer; and they believed the present plan was the best they could think of. After some opposition had been made to the plan, and there had been much debating about it, a majority of the preachers agreed to the following plan, which was published in the minutes." It will be remembered that Coke and Asbury travelled together from Charleston in March, to Baltimore in May, and they were together at the Conferences. It was Asbury's plan, this is not disputed, and it was opened to the preachers from Conference to Conference, Coke, no doubt, furthering it; for he was now in a personal presence that had become awesome to him. To eat and sleep and travel with Asbury was to feel the strange magnetism of his reverent behavior, his persuasive logic, his unquestioned

sincerity, and his dominating will. All great leaders have this spell about them, and he was one of the greatest of great men in his sphere in the world's history. At each Conference there was opposition, and some debating despite the presence of two Bishops advocating it, and when it is summed up a "majority" only agree. The moral courage of the dissenters is something to admire in those times, and evidently from the sequel they were not few and embraced among them a number of the leaders in several of the Conference groups. Not a few of them, if they did not openly aver it, asked among themselves: Is this what we have gained by our barter in 1784, and 1787, of Wesley for Asbury? The Episcopacy was bursting into full flower. They were having time to repent of the unseemly haste of 1784, and the change of masters in 1787. What was it to which the "majority agreed"? Did they vote? If so, it was the last time any of them were to vote, with a meaning in it. Thus it is writ in the minutes:—

"Q. Whereas the holding of general conferences on this extensive continent would be attended with a variety of difficulties and many inconveniences to the work of God; and whereas we judge it expedient that a council should be formed of chosen men out of the several districts, as representatives of the connection, to meet at stated times; in what manner is this council to be formed, what shall be its powers, and what further regulations shall be made concerning it? A. 1st. Our bishops and presiding elders shall be members of this council; provided that the members who form the council be never fewer than nine. And if any unavoidable circumstance prevent the attendance of a presiding elder at the council, he shall have authority to send another elder out of his own district to represent him; but the elder so sent by the absenting presiding elder shall have no seat in the council without the approbation of the bishop or bishops, and presiding elders present. And, if after the above mentioned provisions are complied with, any unavoidable circumstance, or any contingency reduce the number to less than nine the bishop shall immediately summon such elders as do not preside to complete the number. 2d. These shall have power to mature everything they shall judge expedient. (1) To preserve the general union: (2) to render and preserve the external form of worship similar in all our societies through the continent: (3) To preserve the essentials of the Methodist doctrines and discipline pure and uncorrupted: and lastly, they are authorized to mature everything they may see necessary for the good of the Church, and for

the promoting and improving our colleges, and plan of education. 3d. Provided, nevertheless, that nothing shall be received as the resolution of the council, unless it be assented to unanimously by the council; and nothing so assented to by the council shall be binding in any district till it has been agreed upon by a majority of the Conference which is held in that district. 4th. The bishops shall have authority to summon the council to meet at such times and places as they shall judge expedient. 5th. The first council shall be held at Cokesbury, on the first day of next December."

The plan in its sequence of events, and its lack of rhetorical finish, betrays the hand of Asbury alone; there is nothing of the classical touch of Coke's pen in it, though he fully indorsed it at the Conferences. Lee was suspicious of it, and looked at it askance. He further says: "This plan for having a council was entirely new, and exceedingly dangerous. A majority of the preachers voted in favor of it, but were soon sensible that the plan would not answer the purpose for which it was intended. The council was to be composed of the bishops and the presiding elders; the presiding elders were appointed, changed, and put out of office by the bishop, and just when he pleased; of course the whole of the council was to consist of the bishops, and a few other men of their own choice or appointing." In this he touches the very marrow of the plan, and it is wonderful that he does not seem to see also that this is the genius of the system the Christmas Conference imposed upon itself. The bishop is in supreme control, and all the verbiage about checks, here and there, and references to the Conferences mean nothing as such. He also saw a dangerous provision in the third clause, and says: "This I saw clearly when the plan was first proposed; and to which I then objected." The first Council met in Baltimore instead of at Cokesbury, and Lee gives the proceedings in full, but they need not be reproduced, except in the salient portions.

"The Proceedings of the Bishop and Presiding Elders of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in Council assembled, at Baltimore, on the first day of December, 1789." "The following members which formed the Council were present: Francis Asbury, Bishop, Richard Ivy, Reuben Ellis, Edward Morris, James O'Kelly, Philip Bruce, Lemuel Green, Nelson Reed, Joseph Everett, John Dickins, James O. Cromwell, Freeborn Garrettson." An examination of the minutes of this year shows that these were all the Presiding Elders, except John Tunnell, who was absent, probably

on account of ill-health, as he was consumptive; Richard Whatcoat was absent, but Everett, being on the same district with him as co-elder, took his place. Lemuel Green also took the place of Henry Willis as a co-elder, and Francis Poythress was also absent. They spent an hour in prayer and then went to business. Two things only need be noted, that deacons were put upon a three years' probation before they could be ordained elders, and when the plan as passed by the Conference was read in the Council, it was found that the item objected to by Lee was changed, probably by Asbury himself; for the Bishop in that day did anything he wished to do, or thought best, so that, Lee says, "If a majority of the preachers in the different districts should approve the proceedings of the Council, it should then be binding on every preacher in each district, instead of a majority in every district." Lee quaintly says that he gives the minutes in full "that the reason may be known why it [the Council] was opposed, and why it was so soon given up, and rejected both by the Methodist preachers and people." He also tells, in unwitting confirmation of the surmise of these pages, that the object of the Council in its secret purpose was to substitute the assembling of the preachers, and so thwart any plans they might concoct in opposition to the Episcopacy. "The number of conferences was increased, so that but a small number of the preachers could collect at one place. There were fourteen conferences appointed for the next year (1790)."¹

Now cull from O'Kelly's "Apology" some of the unpublished proceedings in and out of the first Council. He says (the reader will make some allowance for the lapse of memory, perhaps, in some things, and the fiery blood of this pious and able Irish-American), "Francis refused two worthy ministers a seat in Council, in his absolute manner, without rendering any reason for so doing." Who were they? It is unknown. He says of the plan as Asbury unfolded it, "a few sentences at a time": "I confess that on one side it discovers weakness, and on the other hand policy. But as we were men under authority, we feared to offend our superior. He would often pray that God would deliver the preachers from the curse of suspicion. This prayer had the desired effect on some of us. . . . However, I told Francis that, instead of counsellors, we were his tools, and that I disliked to be a tool to any man." After the Council O'Kelly and Edward Morris travelled homeward together, and made critical examina-

¹ Lee's "History," pp. 149-160.

tion of the plan. "In observing the contents, we discovered a new constitution of a very despotic nature. Nine men could act as the legislature, but the Bishop had the negative on the Council for time to come. Edward signified to me that he would not travel under such a government, and went straightway and married a virtuous damsel, and located himself as others have also done."

O'Kelly now attempted to beard the lion, and wrote Asbury a letter, of which he gives a glimpse: "Brother, you know our infant state, grant us one year to consider the matter coming before us. Or, if you refuse this, take away your negative—and if you refuse, 'I shall as a duty I owe to the Church use mine influence,' etc." "Francis received my letter by the hand of the messenger, but he utterly refused to comply with my request. He answered me after this manner—'Thy letter greatly alarmed me, but pray who boldly demands my negative? My negative is my own. I never have received such a check from any preacher in America.'" Had the Council plan as presented to the Conferences expressly or by implication given him a negative? It had not, it would have been equivalent to its rejection even by these subservient preachers; but no sooner had it assembled than Asbury asserted his negative on any proceedings that did not please him. Whence its source then? Far back in 1777, when the little group of preachers he called together to circumvent the Fluvanna brethren agreed that he should have a virtual negative, and he never surrendered it to the day of his death.

The next year Asbury modified the plan and carried it with him to the Conferences for approval. When he reached that at Petersburg, Va., it was submitted, and O'Kelly says, "I easily discovered that in every alteration he took care to secure his power." A private caucus of the preachers was held, "and we all the next morning came before the president, in number about twenty-one, if I remember right. The president proposed it as above stated, and we all (except two) with one voice rejected it altogether. Then answered Francis and said, 'ye have all spoken out of one mouth.' Henceforth 'ye are all out of the union.' Then as one in distress he gathered up his papers; so ended the Conference without prayer. . . . The young ministers wept. I was struck with astonishment to find that we were all expelled the union, by the arbitrary voice of one man; for no offence but voting according to our own matured judgment! We could have appealed to the people of our care, and produced our godly char-

acter, but ah, no! the people have no power to help themselves! Now I began to see!" O'Kelly proposed the call of a convention, two from each district, but Asbury would not hear to it. O'Kelly proposed that he should be allowed to visit and submit his arguments to the northern Conferences, but Asbury rejected this also. O'Kelly concludes: "The interpretation is this; nineteen ministers, I believe called and approved of by God, and beloved by the people, were expelled the union of the Church, containing sixty or seventy thousand souls, by the voice of Francis. Is the like of this to be found in the annals of history? Should it be said that our expulsion was a natural consequence, or result of our rejecting the government which others had adopted; I would observe that only a minority had received it at the time." There is no escaping the logical cogency of these forceful words. Again, as in the case of the Fluvanna brethren, the bit was between his teeth. Before Asbury left them O'Kelly reports that the young ministers said to him, "What shall we do, and what will become of this district?" Asbury answered, "If you will agree that I shall be your bishop, I will station you in this district on the old plan. They accepted his offer, and the district was committed to their care: but no regard was paid to O'Kelly."¹ When the minutes were printed, however, Asbury's vehement displeasure had subsided, and O'Kelly was recognized as presiding elder and the preachers of his district named as usual.

Asbury in his Journal notes upon the first Council says, "All our business was done in love and unanimity." It was the surface indication. Under arbitrary systems silence is construed as giving consent. As dissent is neither courted nor allowed, it seldom exhibits. It was early in January, 1790, that Asbury received the letter O'Kelly had written him as already found, and quotation is given of what he says in his Journal, confirming the statements of O'Kelly, and in proof of his general reliability, though not always fully informed and at times biassed by his prejudices. "I received a letter from the presiding elder of this district, James O'Kelly: he makes heavy complaints of my power, and bids me stop for one year, or he must use his influence against me. Power! power! there is not a vote given in a conference in which the presiding elder has not greatly the advantage of me; all the influence I am to gain over a company of young men in a district must be done in three weeks; the greater part of them, perhaps, are seen by me only at conference, whilst

¹ O'Kelly, "Apology," pp. 10-16.

the presiding elder has had them with him all the year, and has the greatest opportunity of gaining influence; this advantage may be abused; let the bishops look to it: but who has the power to lay an embargo on me, and to make of non-effect the decision of all the conferences of the union?"¹ This deliverance deserves analysis, for the philosophical reflections it suggests and for matter of fact correction. It shows how the autocratic mind frames its excuses. He keeps out of sight the fact that the presiding elder is absolutely the creature of his will, and that every preacher under him is on the point of his pen for assignment. O'Kelly did not attempt to make of "non-effect the decision of all the conferences of the union." But three of the twelve had been held when O'Kelly made his protests at Petersburg and was sustained by the preachers. What is particularly noteworthy is this, "This advantage may be abused; let the bishops look to it." He took care to do so, by making the next Council more unamenable than the first.

The minutes of 1789 were famous not only for the transactions already noted, but for the record—"Philadelphia, John Dickins, Book steward." He was born and it seems well educated in the city of London, came to America before the Revolution, and about 1774 was converted and entered upon an active ministerial career in 1777. In 1778-79 he shared the leadership of Methodism with Gatch, and was easily the best debater, as is evident from showings already made of his successful controversial bout with Asbury, in defence of the action of the Fluvanna brethren in forming a Presbytery and ordaining the preachers, as well as in laying the superstructure of a Presbyterian polity for the Methodist societies while Asbury was in duress in Delaware in 1777-78 and part of 1779. What considerations afterward induced him to change his mind is open to conjecture. What is known is that in 1780 he had some throat trouble and spoke with difficulty. He came under the more direct influence of Asbury, who sent him to Philadelphia, where he once more entered upon active work, and initiated the book business, exhibiting ability in the management of temporalities. In his pastoral relation he raised the feeble society in that city to strength and influence, and himself won the confidence of the church leaders. He took an active part in the Christmas Conference, and was ever afterward an ardent friend of Asbury's, who kept him in view for promotion, and, now that everything was ripe for it, appointed him book steward. It

¹ "Journal," Vol. II. p. 69.

is the first of a number of instances to be considered in the progress of this History in which change of sentiment is found to be coincident with promotion, and which induced McCaine in after years to quote against several of his controversial opponents the sentiment: "God forbid that men should not learn while they live, but it is a bad sign when illumination and preferment come together." Dickins had saved six hundred dollars, which he invested in the business, and it was the cash foundation of the Book Concern, which arose from this humble beginning until it represents millions, a vast establishment, and an untold amount of good through its numerous publications. It stands the pride of the Methodist Episcopal Church to-day, but it has not been an unmixed good in that it became a right hand of power to the Episcopacy, and ultimated after the division of the Church in 1844 in a civil suit by the Church South against the Church for a recovery of her equitable share of the property, after all proposals of honorable Christian compromise had been rejected, and in which suit the Supreme Court of the United States, Judge Nelson presiding, gave verdict for the Church South, and in his statement of the genius of the government of the Church sustained all the allegations of earlier Reformers as to its law-structure. That suit stands an indelible disgrace, which time cannot wipe out. Dickins continued in charge of the book business of the Church until 1798, when he peacefully departed this life.¹ The Book Concern stands a monument to his business sagacity and honest management, while his private character and ministerial career are above reproach.

The abuse of the power lodged in the preachers for the expulsion of members had grown to such flagrant proportions that at this Conference a note was added to the minutes qualifying section 32 of the Discipline, but it soon fell into desuetude: "When a member of our society is to be tried for any offence, the officiating minister or preacher is to call together all the members, if the society be small, or a select number, if it be large, to take knowledge, and give advice, and bear witness to the justice of the whole process, that improper and private expulsions may be prevented in the future." Vested authority

¹ The *Arminian Magazine* was issued by him for 1789 and 1790, when it was discontinued. In 1797, by order of the General Conference of 1796, another periodical was published for 1797 and 1798, or down to the death of Dickins. His successor as book steward, Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, discontinued it when he took charge at the close of the volume for 1798. Rev. Dr. John Atkinson has complete files of them.

encourages administrative abuse under a hierarchy. The bishop ruled supreme over all the orders below him; the elders over the preachers, and preachers over the people. That there should be exaggerations of discipline, errors of judgment, sometimes passion and oftener prejudice as elements in such administration, all history proves. Those inferior in authority learned of their superiors. Stripling preachers took the short cut to the settlement of local church feuds by expelling, by simple announcement from the pulpit, whole classes, tearing up the class-books and reconstructing them. This was the method of Asbury with recalcitrants in the Conferences; witness Fluvanna and Petersburg; and those below him were not slow for a purpose to "copy the blot" as well as the writing. The young preachers in their novitiate were put into training, and the lesson set them until they became perfect in it was obedience. Any one of independent turn of mind and the elements in him to make a good presiding elder after a while, if he developed the traits prematurely, was "mounted" by his superior, to use a colloquial phrase of the times, and soon ridden into subjection or run out of the Conference.

Partridge, Bingham, Gill, Cooper, White, and Spry died this year, and from four to six lines are given each as an obituary in the minutes. This is all to remember them here, for their graves are unknown, but their "record is on high."

1789-90 were years of unwonted revivals. Except where Whitefield had touched the continent and some of the early Princeton College divines had stirred communities, evangelical religion was found alone among the Methodists and the Baptists, the latter few in numbers. It was the delight of these young preachers of Methodism to pioneer the country with the Wesleyan doctrines, a recrudescence of Luther's grand exhumation of Scripture truth, "justification by faith," with an attending experience, the witness of the spirit, adoption, and holiness. They were broadcast heralds of a present salvation, and everywhere they sowed, the seed took root, and societies were organized. There was a net increase of members for the year 1789-90, of eleven thousand whites and twenty-five hundred blacks, for the minute now made this distinction of color. Asbury continued to be present everywhere; as much as one personality and the use of two horses could make him. In the revivals it was expected that some recruits would be found for the itinerancy, and such men called by the Holy Ghost were not wanting. Snethen used to say that

Asbury often repeated at the Conferences that "he wondered where all these young preachers came from, riding good horses and with watches in their pockets."

His Journal furnishes some remarkable entries for 1790. In April he is down in North Carolina, and, after riding twenty-two miles, he "stopped with Colonel Graham, dripping wet with rain. . . . I was still unwell with a complaint that terminated the life of my grandfather Asbury, whose name I bear; perhaps, it will also be my end. . . . For several days I have been very sick and serious. I have been compelled to look into eternity with some pleasure. I could give up the church, the college, and schools; nevertheless, there was one drawback—what will my enemies and mistaken friends say? Why, that he hath offended the Lord, and he hath taken him away." It will be remembered that he is now wrestling with his preachers and the people over the Council plan. It must have been a fierce contest. He seems deeply conscious of it, but your autocrat is never in error. Only one drawback to a happy death: what will his enemies and mistaken friends say? Why he conjectures just about what he said of Strawbridge, some years now gone. "Why, he hath offended the Lord, and he hath taken him away." Thus the weak points of his human nature crop out from time to time. Whatcoat was now travelling with him and doing much of the preaching. They had just come from Charleston and had held the Conference: "Our business was conducted in great peace and love. The business of the Council came before us; and it was determined that the concerns of the college and the printing should be left with the Council to act decisively upon; but that no canons should be made, nor the old altered, without the consent of the conference, and that whatever was done on this head, should come in the shape of advice only." He makes a rapid trip into Kentucky, called by an urgent letter from Poythress, and the hardships of the journey are briefly but graphically depicted. Back again in Virginia, June 14: "Our Conference began (it was at Petersburg again); all was peace until the Council was mentioned. The young men appeared to be entirely under the influence of the elders, and turned it out of doors. I was weary, and felt but little freedom to speak on the subject. This business is to be explained to every preacher; and then it must be carried through the Conference twenty-four times; that is, through all the conferences for two years." The Council plan is deeply settled in his convictions, but the circumlocution of sub-

mission of its proceedings to the conferences and so down among the people wearies him, and to find the dissatisfaction growing greatly taxes his patience. The action of the Petersburg Conference haunts him. "I felt grieved in mind that there is a link broken out of twelve that should form a chain of union." His physical health is shattered, and his mental condition despondent and precarious. The attempt to be everywhere and to touch everything with his own hands, and to overrule as well as oversee the Church from the people to the Council, is proving too much for even a giant's strength. Snethen says, "It is well known what immense labor and difficulty it cost Mr. Asbury to maintain the non-representative system." This must have been the period referred to by him when he also wrote; "Age and soundness of mind are indispensable requisites in church rulers; qualities of rare attainment among itinerant men. In no labor is the body or the mind so quickly worn out, as by constant traveling and preaching. Even the mind of the great Asbury was for a whole year in a state of almost childlike debility, though he again recovered its strength."

He holds the Conference at Uniontown, Pa., and then is down in Virginia again at the Leesburg Conference, and makes this record: "To conciliate the minds of our brethren in the south district of Virginia, who are restless about the Council, I wrote their leader [O'Kelly] a letter, informing him that 'I would take my seat in Council as any other member,' and in that point, at least, waive the claims of episcopacy; yea, I would lie down and be trodden upon rather than knowingly injure one soul." He holds the Conference in Baltimore, September 6, 1790, and then at Duck Creek Cross Roads, for the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Delaware. "One or two of our brethren felt the Virginia fire about the question of Council, but all things came into order and the Council obtained." He held a Conference in Philadelphia, and finds, under Dickins, "our printing is in a good state." The last Conference for the year is held in New York, October 4. Sick, dejected at times, distracted about the Council, it is simply wonderful to follow his Journal, as he rode horseback from state to state, until he once more comes to Baltimore, where the second Council had been ordered to convene, December 1, 1790. His record of it is: "The Council was seated at Philip Rodgers's chamber. After some explanation, we all agreed that we had a right to manage the temporal concerns of the Church and college decisively; and to recommend to the Conferences, for ratifica-

tion, whatever we judged might be advantageous to the spiritual well-being of the whole body. For the sake of union we declined sending out any recommendatory propositions. We had great peace and union in all our labors. What we have done the minutes will show. . . . I have kept no Journal during the sitting of the Council."

Lee furnishes the minutes of the second Council. "Q. What members are present? A. Francis Asbury, bishop; Freeborn Garrettson, Francis Poythress, Nelson Reed, John Dickins, Philip Bruce, Isaac Smith, Thomas Bowen, James O. Cromwell, Joseph Everett, and Charles Connaway." It will be observed that O'Kelly is not present. Either he was not invited, for the Bishop selected the Elders, or he refused to come. Three new and less well-known men are in it. "Q. What power does this Council consider themselves invested with, by their electors? A. First, they unanimously consider themselves invested with full power to act decisively in all temporal matters. And secondly, to recommend to the several Conferences any new canons, or alterations to be made in the old ones." Lee gives also several pages of the routine business, but there is no intimation that Asbury made any surrender of his negative, as his letter to O'Kelly seems to suggest. Probably as it did not conciliate him, Asbury dropped the subject. The last question was, "Where and when shall the next Council be held? A. At Cokesbury College, or Baltimore, on the first day of December, 1792."

O'Kelly's account of the proceedings betrays the extreme of a faultfinding disposition. It is plain that he is set in a purpose of resistance to Asbury,—he cannot condone the arbitrary expulsion of himself and his preachers from the "Union." He wrote disaffecting letters to the preachers, opened correspondence with Dr. Coke, now in England, and evidently succeeded in persuading him that Asbury's "despotic" course, as O'Kelly called it, had ripened the preachers for a revolt, and probably suggested that, if he would come over and head it, Coke's past grievances with Asbury might find redress. Why are these surmises indulged? Because facts will soon be developed that make them morally certain. Lee's summing up of the whole matter is worth reproducing, as the writer's statement of the Council plan is intended to be the fullest ever yet given the Methodist people:¹ "This

¹ Garrettson was probably the secretary of the Councils, a legitimate inference from the following facts. A letter from Rev. Dr. John Atkinson, under date of October 23, 1897, from Clifton Springs, N. Y., and but a few months before his

Council determined to have another meeting two years from that time. But their proceedings gave such dissatisfaction to our connection in general, and to some of the travelling preachers in particular, that they were forced to abandon the plan. And there has never since been a meeting of the kind. . . . The most violent opposer of the Council among the travelling preachers was at first one of that body — James O'Kelly. While he was at the first Council, he appeared to be united to the plan and to the members; but after he returned to Virginia, he exclaimed bitterly against the proceedings and against what he himself had done in the business. He refused to have anything at all to do with the second Council. The supposition respecting the sudden change in the old man, and his hasty conduct in condemning what he had just before sanctioned, was that he went to the first Council with some expectation of being promoted in the Church; but, finding himself disappointed, he returned home mortified. We have sufficient reason to believe that the establishment of the Council was very injurious to the Methodist connection. The plan produced such difficulties in

decease, to the writer, furnishes the information that the manuscripts and papers of Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, which were inclusive of Garrettson's papers also, were for a long time in the possession of Rev. Dr. George A. Phoebus, he having obtained them from Dr. Ignatius T. Cooper, a nephew of Ezekiel, under bond to return them intact on demand. The owner died while they were yet in his possession, and when requisition was made for them they were recovered with extreme difficulty. Dr. Atkinson then purchased them for Mr. Deering, of Chicago, who presented them to the Garrett Biblical Institute at Evanston, Ill. When Dr. Atkinson examined the papers, the minutes of the Councils of 1789-90, known to be a part of the Garrettson collection, could not be found. Farther demand upon Dr. Phoebus has failed to recover these minutes, though he asserted to the writer in the presence of Rev. Dr. Lanahan in the early autumn of 1897, in the Methodist Historical Rooms in Baltimore, that he had these minutes in possession, and that he could prove from the Garrettson papers not only that Asbury did not assign Garrettson to the eldership of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, from the Superintendency of Canada, without his full knowledge and consent, but that Wesley appointed Whatcoat a Superintendent for America the *second time*! Rev. Dr. Little, President of Garrett Institute, having examined the papers at the request of Dr. Lanahan under the writer's instigation, made personal report to him that the papers in hand furnished no such evidence. So if Dr. Phoebus has any such proof, it must be in such papers as he unlawfully retained out of the collection. It is not believed, however, that any such evidence exists, while the minutes of the Council of 1790, if he has these as claimed in disregard of his bond to return on demand everything loaned him, it is morally certain do not contain anything important beyond what these pages have given. So that the writer's claim, that the account of the Council business is "the fullest ever yet given the Methodist people," stands unimpeached.

Since the foregoing was written, Dr. Collins Denny of Nashville, Tenn., exhibited to the writer these minutes in printed form in full (1898).

the minds of the preachers and the people, and brought on such opposition, that it was hard to reconcile them one to another. Nothing could or would give satisfaction to the people but the calling together all the travelling preachers in a general conference; to which, after some time, the bishop consented."

A few comments are called for on this summing up. The charge that O'Kelly's motive for opposing the Council after having taken part in the first one was disappointed ambition, was covered by him in his "Apology" published fifteen years before Lee's "History," and with which Lee must have been acquainted, as it was widely circulated and more extensively read by preachers and people. He meets this charge that "he left them because he missed his expectation at the Council, where and when he expected to be ordained bishop. . . . I can appeal to the Lord, and am ready now to be qualified, that the man hath belied me to my face," etc. Let this be set over against Lee's charge as echoed from others. The charge is all the more to be regretted inasmuch as it can be well established that Lee himself cherished the expectation under encouragement from Asbury, until his defeat by Whatcoat settled the American Episcopal "succession" through him. And it may be generally observed that much such crimination and recrimination, imputation of motive, and aspersion of character will be disclosed in the future of this History, specially during the great controversy of 1820-30, from which neither party was entirely free. It goes for the saying, however, that the autocratic and oligarchic systems are surpassingly eminent for fostering scheming ambitions for place and power. It creates grades, and holds out prizes to the aspiring. It is indeed the cohesive cement of all hierarchies—but for it they would drop to pieces both in Church and State. Another remark upon Lee's summing up is that he paints in mild colors the damaging results of the Council plan. The agitation, the alienation, the coercion, the resistance, both directly and prospectively, in the O'Kelly schism, cannot be measured for injury to the Kingdom of Christ as represented by Methodism; while the responsibility comes directly home to the Asburyan system, and is in support of the postulate that to Paternalism in American Methodism must be traced constant internal upheaval and its numerous denominational divisions. The Council plan was the climax of autocratic assumption, and from its dizzy height Asbury had his first ecclesiastical fall. No reader of the full and, as is claimed, impartial account of it these pages have traced, can reach any other con-

clusion. Even so partisan a writer as Rev. Dr. David Sherman says of it: "The Council had become so generally odious to the preachers and people that Asbury requested that it might be named no more. Highly and justly as they esteemed Asbury, they were not prepared to make him a Pope."¹ The comparison is not invidious, but it stands for more than its worth, considering the source of it. Dr. Bangs's notice of the Council quotes the minutes of the first, taken from Lee without credit, and leaves the impression that it was the joint work of the preachers and Asbury. Dr. Stevens makes note but briefly and apologetically — so with other writers — of the Asburian school. It is a hot iron they do not care to handle with their bare fingers. In fine, the Council must be recorded an unmixed evil, except so far as it once more, since the Fluvanna times, set the people to thinking and encouraged the preachers to be something more than puppets. There can be no doubt that the struggle resulted in worse health for Asbury, and presaged a complete mental breakdown. He recovered, however, from the relaxation of the overbent bow, and was ready for the contest with O'Kelly in 1792. The title Presiding Elder first occurs in the minutes of the Council of 1789 and 1790, and does not recur anywhere until 1797; but the prefix "Presiding" did not go into the minutes of Conference, as Stevens alleges from the Council, for the two years of its existence. The district Elder headed the preachers under him in the minutes of 1784, and onward without change until 1797, when "Presiding" was prefixed.

¹ "History of the Discipline," p. 228.

CHAPTER XXX

Asbury's address to President Washington in New York, May 29, 1789, and its connection with the omission of Dr. Coke's name from the British minutes in 1786; and its complications in the McCaine-Emory controversy of 1827-28; the whole subject being traversed as never before by any writer, and a true solution found — Asbury and Sunday-schools — William Hammett, and the secession of 1792 in Charleston, S. C., the Coke, Asbury, Wesley intricacies; and Bishop Capers's error of statement in 1844; the knotty skein unravelled — Antecedents of the O'Kelly secession, 1791-92; final overthrow of the Council with Coke's assistance through O'Kelly; Asbury's first defeat — Asbury and Coke together at the Conferences watching each other — Coke's secret letter to Bishop White; when mailed; was it before or after he heard of Wesley's death? proved to be before, and Dr. Emory discredited.

A few dropped threads of history need to be taken up ere the finality of the Council matter and its issuance in a General Conference are resumed. At the New York Conference of 1789, held in New York City, May 28, the first Congress of the United States under the new Constitution being in session, and Washington, as President of the country, also present, it was thought by Asbury and Coke a good stroke of ecclesiastical policy to make him a congratulatory address. The Conference authorized it, and Dickins and Morrell, the leading preachers, were appointed to wait on Washington and have him designate a day for the reception of the bishops. May 29 was designated, and, accordingly, Asbury, Coke accompanying him and the committee, read the address, Morrell says, "with great self-possession and in an impressive manner. The President read his reply with fluency and animation." The full text of these addresses is given by both Bangs and Stevens. They were afterward printed in the newspapers of the day; and other denominations followed the example set them. They are invested with importance by the sequel, and this seems an appropriate place for its succinct mention. Asbury makes no reference to it whatever in his Journal. The only note is: "Our Conference began. All things were conducted in peace and order." Tyerman is silent. Drew, Coke's biographer, brings it into prominence, and through his misleading suggestions as to the date it forms a large part of the

McCaine-Emory controversy of 1827-30. Drew introduces his account of it with his eighth chapter, which treats of the events of 1785-86. A more careful biographer would not have made the error, though his excuse for this and other lapses of date is found in the preface, where he says that Dr. Coke left on his fatal voyage to India, intending to put his papers in chronological order on the way; but his untimely death prevented, so that the papers and notes when received by Drew were in no consecutive order; hence his blunders. Drew says—the substance is given—that on Coke's arrival at the British Conference of 1789, his part in the address to Washington had preceded him and was brought forward as a serious charge by those unfriendly to him. It was declared inconsistent in him as a British subject to join in such an address, as it was “a tacit impeachment of Mr. Wesley's political sentiments,” and “calculated to provoke the indignation of government” against the Methodists. “Dr. Coke heard these charges against him in profound silence” and “as some decisive steps were necessary in this critical affair, it was finally determined that the name of Dr. Coke should be omitted in the minutes of the succeeding year.” Unfortunate Dr. Coke, he had subscribed to sentiments of political liberty utterly incongruous with the monarchy of England and the Wesleyan polity over Methodists. Drew gives the answer of Washington but not the address of the bishops to him, but out of its chronological connection, or on page 113, evidently doing his deceased friend the favor of concealing from Englishmen the sentiments of the address to which Coke had affixed his name. Among the sentiments it contained it may be well to quote: “Those civil and religious liberties which have been transmitted to us by the providence of God, and the glorious Revolution.” “The most excellent Constitution of these States, which is at present the admiration of the world.”

No marvel his English brethren could not see how he could be a monarchist and a republican at the same time. Nor can any one see how he could reconcile these representative sentiments with his answer to the petitioners for lay-delegation as made to the British Conference soon after Wesley's decease, “Sirs, the Conference considers the plan of electing by votes of the people and sending delegates to Conference, and district meetings, committees, is founded on the principles of Jacobinism, principles which we abhor. . . . We are certain that our late venerable father in the gospel detested these principles as much as any man on earth; . . . we are, therefore, determined in the most resolved manner,

and with the most unanimous spirit, to reject the plan of delegates, in whatever shape or manner it may be presented.”¹ If it be possible to esteem him honest in his admiration of representative principles in the American States, then in view of the deliverance just cited to the British laymen, he must be recognized as the prototype of a class in the Methodist Episcopal Church who strenuously maintain that non-representation in the Church and its opposite in the State are concurrently consistent. For nearly a hundred years in American controversial Methodism this scriptural and dialectical absurdity has not been wanting in advocates. Happily the race is about extinct.

Both Drew and Bangs endeavor to excuse Coke on the ground that he had a double character to maintain, one as Bishop of the American Church, and one as a member of the British Conference. To which it is necessary only to say that double characters of every kind are infamous, and this double relation of Coke is no less inconsistent.² Bangs thinks the position of Asbury in the matter entirely proper, inasmuch as “he had become an American citizen,” etc. There is no evidence whatever that Asbury ever was naturalized. The most he ever did to save himself from farther molestation while at Judge White’s in Delaware, was to take the test-oath of that colony because it was more moderate than others and did not afflict his conscience as a non-juror. Bangs is severe in his invective against McCaine for assigning to these addresses the date of 1785, while Dr. Emory cuts him with the razor-edge of his sarcasm all to pieces. Both of them, if they had had a mind, might have referred to Drew, and so discovered that he had led McCaine astray as to dates, or, if they had given the least attention to McCaine’s own statement, that Drew misled him; but it seems that neither was magnanimous enough to forego the advantage it gave him to discredit McCaine’s general argument and masterful array of facts by this and a few other mistakes in his “History and Mystery.” Indeed, as to crimination and recrimination, McCaine, Emory, and Bangs seem to revel over this matter. McCaine was not only misled by Drew as to the date, but was excusable farther in that by a

¹ McCaine’s “Letters on the M. E. Church,” p. 143.

² Wesley never would have tolerated such a double character, and did not in the case of Coke, inasmuch as he looked upon him and Asbury, and Whatcoat, and others, to the day of his death, as subject to him, and an integral part of British Methodism, thus giving another tacit proof of his utter repudiation of Asbury’s separation from him and the Church of England. The fact of separation remained, but by no act or word of his did Wesley recognize it.

singular coincidence, when he came to his investigation of Methodist Episcopacy, he found that Dr. Coke's name was left off the minutes of the British Conference in 1786, and this seemed to confirm his theory that Coke's name was thus left off by reason of his complicity in the Christmas Conference doings and not the address to Washington. Emory gives as explanation of this omission of his name in 1786, the fact that he was sent on his missionary trip to Nova Scotia, but, miscarried by storm, ended in the West India mission; and this probably protracted absence led the Conference through its secretary to drop his name for the time. It is not satisfactory.¹ Suffice it to say as to this whole business that the serious amount of ink wasted by all the parties to the controversy has no better foundation than the unintentional, but unavoidable, misleading effect of Drew's associating the address to Washington and the censure of Coke by the Conference with 1785. No reader can understand him otherwise. It is not too much to say, however, that McCaine, as an educated preacher and school-teacher, ought to have known that in 1785 Washington was in private life on his plantation at Mt. Vernon, nor does he concede his error, when pointed out, as frankly as he should have done. A final word as to Asbury and the address. While he remained through life a British subject he came to have a sincere admiration for Washington, and believed the outcome of the Revolution to have been providential, and for the good of the country.

The minutes of the Conference of 1790 have the following question and answer: "*Q.* What can be done for the instruction of poor children (whites and blacks) to read? *A.* Let us labor as the heart and soul of one man, to establish Sunday-schools, in or near the places of public worship. Let persons be appointed by the bishops, elders, deacons, or preachers, to teach (*gratis*) all that

¹ If omission of Coke's name from the Conference minutes was counted a severe penalty for the year 1789, then Emory's explanation of the omission of his name in 1786 as a mere clerical error, or to note Coke's absence in Nova Scotia, is not satisfactory, for the idea of penalty must be associated with it also. McCaine so considered it, and his position that it was punitive, for the part he took in the Christmas Conference, is not so easily disposed of. And it is singular that no one of the historians of Methodism took any account of it until McCaine called attention to it. If, however, it was a punitive act by the Conference of 1785, omitting his name for 1786, it is equally difficult to understand why both Moore and Tyerman make no reference to it. Emory plays the part of a trickster in logic when he charges that McCaine alleged that the omission occurred in 1785, and then triumphantly showing that the omission occurred in 1786. McCaine made no such allegation for 1785, but for 1786, and the minutes bear him out in it, as the writer has personally verified from the British minutes.

will attend, and have a capacity to learn, from six in the morning until ten, and from two o'clock in the afternoon till six, where it does not interfere with public worship." Stevens says in his notice of this event that he quotes the action of the Conference from Lee as "the bound minutes do not give it." This makes it clear that he did not have a copy of those printed by Dickins in 1795, in my possession, for the action does appear in them. He depended on the edition of 1813, which was materially altered by the bishops before publication in some essential particulars, of which more notice may yet be taken. What the minute does is to establish that it was the first recognition of Sunday-schools by an American Church. It was only nine years after their establishment in England by Robert Raikes, who derived the idea from a young Methodist woman. Four years before this minute, or in 1786, Asbury established a Sunday-school, the first in the New World, at the house of Thomas Crenshaw in Hanover County, Va. The effort of Asbury from 1790 met with discouragements, but finally succeeded under modifications, and the Sunday-school Union of that Church is now an unexampled power for good intrinsically and of denominational cohesion and growth.

The revival flame which broke out in 1789 continued to burn with unabated ardor through the two succeeding years, and there was a vast increase of members, while the additions to the itinerancy more than met the demands of the enlarging work. It was necessary, for the locations and deaths were numerous through the hardship, exposure, and the celibate life demanded and encouraged by Asbury. Stevens says: "Of 650 whose names appear in the minutes, by the close of the century, about 500 died or located, and many of the remainder were, for a longer or shorter interval, in the local ranks, but were able again to enter the itinerancy. Nearly half of those whose deaths are recorded died before they were thirty years old; about two-thirds died before they had spent twelve years in the laborious service. They fell martyrs to their work." He gives lists of them by name.

Stevens also says, "No important doctrinal heresy had yet disturbed them." It is the central fact of Methodism. And the same may be said for the hundred years of evangelism which have rolled away since; the doctrines and the means of grace in all the branches of Wesleyan religion have preserved a wonderful unity. Would that as much could be said of the ecclesiastical system of

its English Founder and its American Pioneer. True, fond and partial historians and living advocates to-day see in it an instrumentality which they would give the chief place as a factor in the success of the great movement, did it not abolish all distinction between divine doctrines and human ordinances. With almost brazen fetters of organic law-structure, and so creating an administrative sweep and swing which have held tenaciously to a centralizing oligarchy since the days of Asbury, M'Kendree, and Soule, no question can arise as to its efficiency. Its momentum in the concrete, and its seven eyes of observation in the abstract, are equalled only by its power of abuse and evil in that its progress as a system has been against the grain of human nature under its best conditions, and subversive of all the ideals of Christian manhood and civilian rights. From the Fluvanna struggle onward to this day the ecclesiastical system has been assaulted from within with schism and division and ceaseless unrest; and it is the object of these pages to show that this system was the fundamental error in its organization, and that but for it Methodism might have been an organic unit to-day on both continents.

In June, 1789, Asbury in his Journal notes his sententious wisdom in two instances. Speaking of preaching and preaching-places, "To begin at the right end of the work is to go first to the *poor*; these *will*, the rich *may* possibly, hear the truth: there are among us who have blundered here." Once more as a key to that exclusive denominationalism which has ever characterized the Methodist Episcopal Church—it is not claimed wrongfully, all the conditions considered—he declares, "The Methodists ought to preach in their own houses; I have done with the houses of other people." In September he writes, "I preached at Bush Forest Chapel: this was one of the first houses that was built for the Methodists in the state of Maryland; and one of the first societies was formed here." It was probably next to Strawberry's log chapel. In April, 1790, he writes, "The unsettled state of my stomach and bowels makes life and labor a burden." These are picked-up threads which might have been wrought into the fabric earlier.

It will be remembered that Mr. Hammett, the chief of the missionaries who accompanied Dr. Coke for Nova Scotia, but landed in the West Indies in 1789, had been left by him at Kingston in Jamaica, where he built a chapel and suffered much, though exercising unwonted zeal and displaying abilities of a high order so

that, when Coke returned the second time in 1791, he found him in a "deplorable condition, through excessive fatigue and violent opposition," says Drew. Dr. Coke was advised by the resident physicians to remove Hammett to the continent for the recovery of his health. They accordingly reached Charleston, S. C., January 27, 1791. He was placed in charge of the church through Coke's suggestion and influence. Advantage will be taken of this mention to cover an episode in Methodist history. There can be no doubt that Hammett derived his cue as to Asbury and his methods from Dr. Coke. They were close friends, and Hammett entered fully into Coke's grievances, which, though kept out of sight, were not forgotten, as will presently be seen. He shared in his prejudices against Asbury. Hammett soon made a wonderful impression in Charleston, broke from Asbury's authority, seceded with a large portion of the society, and built a commodious and expensive church of which he was independent pastor. He opened correspondence with Wesley, it is alleged, and the old man, suffering from the rebellious conduct of his "Dear Franky," was ready to listen to any tale earnestly and plausibly put as Hammett was capable of doing, and so secured letters from Wesley recognising him as in the "regular succession" despite Asbury's ignoring of him. This alleged fact did not come out, however, for fifty years afterward. Champions of a cause have a wonderful facility for concealing information that may militate against their theory until some change of environment enables them to use it to advantage. Bishop Capers, made such after the division of Methodism in 1844, in the debates of that General Conference affirmed that he had come into the possession of Hammett's correspondence with Wesley, and that in it "Wesley gave Hammett his decided countenance and blessing while he was in Charleston, no less than when he was at St. Kitts (West Indies). Here in South Carolina, then, Mr. Hammett formed a religious society with Mr. Wesley's sanction, and for the avowed purpose of being more Wesleyan than what was called Mr. Asbury's connection was thought to be."¹ The quotation answers a double purpose, though used by Bishop Capers for one only: it shows that Wesley during the closing year of his life recognized a slave-holding church as in communion with him, and the principles of its organization as more in accord with his own than the organization of the Christmas Conference, which he never approved.

¹ "General Conference Debates," 1844, p. 179.

Hammett issued circulars and pamphlets against Asbury, and after the General Conference of 1792, Dr. Coke, who undoubtedly furnished Hammett with fault finding material as to Asbury, is ranged against Hammett;¹ just as it will be found, he allied himself with O'Kelly and then forsook him when he came under that wonderful personal influence of Asbury, so that nothing is more apt as an illustration of his inconstancy, both of principles and friendships, than his own remark in connection with these events: "You may say that I am a weathercock." His ecclesiastical career is full of illustrations of its truth. Thomas Morrell, then a leading and gifted preacher in New York, replied to William Hammett, and he made effective use of his impetuous spirit and errors of judgment. Asbury reduced the grievances of Hammett to a minimum: "We are considered by him as seceders from Methodism, because we do not wear gowns and powder, and because we do not pay sufficient respect to Mr. Wesley." It is passing strange that the man who introduced "gowns," if not "powder," among the Methodist preachers, should now, when he had been compelled, by popular sentiment, to abandon the use, cite it against Hammett. As it respects Wesley, an impartial reader will conclude that, the less Asbury had to say of him, the better for his own record. Through his pulpit abilities Hammett succeeded well for a time; but he had gathered into his church discordant elements, and he found that the task of arranging and binding together was beyond his ability. They called themselves "Primitive Methodists," and a second chapel was built in the suburbs of Charleston. They also erected churches in Georgetown, Savannah, and in Wilmington, N. C., and they gathered a large congregation of blacks. Hammett survived eleven years,

¹ Hammett had appealed to the British Conference for sympathy and aid early in 1792, but Coke was now among them, and had changed his mind as to Hammett, and influenced them against his appeal. The Conference made official answer by addressing a letter, not to Hammett, but:—

"To Mr. Asbury, and all the American preachers." (In passing, the reader will not fail to note how this official letter carefully eschews both the "office" of Bishop Asbury, and the name Methodist Episcopal Church.) One paragraph of it only need be cited: "They esteem union and concord among brethren as one of the greatest blessings, and therefore do most deeply disapprove of the Schism which Wm. Hammett has made in the city of Charleston, and do acknowledge no farther connection with him who could attempt to rend the body of Christ.

"Signed in behalf of the Conference,

"ALEX. MATHER, President,

"THOMAS COKE, Secretary.

"London, August 15, 1792."

dying in 1803. After his demise, a Mr. Brazier, who had been also a missionary in the West Indies, took charge of his congregation, and he bargained away the church building to the Protestant Episcopalians. But the original trustees contested, and won their suit, and after a farther struggle to maintain themselves as an independent organization, they finally arranged to return to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Ultimately, all that remained of Hammett's movement was also merged in like manner. It must be confessed that it was an ill-starred departure, engendered, however, by a system that furnished the occasion for this and many other local schisms for a hundred years thereafter. No-where has the effort to establish Independent Methodism been inaugurated under such favorable auspices as in Baltimore, Md. Ultimate extinction is the sure goal at this writing. Methodism for final success must have connectional bonds. The Hammett secession, occurring simultaneously with that of O'Kelly, greatly aggravated the unrest of Asbury and his stanch adherents. Presently it will come under review. Meantime it will be well to consider the expiring struggle of Asbury to maintain the Council, and its supersedure by the General Conference of 1792.

The minutes of the Conference of 1791 are noteworthy in several particulars. Wesley having died in March, of this year, the following change is made in the Episcopal deliverances of the bishops. "Q. Who have been elected by the unanimous suffrages of the General Conference to superintend the Methodist Episcopal Church in America? A. Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury. Q. Who are the persons who exercise the Episcopal Office in the Methodist Church in America? A. Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury, by regular order and succession."¹ The questions since the death of Wesley are mere duplicates. They show, however, that there was absolutely no distinction in the minds of Coke and Asbury between superintendent, bishop, and the episcopal office, and in consequence Dr. Emory's reply to the charge that they had made Mr. Wesley a bishop by associating his name in the American minutes as the origin of its Episcopal succession, is the merest quibble, unworthy of a fair controvertist, namely, that they published him only as exercising the "Episcopal Office."

The numerical increase of white members this year was over

¹ In the Dickins minutes of 1795 the words "by regular order and succession" occur in 1789-90 and 1791, but were afterward omitted, and in the republished minutes of 1813 the whole reference is omitted by order of Bishop Asbury for politic reasons.

seventeen thousand, but there is no corresponding increase among the blacks; only about one thousand, for unexplained reasons. There were seventeen conferences called for 1791-92. Bishop Asbury published an Address which is appended to the minutes: "To the Brethren of the United Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America."¹ It related to the establishment of industrial Sabbath-schools, separating the sexes, under suitable unpaid teachers. It was along the line of his Sunday-school work, and a conception worthy of his eminently practical, devout, and far-seeing mind. "A recommendatory caution" is also appended, warning the preachers not to "receive strange preachers, unless their names are on the minutes, or they can show a parchment or a certificate from the presiding elder, or some elder of the district they may say they come from."¹ It was well timed, no doubt, for general reasons, though Hammett claimed that it was aimed at him as a particular reason.

The third Council had been nominated for December, 1792, but, as already found, it never assembled. Under the lead of such influential preachers as O'Kelly, Jesse Lee, Richard Ivy, Bruce, Garrettson, Haggard, Hull, M'Kendree, then a young man of high promise and vigorous intellect, and a number of others, the agitation against the Council and for a General Conference went on with increasing fervor and widening scope. O'Kelly, as already mentioned, opened correspondence with Dr. Coke in England, and won him over to his side. He also became a voluminous letter-writer at home, and with his associates made a powerful impression upon leading preachers and laymen, not against the Council only, but in favor of a more liberal policy in the government of the Church. Asbury found himself beset with a combination of influences—a current against him which it was impossible to stem; besides, he was sick, weary, and mentally depressed over

¹ These are found in Dickins's edition of the minutes of 1795 only. The edition of 1813 omits them as it does not a few other matters materially important to the truth of history, but altered by the bishops to suit a purpose hereafter to be exposed. Asbury's industrial school is explained in detail in his address. "The worship of God in the schoolhouse should be reading the Word of God, singing, and prayer, every morning and evening. Playing strictly prohibited. A lesson in the instructions weekly committed to memory—to enjoin manly exercises, as working in the garden or field, walking, reading, or speaking in public, or bathing. . . . To build a separate school for your daughters, and put these under a gracious woman of abilities, to learn to read, write, sew, knit, mark, and make their own clothing. . . . The elder can spend a day in the school once in two weeks to see how the parts of education are attended to. . . . These schools may be open on Sabbath days, two hours in the morning, and two hours in the evening, for those who have no other time," etc.

a situation he had prepared by his own crowning attempt to free himself from all Conference control. There is something amazingly audacious in his attitude. Unchecked hitherto, with an unlimited confidence in his own triple office of legislator, judge, and executor, he reached for the summit of power, led on by a blind sincerity and an honest intention which enabled him prayerfully to evoke to his aid Divine interposition. The exigency was not greater than that at Fluvanna and in 1787, and it may be doubted whether he would not again have exhibited his overmastering strategy and daring personal usurpation as to the Council, had he not been disabled by impaired health enfeebling his will and enervating his mind. It was a crucial period in his career and in the history of the Methodist Church. It seems reasonable to conclude that Wesley was apprised of the situation, though now in the declining months of his eventful life. Did he give Coke the same encouragement he had given Hammett about this time? If the evidence existed, it has been suppressed, as his letter to Hammett was for fifty years.¹ It will be discovered that there are strong affirmations at least that he did give countenance to the scheme which was incubating in Dr. Coke's fertile brain to circumvent Asbury and regain for himself the lost crown of an undisputed and untrammelled bishopric. He was also in correspondence with Asbury. What was its character? Friendly to a high degree, and diplomatic as any leader in statecraft might wish. If this correspondence could be made available, it would

¹ A page or two back, certain conclusions were drawn, based upon Hammett's alleged correspondence with Wesley, which Dr. Capers produced from memory at the General Conference of 1844, during Hammett's career in Charleston. It is evident, however, upon such careful examination as McCaine, who emphasizes this Capers episode in the debates of 1844, did not give it, that no such correspondence could have taken place between Wesley and Hammett, legitimate as the conclusions would have been if the correspondence could be established. But it cannot, and therefore Dr. Capers did wisely when he professed to quote from memory. Hammett did not reach Charleston until late in February, 1791, and Wesley's death was known in America two months later, inasmuch as he died March 2, 1791, while Hammett's independent career did not begin for nearly a year thereafter, so that his grievance with Asbury and the American Methodists, on which the alleged correspondence is based, did not then exist. It makes a bad case for this portion of Dr. Capers's speech in 1844, and explodes the idea that Wesley gave his sanction to a slaveholding, independent church in Charleston as in fellowship with him, and its polity more in accord with his views. Perhaps the friends of Dr. Capers can explain. There is room for it. This exposure is made because honesty demands it at the expense of an argument in line with the trend of this History. Indeed, the writer might blot the whole of this matter of Hammett's alleged correspondence with Wesley, but for the revelation it gives of the methods of those who make history for a purpose. Hammett undoubtedly had a correspondence with Wesley, but it antedated the Charleston episode.

leave no doubt that the characters of these three men, Wesley, Coke, and Asbury, as depicted in the opening chapter of this History, would be abundantly verified.

The last consecutive mention of Dr. Coke in these pages was on his arrival at Charleston, S. C., with Hammett. Resuming at that point will bring him and Asbury together again, the mind of the former an arsenal of arch-plotting, and that of the latter fearless and so self-poised as never to be betrayed into surprises, or off his guard. Inquire what Asbury says about it in the cold statements of his Journal. "Wednesday, February 23, 1791 — Long looked for Dr. Coke came to town; he had been shipwrecked off Edisto. I found the Doctor's sentiments, with regard to the Council, quite changed. James O'Kelly's letters had reached London. I felt perfectly calm, and acceded to a General Conference, for the sake of peace."¹ There is a world of information in these brief lines. The long expected Dr. Coke. They had been in correspondence, in which Coke could not have betrayed the fact that he was also in correspondence with O'Kelly, and was urging him on with all his advice and support; for Asbury makes a discovery in conversation with Dr. Coke in Charleston: I found the sentiments of the Doctor, with regard to the Council, quite changed; sequel — James O'Kelly's letters had reached London. It was no doubt a trial to Asbury. The situation was not unlike that of Wellington and Napoleon at Waterloo. Everything depended upon Blücher. He arrived with his reinforcements in time, and the die was cast against Napoleon. Asbury had gone down to Charleston, it must be said, in hope that he should find Coke as ready to maintain him in the Council as he was to further it at the first. Alas, the reinforcements are in time, but on the wrong side. Coke is against him. He likely behaved as one who thought he held the coign of vantage. If he had been neutral, the case would not yet be desperate. He was with the malcontents, and the struggle ended. "I felt perfectly calm, and acceded to a General Conference, for the sake of peace." It was the first downright surrender he ever made. One is moved to sympathize with him, though it is hard to restrain indignant protest; after originating all this trouble by his arbitrary overreaching, he yields for the sake of peace. It was honest; he had been badgered into submission; he was broken, and could bear the strain no longer. The Conference is held. Dr. Coke preaches to "a very large

¹ "Journal," Vol. II. p. 110.

audience," but Asbury does not seem to enjoy the meeting. "I want to be gone into the country to enjoy sweet solitude and prayer." And again: "I am somewhat distressed at the uneasiness of our people, who claim a right to choose their own preachers — a thing quite new among the Methodists. No one but Mr. Hammett will do for them. We shall see how it will end." "I left the city somewhat grieved in mind." He left Coke with Hammett in Charleston, and from his country retreat, March 5, "I wrote nearly twenty pages to Dr. Coke on the concerns of the Church." How often regret must be expressed that none of these letters ever saw the light.

Meantime Coke and Hammett were comparing views, and found themselves still in accord as old friends. It was in the following year that Asbury refused to reappoint Hammett to Charleston, and the secession took place. He notes, just before the Conference of 1792 occurred: "Mr. Hammett had three grand objections to us. 1st, The American preachers and people insulted him. 2d, His name was not printed in our minutes. 3d, The *nota bene* cautioning minute was directed against him." Hammett was a man with a grievance, and his attacks upon Asbury and the American Church were so severe that Asbury, shortly after the Conference, felt that he must defend himself: "I received an abusive, anonymous letter (I believe from Mr. S.), on several subjects. My spirits were low; I came from my knees to receive the letter, and having read it, I returned whence I came; I judged it prudent and expedient, and I think I was urged thereto by conscience, to tell the people of some things relating to myself. I related to them the manner of my coming to America; how I continued during the war; the arrival of Dr. Coke, and the forming of the American Methodists into a Church; and finally why I did not commit the charge of the society in Charleston to Mr. Hammett, who was unknown, a foreigner, and did not acknowledge the authority of, nor join in connection with, the American Conference."¹ He had appointed Daniel Smith to Charleston.

Before following Asbury to Georgia to meet that Conference observe what Dr. Coke is doing. He spent a week or more in Charleston and then started to overtake Asbury at the Georgia Conference. How many letters he wrote to O'Kelly and others of the disaffected preachers, who, learning of his arrival, plied him with letters also, and were encouraged in their war upon the

¹ "Journal," Vol. II. p. 143.

Council by finding Dr. Coke one with them, must be conjectured. That he wrote such letters is evident from what subsequently took place. Perhaps he prepared another letter famous in the esoteric history of early Methodism, the contents and purpose of which he imparted neither to Asbury nor to the confederate preachers against him. The conjecture that it was written in Charleston is based upon its elaborate character. It is dated later, "Richmond (Va.), April 24, 1791." But whether prepared at Charleston or some days later is immaterial. Sunday, March 13, at Georgetown, Ga., Asbury says: "Dr. Coke came in time to preach, and then we opened a Conference. We sat very closely to our work, and had some matters of moment to attend to in the course of our deliberations." They travel together, eat and sleep together, confer ament local Conference matters, Asbury cautiously scanning his companion since his change of mind as to the Council, and Coke, with a secret letter in his pocket addressed to Bishop White of the Protestant Episcopal Church, now resident in Philadelphia. They alternate in preaching, Asbury giving Coke the preference, as his preaching abilities were of a high order. Asbury writes: "My body is weak, but my mind has heaven and peace within. We closely employed our intervals of leisure in preparing different tracts for the press." Asbury always availed of the superior education of Coke for such literary work. Onward they go to Salisbury in North Carolina, and hold the Conference. They are in Virginia, April 10, at sister Walker's in Brunswick, "Dr. Coke went to the barn and I preached in the house; the rain rendered our meeting uncomfortable." They reach Petersburg. Asbury says, "We agreed to take different lodgings during the sitting of the Conference." Why do these friends thus part? It may be a matter of personal convenience only, and it may be that they differed so widely as to the Council that they felt more comfortable apart. They had met with O'Kelly and others in North Carolina, and Coke was more and more enlisted on their side, and was emboldened in his talks with Asbury, who says: "The business of our Conference was brought on in peace. . . . The affair of the Council was suspended until a General Conference." Just after the Conference, Monday, April 25, Asbury writes: "I found the Doctor had much changed his sentiments since his last visit to this continent; and that these impressions still continued. I hope to be enabled to give up all I dare for peace's sake; and to please all men for their good to edification."

The famous — or, shall it not be said in the interest of fair dealing of man with man, Asbury with Coke and the reverse, and of impartial history, the infamous — letter which Coke had been waiting a favorable opportunity to mail is subscribed, as already cited, “Richmond, April 24, 1791.” It was not mailed there, for the bishops did not stop at Richmond during this tour.¹ April 24, they were at Colonel Clayton’s in Virginia, the next day at New Castle; the 27th, in Carolina County, thirty miles from New Castle. It was probably mailed at New Castle, inasmuch as a “P.S.” attached to the letter says, “You must excuse interlineations, etc. I am just going into the country, and have no time to transcribe.” On the 28th, they were at Pope’s Chapel, and “we hasted to Port Royal where the people were waiting, to whom the Doctor preached,” etc. On Friday, the 29th of April, at Port Royal they heard through the public papers of the death of Wesley. The letter was mailed ere this, or it would not have been sent at all. This is clear from the contents. Wesley’s death thwarted the purpose in view. It establishes a moral certainty that it was mailed at New Castle on the 25th of April, or four days before Coke had heard of Wesley’s decease.²

The point just made is pivotal largely of the entire matter, and reference has already been made to the disingenuous attempt of Rev. Dr. John Emory in his controversy with Rev. Alexander McCaine to overthrow it. The word disingenuous is used advisedly, and to the readers is submitted the proof for their verdict. Dr. Emory affirmed as to the date of Coke’s letter to Bishop White and the date of Coke’s knowledge of Wesley’s death, “The fact is that Mr. Wesley at the time was *dead*.” The italic is his own. What does he mean? He is primarily essaying to prove that the letter of Coke to White could not have been written as Rev. Kewley affirmed, echoed by Dr. Wyatt, both of the Protestant Episcopal Church, “with the sanction, if not actually by the order of Mr. Wesley.” Emory says, “We deny the statement and demand the proof. The fact is that Mr. Wesley at the time was *dead*.”³ What does he mean? That Coke could

¹ Conjecture only can be indulged for this “Richmond” address, as the letter could not have been written there. It may be that Dr. Coke uses it constructively as his location in Virginia, the capital of the state, better known to Bishop White than the smaller towns Coke and Asbury visited during this trip. It was immaterial, inasmuch as Coke provided in the letter itself that White’s answer should be sent to Mr. Baker in Philadelphia, or Mr. Rogers in Baltimore.

² Asbury’s “Journal,” Vol. II. pp. 114, 115.

³ “Defence of our Fathers,” p. 32.

not have had an interview with Wesley before he left England for America, in which such a method of restoring peace to the American Church under the Council distractions was suggested by Coke and sanctioned by Wesley? He cannot mean that, or, to use his own language, "we deny the statement and demand the proof." What does he mean? Simply to assert that, "at that time Wesley was dead?" As a naked fact it was true, for Wesley died March 2, 1791. He cannot mean that and be ingenuous; for the only point is: Did Coke know of Wesley's death April 24, 1791, the date of the letter to White? Was he misled by Drew on Coke, as to the date, as McCaine was misled by him as to the address to Washington being in 1785, instead of 1789? It is just possible, but not probable, for he does not cite Drew in proof of his allegation, though Drew says, "He [Coke] had been preaching on the evening of the 20th of April at a place called Port Royal, in Virginia, and had engaged to preach about twelve miles distant at ten o'clock on the ensuing morning. But on returning after the evening preaching to the house of a merchant where he was to lodge, he was informed by him that the Philadelphia papers had just announced to the public the death of Mr. Wesley."¹ It is not probable, because Emory had Asbury's Journal before him and could have corrected Drew by Asbury. Nothing can be clearer than that April 20 in Drew is a typographical error for 29, or Drew misread Coke's posthumous notes, or Coke himself wrote 20 for 29. But Emory does not give Drew as his authority. Why not? He either knew it or he did not. If he knew it, his failure to cite exhibits the adroit misleader. If he did not know it, then the facts, as given by Asbury and of which Emory could not have been ignorant, are a demonstration that he was disingenuous when he affirmed that "Wesley at that time was dead," meaning as he must that Coke knew he was dead before April 24, 1791. He did not know it until April 29. The question may recur in the McCaine-Emory controversy of 1827-30, but it is thought best to settle it here in its proper connection. An analysis of the secret letter itself must be reserved to another chapter.

¹ Drew on Coke, p. 230.

CHAPTER XXXI

Full text of Dr. Coke's letter to Bishop White; proofs that it was written before his knowledge of Wesley's death; curious facts about it; and a full analysis of its contents; Dr. Kewley's connection with its publication; how it came into public knowledge, and how Asbury came into possession of Bishop White's answer before Dr. Coke—Dr. Coke manœuvring with the preachers and O'Kelly to outwit Asbury; Asbury in turn makes overtures to Coke—Bangs's futile effort to show kindly relations between them at this time; proof to the contrary—Did Asbury know of the White letter when he bid adieu to Coke at New Castle? surmises make it probable that he did, and the finesse between them; Asbury humbles Coke, and in 1792 they act together against O'Kelly.

THE letter of Dr. Coke to Bishop White, which was largely the subject of the last chapter, is so important, and has cost Dr. Emory and other apologists so much labor in futile efforts to minify it or explain it away, that it is deemed best to incorporate it in the running text of this History. It is as follows, the italics being those found in Bishop White's attested copy:—

RIGHT REVEREND SIR,—Permit me to intrude a little upon your time, upon a subject of great importance.

You, I believe, are conscious that I was brought up in the Church of England, and have been ordained a presbyter of that church. For many years I was prejudiced, even I think to bigotry, in favor of it; but through a variety of causes and incidents, to mention which would be tedious and useless, my mind was exceedingly biassed on the other side of the question. In consequence of this, I am not sure but I went further *in the separation* of our church in America than Mr. Wesley, from whom I had received my commission, did intend. He did indeed solemnly invest me, as far as he had a right so to do, with episcopal authority, but did not intend, I think, that our entire separation should take place. He being pressed by our friends on this side the water for ministers to administer the sacraments to them, (there being very few clergy of the Church of England in the states,) *went farther, I am sure than he would have gone, if he had foreseen some events which followed.* And this I am certain of—that he is now sorry for the separation.

But what can be done for a reunion, which I wish for, and to accomplish which, Mr. Wesley, I have no doubt, would use his influence to the utmost? The affection of a very considerable number of the preachers and most of the people, is very strong toward him, notwithstanding *the excessive ill usage he received from a few.* My interest also is not small; and both his and mine would readily, and to the utmost, be used to accomplish that (to us)

very desirable object ; if a readiness were shown by the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church to reunite.

It is even to your church an object of great importance. We have now above 60,000 adults in our society in these states ; and about 250 travelling ministers and preachers ; besides a great number of local preachers, far exceeding the number of travelling preachers, and some of these local preachers are men of very considerable abilities ; but if we number the Methodists as most people number the members of their church, viz., by the families which constantly attend the divine ordinances in their places of worship, they will make a larger body than you possibly conceive. The society, I believe, may be safely multiplied by five on an average, to give us our stated congregations, which will then amount to 300,000. And if the calculation, which I think some eminent writers have made, be just, that three-fifths of mankind are unadult (if I may use the expression), at any given period, it will follow that all the families, the adults, which form our congregations in these states amount to 750,000. About one-fifth of these are blacks.

The work now extends in length from Boston to the south of Georgia ; and in breadth, from the Atlantic to Lake Champlain, Vermont, Albany, Redstone, Holstein, Kentucky, Cumberland, etc.

But there are many hinderances in the way. Can they be removed ?

1. Our ordained ministers will not, ought not to give up their right of administering the sacraments. I do not think that the generality of them, perhaps none of them, would refuse to submit to a reordination, if other hinderances were removed out of the way. I must here observe that between 60 and 70 only, out of the 250, have been ordained presbyters, and about 60 deacons (only). The presbyters are the choicest of the whole.

2. The preachers would hardly submit to reunion if the possibility of their rising up to ordination depended upon the present bishops in America. Because, though they are all, I think I may say, zealous, pious, and very useful men, yet they are not acquainted with the learned languages. Besides they would argue, if the present bishops would waive the article of the learned languages, yet their successors might not.

My desire of a reunion is so sincere and earnest, that these difficulties make me tremble ; and *yet something must be done before the death of Mr. Wesley, otherwise I shall despair of success* ; for though my influence among the Methodists in these States, as well as in Europe, is I doubt not increasing, yet *Mr. Asbury whose influence is very capital, will not easily comply ; nay, I know he will be exceedingly averse to it.*

In Europe, where some steps had been taken tending to a separation, all is at an end. Mr. Wesley is a determined enemy of it, and I have lately borne an open and successful testimony against it.

Shall I be favored with a private interview with you in Philadelphia ? I shall be there, God willing, on Tuesday, the 17th of May. If this be agreeable, I'll beg of you just to signify it in a note directed to me at Mr. Jacob Baker's, merchant, Market Street, Philadelphia ; or if you please, by a few lines sent me by the return of the post, at Philip Rogers', Esq., in Baltimore, from yourself or Dr. Magaw ; and I will wait upon you with my friend Dr. Magaw. We can then enlarge upon the subjects.

I am conscious of it that secrecy is of great importance in the present state

of the business, till the minds of you, your brother bishops, and Mr. Wesley, be circumstantially known. I must, therefore, beg that these things be confined to yourself and Dr. Magaw, till I have the honor of seeing you.

Thus you see that I have made a bold venture on your honor and candor, and have opened my whole heart to you on the subject as far as the extent of a small letter will allow me. If you put equal confidence in me, you will find me candid and faithful.

I have notwithstanding been guilty of inadvertences. Very lately I found myself obliged (for the pacifying of my conscience) to write a penitential letter to the Rev. Mr. Jarrett, which gave him great satisfaction; and for the same reason I must write another to the Rev. Mr. Pettigrew.

When I was last in America I prepared and corrected a great variety of things for our magazine, indeed almost everything that was printed, except some loose hints which I had taken of one of my journeys, and which I left in my hurry with Mr. Asbury, without any correction, entreating him that no part of them might be printed which could be improper or offensive. But through great inadvertency (I suppose) he suffered some reflections on the characters of the two above mentioned gentlemen to be inserted in the magazine, for which I am very sorry; and probably shall not rest till I have made my acknowledgements more public — though Mr. Jarrett does not desire it.

I am not sure whether I have not also offended you, sir, by accepting one of the offers made me by you and Dr. Magaw of the use of one of your churches, about six years ago, on my first visit to Philadelphia, without informing you of our plan of separation from the Church of England. If I did offend, (as I doubt I did, especially from what you said to Mr. Richard Dallam of Abingdon,) I sincerely beg yours and Dr. Magaw's pardon. I'll endeavor to amend. But, alas! I am a frail, weak creature.

I will intrude no longer at present. One thing only I will claim from your candor: that if you have no thought of improving this proposal, you will burn this letter and take no more notice of it, (for it would be a pity to have us entirely alienated from each other if we cannot unite in the manner my ardent wishes desire,) but if you will further negotiate business, I will explain my mind still more fully to you on the probabilities of success.

In the meantime permit me, with great respect, to subscribe myself, right reverend sir,

Your very humble servant in Christ,

THOMAS COKE.

The Rt. Rev. Father in God, BISHOP WHITE.

Richmond, April 24, 1791.

P. S. You must excuse interlineations, etc. I am just going into the country and have no time to transcribe.

The salient points of this remarkable letter challenge brief comment, though several of them have already been cited for evidential purposes. "I am not sure but that I went further in the separation of our Church in America than Mr. Wesley intended, . . . he did not intend that our entire separation should take place." The language is too plain to be misunderstood, and its implications are certain. The act of separation at the Christmas

Conference was the act of Coke and Asbury, and was without Wesley's knowledge, and without his recommendation or consent, either then or any time thereafter. "He, being pressed by our friends on this side of the water for ministers to administer the sacraments to them, . . . went farther I am sure than he would have gone if he had foreseen some events which followed. And this I am now certain of—that he is now sorry for the separation." Went farther in what? The organization of an Independent Church? No; but in the ordinations for America, and in view of the abuse of his confidence in this respect he is now sorry for the separation. And for the truth of it, unquestioned collateral evidence has been submitted, that he repented with tears of his proceedings for America. "But what can be done for a reunion, which I wish for, and to accomplish which I have no doubt Mr. Wesley would use his influence to the utmost?" Dr. Emory, it has been found, demanded the proof that this letter of Coke's was written with Wesley's privity. He and his friends can accept either horn of the dilemma. Dr. Coke either here utters matters of fact, or he invented the statement. If the former, then Coke and Wesley had talked of this scheme before Coke left England; and, if so, farther, there is but one conceivable motive for it: Coke suggested to Wesley that in this way Asbury could be brought into subjection again, at least to the extent of recognizing Wesley, by the restoration of Coke to full coördinate authority with Asbury as *Episcopalian* bishops. If this is not satisfactory, then Dr. Coke invented the statement that Wesley would use his influence to the utmost to accomplish it. It is a serious matter to affirm that he did invent it; but his tergiversations and other freakish features in association with his aspirations to be a real, live Episcopalian bishop show that he was capable of it; and, unfortunately for his apologist, it is the alternative in this case.

Rev. Dr. Kewley, who is primarily responsible for the statement that Coke's letter to White was written with the privity of Wesley, Alexander McCaine says, was born in Europe, classically educated, and was intended for the Romish priesthood. He studied medicine, went to the West Indies, and afterward came to the United States. He professed conversion under the preaching of McCaine and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, relinquished the practice of medicine, and was received into the travelling connection, where he remained a year or more. He then joined the Protestant Episcopal Church, and pronounced

upon it a pervert's extravagant eulogy. Finally he left it, following his logical ultimates, and returned to the bosom of Rome, whence he originally came. The reader may determine whether such a career intrinsically impeaches his veracity in general. McCaine put this record in contrast with that of Dr. John Emory,¹ and although the changes in his career are on a different line, one can scarcely avoid the conclusion, that if fatal to Kewley's general veracity they are also fatal to Emory's; but no one not bitterly prejudiced will accept either conclusion. What then? Kewley's averment is worthy of credence unless it can be shown to be antecedently improbable.² But just the contrary is the fact. It has been found that the relations of Wesley and Coke and Asbury at the time were such as to make Wesley ready to entertain such a proposition as Coke may have suggested to him, so that he felt justified in affirming that he had "no doubt" of his approval of it.

It is a fact that the proposition was made, that Coke held two interviews with Bishop White in the presence of Rev. Dr. Magaw,³ who, though a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was on intimate terms with both Coke and Asbury, and the former, at least, often preached in his pulpit. It is antecedently probable that in these interviews Coke was more unreserved than in his letter. That Wesley, whose decease was now known, made parts of the conversations is also known, for Bishop White so declares.³ If, then, Wesley's indorsement of the plan was so enlarged upon by Coke in these conversations, Kewley's knowledge of it is easily traced from Magaw, if not Bishop White. In the now almost forgotten newspaper controversy of Kewley and the Methodist preachers in Easton, Md., of 1806, Kewley fortified himself in every possible way, and it is antecedently probable that he wrote to Magaw, as he did to Bishop

¹ "Defence of the Truth," p. 23.

² Kewley's pamphlet was answered by Nelson Reed in a twelvemo broadside. Kewley says: "With respect to Dr. Coke's letter to Bishop White, whether it was right or wrong, the substance did not originate with him, but with certain clergymen of the Church of England, long before Dr. Coke wrote to Bishop White on that subject." To what can he refer? He does not inform his readers, but it seems clear that the foundation for his declaration can be found only in that interview of several officials of the Church of England in America with Asbury and Dr. Coke, referred to in Kewley's pamphlet, during which union was suggested by them, but declined by Coke and Asbury for reasons already found in a foot-note on the subject heretofore made. If this conjecture be correct, and it bears the impress of probability, then it serves to confirm the truth of such an interview as given by Kewley.

³ Letter to McCaine. See "Defence of the Truth," pp. 67-69.

White, and obtained the points which he used, and afterward embodied in his pamphlet containing the averment that Wesley was privy to the Coke letter to Bishop White. And if anything were wanting to clinch the argument, it is found in a sermon preached in Baltimore and published, in 1820, in which Rev. Dr. Wyatt repeats the allegation that Dr. Coke's proposal to Bishop White was "made with the approbation, if not direction, of Mr. Wesley." Did he make this declaration solely on Kewley's pamphlet? It cannot be known, but if he did it evinces confidence on his part in the veracity of Kewley; but the probabilities are that he had collateral evidence, as he does not give Kewley as his authority. And, finally, Dr. Coke, in the letter to Bishop White, says farther, "I am conscious of it that secrecy is of great importance in the present state of the business, till the minds of you, your brother bishops, and Mr. Wesley be circumstantially known." The implication here is indubitable that he had mentioned it to Wesley; but he was not prepared to act until his mind should be "circumstantially known." And this leads to the gist of a matter otherwise immaterial: Wesley knew of the Coke proposal, but not of its embodiment in the letter. It cannot be known to what extent he intended to support Coke in it; but as he was always open as the day in all his transactions, while Coke was close as the night in many of his, what Coke says of Wesley's coöperation needs to be largely qualified. The justification for this elaborate digression is that it establishes one of the fundamental contentions of a tripartite struggle of Coke and Asbury, with the knowledge, if not the approval, of Wesley, the object of which was, on Coke's part specially, to circumvent Asbury and restore himself to his lost coördinate position as a "joint superintendent" with him over the American societies.

Resuming comment upon Coke's letter to Bishop White, the next thing to be observed is that he declares the affection of the American preachers and people for Wesley, "notwithstanding the excessive ill usage he received from a few." He refers to the Conference of 1787 in dropping his name from the minutes, and so abrogating his authority. There can be no doubt that most of the leading preachers took part in it, understanding that Asbury approved of it, though "mute" himself as to speech about it, as their attachment to Asbury, whom they personally knew, was greater than their attachment to Wesley, whom they did not personally know. One of the itinerants present in 1787 affirms in substance that the resolution to drop Wesley's name

was passed in the absence of all the juniors; "when we juniors were admitted it had been done." How Coke regarded it will be seen when his sermon upon the death of Wesley is considered. It was no doubt a minority act; but it was the Baltimore Conference, in which were Asbury's trusted partisans, that did it.

In the letter now under analysis Coke informs Bishop White that "between 60 and 70 only out of the 250 have been ordained elders, and about 60 deacons only." That is to say, only 120 or 130 were Conference voters out of 250 preachers. As that was in 1791, it is probable that the number of voters was much less in 1787. It emphasizes Coke's statement that he received "excessive ill usage from a few." The letter sets before Bishop White the fact that the accretion to the Protestant Episcopal Church would be 60,000 adults, and this he multiplies by five for families, and these again by three-fifths, and so he covers about 750,000. "About one-fifth of these are blacks." He names several obstacles, and then gives the following paragraph: "My desire for a reunion is so sincere and earnest that these difficulties make me tremble: and *yet something must be done before the death of Mr. Wesley, otherwise I shall despair of success*; for though my influence among the Methodists in these States as well as in Europe is, I doubt not, increasing, *yet Mr. Asbury, whose influence is very capital, will not easily comply: nay, I know he will be exceedingly averse to it.*" The implication from these italicized words is clear that he had cursorily named the subject hypothetically to Asbury, so as not to excite his suspicions; and he received no encouragement. It is about the only instance wherein Asbury was successfully hoodwinked by Coke, but his physical and mental enervation at this time will be remembered. The letter asks for "a private interview in Philadelphia," and names "Tuesday, the 17th of May. If this be agreeable," he begs that the Bishop will "signify it in a note directed to Jacob Baker's, Market Street, Philadelphia," or, "if you please, by a few lines sent me by the return of the post at Philip Rogers', Esq., in Baltimore, from yourself or Dr. Magaw. We can then enlarge on the subjects." If he had been content to leave it until he reached Philadelphia, and had not been prompted by his clandestine zeal to get an opinion "by return of the post," Bishop White's letter in reply would not have fallen into the hands of Asbury, and so exposed the plot. Again he reminds the bishop that he had ventured all upon his honor and candor. The three ensuing paragraphs are expressions of the most obsequious apology, in which he literally

fawns upon the bishop. In the concluding paragraph he says: "I will intrude no longer at present. One thing only I will claim of your candor: that if you have no thought of improving this proposal, you will burn this letter and take no more notice of it," etc. The subscription to it has already been quoted. From these words the reader can judge for himself of the Christian confidence existing between Coke and Asbury at this time.

How did this letter become public? Bishop White kept the secret letter of Coke's in confidence, as throughout he proved himself the Christian gentleman. But in the summer of 1806, fifteen years afterward, a controversy arose on the Eastern Shore of Maryland between the Methodists and certain clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in which the existence of such a letter was affirmed and denied with equal positiveness, and he was requested to settle it, which he did by two letters; one to Rev. Simon Wilmer of the Episcopal Church and one to Rev. Mr. M'Closkey of the Methodist Church. Bishop White gave the information, and also confided an exact copy of it to Rev. Dr. Kemp of Maryland, under date of October 30, 1806. It was published by Kewley in the appendix to his pamphlet of 1807, already referred to under its full title, and from this copy in my possession all other citations from it are made. Twenty years afterward Alexander McCaine, in his "Defence of the Truth," a refutation of Emory's "Defence of Our Fathers," to settle the question between them as to whether or not Coke knew of the decease of Wesley at the time he wrote the letter to White, to make assurance doubly sure that he did not, wrote to Bishop White in Philadelphia, and McCaine on his return to Baltimore thought it best to have him commit to writing the result of his verbal interview, and made such a request of him. The Bishop answered under date "Philadelphia, August 4, 1828." In this letter the Bishop says: "When Dr. Coke addressed me the letter to which you refer, he could not have known of the death of Mr. Wesley, which was an event of too signal a character not to be discoursed of immediately on the arrival of the tidings of it. I am persuaded there was no knowledge of it in Philadelphia when I wrote my answer to the aforesaid letter. Dr. Coke was informed of it between the date of his letter and the arrival of mine."¹ Occasion for reference to this letter as to another paragraph in it will present itself shortly.

Dismissing this letter for the time, it will be well to take up

¹ "Defence of the Truth," p. 69.

the thread of the narrative with Asbury and Coke at Port Royal, Va., where they heard of the decease of Wesley, April 29, 1791. Asbury in his Journal says, "The solemn news reached our ears that the public papers had announced the death of that dear man of God, John Wesley." He pens some eulogistic sentences ending, "I conclude his equal is not to be found among all the sons he hath brought up, nor his superior among all the sons of Adam he may have left behind." He says Dr. Coke at once set out for Baltimore, to get the most speedy passage to England. Asbury overtakes him at Colchester, and thence on with him to Alexandria, Va., where they had "certain information of Wesley's death." On Sabbath Day, May 1, Coke reached Baltimore, and preached on the occasion of Mr. Wesley's death, "and mentioned some things which gave offence." It does not appear that Asbury was present, but he came on in time for the Conference, which opened on the 5th of May, and held three days. What were the things that "gave offence"? Coke was prevailed on to preach a funeral sermon for Wesley on that Sabbath night, and among other outspoken and unqualified utterances of the hour, delivered in the heat of excitement and in the absence of Asbury, whose presence generally exerted a subduing power over him, he said: "The leaving of Mr. Wesley's name off the minutes was an almost diabolical thing. No history furnishes any parallel to it — that a body of Christian ministers should treat an aged and faithful minister, as Mr. Wesley undoubtedly was, with such disrespect." And farther on in the sermon, "Two of these actors in Mr. Wesley's expulsion are dead and damned, and the others, with their patron, will go to hell except they repent."¹ Their patron was certainly Asbury. These remarks were omitted when he came to reprint his sermon in London not long after. Drew, his biographer, states that he took the coach for the North the next morning, May 2, hoping to reach the packet advertised to sail for England from New York, but he was taken ill on the road and had to stop over in Wilmington, Del. He was able, however, to sit up and write several letters. Under date of May 4 he wrote to Baltimore, and says: "I doubt much whether the cruel usage he received in Baltimore in 1787, when he was excommunicated (wonderful and unparalleled step), did not hasten his death. Indeed, I little doubt it. For from the time he was informed of it, he began to hold down his head and to

¹ Dr. Collins Denny of Nashville, Tenn., claims to have a copy of this sermon printed in Baltimore immediately after its delivery.

think he had lived long enough."¹ This has already been cited and corrected by Tyerman as an impression sincerely entertained by Coke. He seems altogether oblivious of the fact, however, that his own conduct in the American affairs had given Wesley quite as much disquiet as Asbury and the Conference. Coke also wrote to James O'Kelly under the same date. The letter is as follows:—

WILMINGTON, May 4, 1791.

TO BROTHER O'KELLY:

Dear Friend,—I have written a letter of a sheet and a half to you, but on consideration I believe I shall not send it to you till I reach Europe; then I shall probably write as much again to you. By this time you probably have been informed of our great loss in the death of Mr. Wesley. I am hastening to Europe in this important crisis. You may depend on my being with you, God willing, at the General Conference. I think no step will be taken during my absence to prevent the General Conference; it would be so gross an insult on truth, justice, mercy, and peace, that it will not be, I think, attempted. If it be so, and successfully, we will call a congress.

I expect you to be faithful. But as Mordecai said to Esther, Think not with thyself that thou shalt escape more than others; for if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place; but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed. Oh, be firm, be very firm, and very cautious, and very wise; and depend upon a faithful friend in,

THOMAS COKE.¹

In addition to these letters, the one intended to emphasize his use of Wesley's death and the "ill treatment" of him by Asbury and the Conference (a grave error of judgment as it turned out), and the other to stiffen O'Kelly in his opposition to the Council, and for the call of a General Conference (but it will be seen that he proved false to O'Kelly at the General Conference of 1792 itself despite these professions), the reader will not be master of the whole situation without also citing from a letter Asbury had written to O'Kelly about this time: "Let all past conduct between thee and me be buried, and never come before the Conference or elsewhere; send me the dove. I saw thy face was not toward me in all the Council, therefore did not treat thee with that respect due to one who had suffered so much for the cause of truth and liberty. I wrote to the Doctor [Coke] that if he came here again he would see trouble."²

So much is seen in these affectionate epistles, so childlike and guileless, that one marvels that they could emanate from men of pronounced piety and intelligence; and they show also how unsupported is Dr. Emory's averment in the "Defence of Our

¹ McCaine's "Letters on M. E. Church," 1850, pp. 112, 119.

² *Ibid.* p. 118.

Fathers," that O'Kelly "took special pains to enlist Dr. Coke in his views, and to produce disaffection between him and Bishop Asbury." It is true only in that O'Kelly gave Coke, in his London letters, the news from America, but Coke needed no efforts to awaken him to the situation as opportune for him to recover lost ground of authority. Alexander McCaine accurately measured the three men when he says: "The fact is, these two ecclesiastical leaders, in their struggle for power, were afraid of Mr. O'Kelly, and each took 'special pains' that this gentleman's influence might be thrown into his scale." The letters are the sufficient proof. Dr. Coke was in the greatest hurry of his life to get to London,¹ for reasons already traversed and more than suspected by his British brethren; but he must lay his American train carefully and apply a slow-match till he could return. May 4, 1791, was a very busy day with him at Wilmington, despite his indisposition. He issued a circular, which he distributed as far as he deemed prudent, in which he says: "Five things we have in view. 1. The abolition of the arbitrary aristocracy. 2. The investing of the nomination of the presiding elders in the Conference of the districts. 3. The limitation of the districts to be invested in the General Conference. 4. An appeal allowed each preacher on the reading of the stations. 5. A General Conference of at least two-thirds of the preachers as a check upon everything. *But a good superintendent will not do wrong, you fear.* I answer a good superintendent is but a man, and a man is fond of power. But a good superintendent may

¹ In evidence it is necessary only to cite from Drew, page 231: "Having taken a seat in the mail-coach, he departed from Baltimore very early in the morning, but was somewhat indisposed during the day. The following morning when he attempted to rise, he found himself totally unable to proceed; but having received some medical assistance during the day, he seemed better; and on the ensuing morning pursued the coach on horseback, still hoping that he should reach New York before the packet put to sea. But his complaint returning, he was compelled to remain at Wilmington another day, and this rendered all his efforts to reach the packet ineffectual. Discovering the impossibility of gaining the packet, he now turned his face to Philadelphia, but on reaching this city he found that no ship was expected to sail for any part of England until some considerable time had elapsed. He therefore continued here nine days, preaching almost every evening, and sometimes in the morning, as well as three times on the Lord's day, waiting the departure of some ship that should carry him across the Atlantic. At length, on the 14th of May, hearing that a ship was about to sail from New Castle immediately for London, he hastened thither, and procured a passage, and taking leave of Mr. Asbury and a few of the preachers who had repaired to New Castle to bid him farewell, sailed from the port, and after a pleasant voyage was put on shore at Falmouth by some fishermen who fell in with the vessel in the English Channel."

become a tyrant, or be succeeded by one. Oh, stand up for liberty, be friends of mankind in all things."¹ He had become a radical of the radicals and he does not mince his words. What a strange spectacle of human nature he presents, and how all ideas of consistency and constancy are shattered by his subsequent conduct!

The foot-note from Drew sets forth that he went from Wilmington to Philadelphia, where he remained nine days. It was during this time that he had his two interviews with Bishop White in the presence of Dr. Magaw. There are two sources of information as to the interviews: letters of Bishop White himself and disclosures made by his biographer recently, Julius H. Ward. July 30, 1804, Bishop White wrote a letter in answer to one of inquiry received by him, June 27, from Philadelphia. The Bishop states in substance the reasons he was led to make Dr. Coke's letter to him known: "I found myself under a necessity of stating facts in order to guard against misrepresentation. In the spring of the year 1791 I received a letter from Dr. Coke on the subject of uniting the Methodist *society* with the Protestant Episcopal Church. An answer was returned. In consequence of which Dr. Coke made me a visit, having not then received my letter, but having heard that I had written." He then gives a brief of the plan as outlined in Dr. Coke's letter, and adds: "This intercourse was communicated at the time from Dr. Coke to Dr. Magaw. I do not know of any person he informed of it, unless I may except the gentleman above alluded to, *by whom*, if I have been rightly informed, *my letter to Dr. Coke was opened in his absence*; such a freedom being understood, as I supposed, to arise out of the connection of the two gentlemen. But for this part of the statement I cannot vouch. It was understood between Dr. Coke and me that the proposal should be communicated to the bishops of the Episcopal Church at the next convention, which was to be in September, 1792, in New York. This was accordingly done." The italics are his.² Citation has already been made from a letter of Bishop White's to Alexander McCaine, of August 4, 1828, and the third paragraph of it, as bearing immediately upon the subject, is now given: "In the conversations—for there were two—with Dr. Coke, in the presence of Dr. Magaw, there was certainly a reference to the decease of Mr. Wesley, to what effect I do not recollect, although I am persuaded it had no bearing on the purpose of the visits of Dr.

¹ McCaine's "Letters," 1850, p. 119.

² Kewley's pamphlet of 1807, p. 59.

Coke. That gentleman did not intimate any intention of withdrawing the proposals the letter contained; and I was left at full liberty to communicate to our convention."

Bishop White's last biographer, Julius H. Ward, gives some interesting items in the same line. He says: "He [Dr. Coke] wrote first to Bishop White, about two months after Wesley's death, and then, three weeks later, May 14, 1791, to Bishop Seabury, proposing, in a confidential way, measures for the union of Methodists in this country with the Episcopal Church. He evidently felt that he had no adequate authority to his office as an overseer or bishop in the Church of God. His actual feeling is expressed in the following extract from his letter to Bishop Seabury: 'I love the Methodists in America and could not think of leaving them entirely, whatever might happen to me in Europe. The preachers and people also love me; many have a peculiar regard for me. But I could not with propriety visit American Methodists, possessing in our Church on this side of the water an office inferior to that of Mr. Asbury. But if the two Houses of your convention of the clergy (meaning the General Convention) would consent to your consecration of Mr. Asbury and me as bishops of the Methodist society in the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States, or by any other title, if that be not proper, on the supposition of the reunion of the two churches under proper mutual stipulations, and engage that the Methodist societies shall have a regular supply on the death of their bishops, and so on, *ad perpetuum*, the grand difficulty with respect to the teachers would be removed—they would have the same men to confide in whom they have at present, and all other mutual stipulations would soon be settled.'" Mr. Ward adds, "It is not known that Bishop Seabury sent any answer to this letter, but Bishop White returned an answer." He then interjects an account of Bishop Madison's attempt to secure a union in the Convention of 1792. "The clerical and lay-deputies would not entertain it for a moment, and the bishops asked leave silently to withdraw it. Bishop White saw Dr. Coke three times and heard him read the letter which he had written to Bishop Seabury." He farther says that Bishop White remarks that "it was evident that from some circumstances there was a degree of jealousy, if not misunderstanding, between him and Mr. Asbury"; and Ward supplements, "it is not known that the latter desired the Episcopal office." He then writes of Dr. White's visit to England for his own consecration, and while waiting made an

effort to see Mr. Wesley concerning these things, but failed, for the reason already discovered: Wesley's engagements of travel were such as to prevent it. Finally Ward states, interpreting Bishop White's views, that "the object of Dr. Coke seems to have been to obtain Episcopal office on the ground that it would confer upon himself a real authority as a leader of the Methodist body."¹ The letter of Coke to Seabury is referred to by "Laicus" (W. S. Stockton) in a series of articles on Methodist Episcopacy in the *Methodist Protestant*, January 15, 1842; but he does not say that he ever saw a copy of it.

It is noteworthy that neither Bangs nor Drew makes the slightest reference to this salient episode in Coke's career, intimately interwoven as it is with the history of American Methodism. Stevens gives no hint of it in his "History of the M. E. Church," and but a single line in his "History of Methodism," Vol. III., p. 339: "Coke's attempt with Bishop White to unite the Methodist and Protestant Episcopal Churches," and this furnishes no information. Is the old maxim correct: A suppression of the true is a suggestion of the false? Indeed, Bangs is culpable in an effort to conceal the relations of Asbury and Coke at this time by quoting in full a letter from Asbury to Coke of the most amicable character, taken from Drew as though it had been written amid these events. The effort to conceal is found in that he suppresses the date of the letter, which Drew gives as "Georgetown, February 12, 1791," a few lines in advance of the letter itself.² Let it be examined and see if this letter was not written before Asbury could know of Coke's change of mind toward him in the Council matter and in the affair of the White-Seabury-Coke correspondence. Examining Asbury's Journal, it is found that he was at Georgetown, S. C., on the date of the letter.³ He was expecting Dr. Coke at Charleston, which Asbury reached on the 15th, but Coke did not arrive until the 23d, hence this letter goes for nothing as to the irenic spirit of it.

This chapter must close by completing the episode of the Coke letters to White and Seabury. Drew has told of the parting of Coke with Asbury and the preachers at New Castle, May 14 or 16, the first date the very day the Seabury letter was written. Asbury confirms what Drew says as gleaned from Coke's papers, and gives the date of departure as the 16th of May. "I rode to

¹ "Life and Times of Bishop White," by Julius H. Ward. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

² "Life of Coke," p. 233.

³ "Journal," Vol. II. p. 111.

New Castle and had the last interview with Dr. Coke." That is all. The next day he rode to Philadelphia and opened the Conference. He gives a fragment about Hammett: "Mr. Hammett came from Charleston with wonderful lists of petitioners desiring his return; to this so far as I had to say, I submitted; but—I see and hear many things that might wound my spirit; if it were not that the Lord bears me up above all." He went to New York and held the Conference. Hammett was there also. "Mr. Hammett's preaching was not well received. . . . I expect some things will be retailed to my disadvantage. Be it so—I trust the Lord."

Did he know of the Coke letter to White when he bid him adieu at New Castle? It is extremely probable, if not certain. The presence of the "other preachers" may have deterred reference to it, or Asbury may have been politic enough to keep silence, a gift he had at opportune times. Comparing such data as are at hand, and it is established that Bishop White's letter to Coke in answer was received at Philip Rogers's between the departure of Coke from Baltimore, May 2, and Asbury's departure after the Conference had adjourned. It was handed to Asbury by Rogers as, in his estimation, the proper custodian. Bishop White says that he ascertained his letter "was opened in his [Coke's] absence" by Asbury, and with true Christian courtesy endeavors to extenuate it. Was Asbury justified in this act? Only as White has put it: "Such a freedom being understood, as I supposed, to arise out of the connection between the two gentlemen. But for this part of the statement I cannot vouch." Their relations at this time, to the contrary, were strained. Coke's sermon on Wesley had greatly displeased Asbury, most of the preachers, and the people. Would Coke have opened a letter addressed to Asbury in like circumstances? It must be confessed that it is likely that he would. It is material only as offsetting the contention of those who are satisfied to believe that not only were these "joint superintendents" always on friendly terms, but would not think of violating conventional proprieties with each other. Asbury opened the letter, and what a revelation it contained! The plotter is now a marplot. Is even McCaine's language, vitriolic as were the droppings from his pen at times, too severe? "How must Mr. Asbury have felt when he received, opened, and read Bishop White's answer to the Doctor's letter, which fell into his hands? Is it not reasonable to suppose that he was thunderstruck with surprise, and indignant at such con-

duct? That he was ready to cry out, treachery, deception, intrigue, and a thousand things beside? Nor is it strange that in a letter, written subsequently, and now lying before me, he should say, 'I cannot confide in ecclesiastics passing through the degrees and *intrigues* of a university, as I can trust to a ploughman.'"¹ It is morally certain that he knew of the White letter when he bid Coke adieu at New Castle, for he did not return to Baltimore until the close of the following November, having made an extensive circuit among the New England churches from the New York Conference; and there is evidence, under Dr. Coke's own hand, that during this whole period he nursed his righteous indignation. The proof? It is found in a letter of Coke's to Asbury under date of September 23, 1791, and bound up in the pamphlet published in London in 1793, as an appeal to the English Methodists against the publication of the Coke-Moore "Life of Wesley" in opposition to Whitehead's "Life" as authorized by his will and the executors. This letter was republished in this country in the Baltimore *Methodist Magazine*² for May, 1856, and the following are extracts from it:—

ISLE OF JERSEY, on the Coast of France, September 23, 1791.

DEAR FRIEND: I have written many letters to you, but have received none from you. I have written so much to you concerning the imprudence I was led into in preaching Mr. Wesley's funeral sermon, that I shall say no more at present on that head. I also dwelt on some other things which you might construe as unkindliness to you. . . . Will you appoint a place for me to meet you in the month of November of next year? I mean, will you inform me what part of the continent you will be in at that time? Why don't you send me your minutes? Why don't you write me? . . . Come, let everything contrary to love and friendship die away and be no more forever. You must make allowance for me, considering the great influence Mr. Wesley had on my mind, and his great prejudice toward you. . . . I am determined to write to you every opportunity till I sail for America, let your neglect toward me be ever so great, or ever so much deserved by me. Adieu. Pray at least,

For Your Truly Faithful Friend and affectionate brother,

THOMAS COKE.

Nothing could show the stern attitude of Asbury toward this supplanting Jacob, like this letter. Coke had pushed out his pawns upon the ecclesiastical chess-board in over-confidence of winning, but the master of the game dexterously turned out his hand, and again it was a disastrous checkmate for the venture-

¹ "Defence of the Truth," p. 64.

² A full two years' file in the writer's possession.

some player. Asbury kept him on the stool of repentance until he was thoroughly humbled. How thoroughly humbled and subdued let his next visit to America and the General Conference of 1792 exhibit. Asbury was an adept in all ecclesiastical finesse, but he did not acquire it as an art. He was a leader by the genius of his nature. In Coke it was an art, and as such belongs to the trickster; and Asbury allowed him the monopoly of it.

CHAPTER XXXII

Delegated General Conference; was it first suggested by Asbury, or Lee, or Snethen? — The suppression of individuality under forms of law leads to its clandestine assertion without law — Logical and philosophical reflections on the early Methodist preacher and the effects of the hierarchic system on him thoroughly analyzed — The sovereignty of government and that of the people contrasted — Inventions in excuse of the former by Dr. Bond and others — Asbury its personification; manœuvring with O'Kelly; reform ideas and the laity; preparation for the General Conference of 1792 — Lee's statistics, also Dickins's — The newly organized Protestant Episcopal Church lay-representative; the example disregarded by the Methodist Bishops.

It was while Asbury was making his long circuit in New England named in the last chapter, that he records, under date July 7, 1791 (Jesse Lee was abundant in labors in this section, and at Lynn and Lynnfield the Methodists had grown to 2200): "This day brother Jesse Lee put a paper in my hand proposing the election of not less than two, nor more than four preachers from each Conference, to form a General Conference in Baltimore in December, 1792, to be continued annually." It must be admitted that this is the first public suggestion of a delegated General Conference with a plan. Asbury probably had been revolving some method in his mind to meet the exigency which he could no longer defer nor thwart. Some years afterward Nicholas Snethen made a suggestion of a properly constituted delegated General Conference to Asbury, who urged him to advance it in the General Conference of 1804, which he did, but it was not adopted until 1808, and the first Conference of this character met in 1812. Lee's original suggestion was not adopted, and while Snethen admits that Asbury may have had some such plan in mind when he named his own to him, he says that Asbury did not make it known, or give him information of Lee's suggestion made nearly ten years before, so that Snethen's claim as originating the delegated Conference is well founded. It will be reviewed later. Ware says of Lee, "he was the best speaker in the Conference." Of commanding physique, of much natural intelligence, though not largely cultivated, deeply pious and laborious, with a will-power to overcome obstacles and assert his convictions, he was

rapidly coming into leadership in the North, while O'Kelly was claiming the same attention in the South. They were agreed in their opposition to the Council, and for a call of a General Conference. The intelligent and pious among the laity were on the same side, so that Asbury, when he found that Dr. Coke was with the malcontents, yielded to the pressure, and consented to the assembling of the preachers in General Conference at Baltimore, December 1, 1792.

The mind of the reader has necessarily been much absorbed with the ecclesiastics of Methodism so that the impression may obtain that there was little else doing but scheming among the "superintendents," and counter-scheming among the leading preachers. It could not be otherwise under such a system as that of Wesley and Asbury. The suppression of individuality under forms of law leads to its clandestine assertion without law. The violation of natural and Christian rights may seem to be a success under a hierarchy, and really conducive to prosperity, but opportunity comes and then the pent-up forces effervesce and explode, often with disastrous results. But the average preacher of those days, and all the juniors as non-voters in the Conference, and they always made a large minority, occupied themselves in soul-saving, with a living experience of saving grace in their hearts, and a sublime gospel of justification by faith under a witnessing Spirit. The terrors of the law were preached with stentorian lungs — terrors of fervid lightning as from a gaping hell to the unawakened sinners to whom such fiery declamation was a strange revelation, and they cried out in repentant throes, and fell prostrate under the "power," so that Pentecostal scenes were revived and of frequent occurrence, as the preacher with tearful eyes and profound emotion invited these seekers to the Saviour, and they entered into the joys of the new birth with exulting shouts of praise which left lifelong impressions under the sealing of the Holy Ghost. They preached for immediate effects, and their faith was not disappointed. The "revival" followed the track of the itinerant around his circuit of hundreds of miles, with preaching every day and three times on Sabbath, with as many classes to lead and prayer-meetings to hold. And then a wide-awake lookout was kept for promising converts among the youths, who found their "call to preach," and they came up to Conference in groups of fifties and sixties to replenish the more slowly depleting ranks as the veterans dropped on the field or retired to win a livelihood out of the soil for a growing family, and at the same time beating

every bush in all their vicinage for stray sinners. The preacher was welcomed to the homes of the people with reverence, and the best they had was at his service, even though that best consisted of a heap of deer or other animal skins in the corner of the house loft, and jerked venison graced the rural table. He was an authority in the household, and came to exercise it as he grew into consequence, and earned his way by a like reverence and obedience to his "preacher in charge," and the presiding elder, and the awesome Bishop, as he knew full well, if at all aspiring, that these were the steps to the throne.

It was a unique system, as powerful for evil in this educational trend as it was for good in its coercive and cohesive force. For the most part the great leaders of the American Methodistic movement were sincerely of opinion that the "general superintendency" and the round and round circuit of the preachers, under the absolute leadership of Asbury, had all the virtue of its successes. His power to appoint the preachers, where, when, and how he wished, he guarded most jealously to this end. He honestly believed that if he were divested of it he "would no more be able to send missionaries to the Western States and Territories in proportion to their rapid population. The grand circulation of ministers would be at an end. The surplus of preachers in one Conference could not be drawn out to supply the deficiencies of others."¹ It was one of the arguments unanswerable in its day used by Bishops Coke and Asbury in favor of the extremest interpretation of the powers vested in them. And yet nothing is more evident from the early Conference records and traditional remains that, when forlorn missions were demanded, appeals were made for volunteers and responses were sure to be made, evidencing that the moving quality after all was not the Bishop's power, but the constraining love of souls, that animated these heroic men. And the administration of those days is not wanting in plentiful examples of arbitrary differences of treatment in the disposition of these itinerants. Colbert, one of the early preachers, tells that Sylvester Hutchinson, a powerful and acceptable preacher of his times, was left off the minutes and without appointment by Asbury, without the consent of the Conference, while he was on a visit to his childhood's home. Colbert says, "Finding on his return that his name was dropped, he remonstrated with Asbury and offered to continue in the ministry. Mr. Asbury finally offered him a circuit on which he was not acceptable. There was

¹ "Notes on the Discipline," 1796-97 edition.

also another preacher who was not very acceptable where he had been sent, and Hutchinson and he proposed to Asbury that they should be exchanged; but this was refused, and, turning to Mr. Hutchinson, he said: 'Go there or go home.' Mr. Hutchinson answered, 'Then I must go home,' and thus, about 1805, ended his connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church."¹ But in another case gleaned from Asbury's Journal, and about this time, April, 1805, he writes, "L. M'Combs had refused to take his station. After some alterations were made he consented to go to Philadelphia." Unlike Hutchinson, this was a clear case of rebellion to his authority. Asbury had his reasons for yielding, into which no man might inquire nor was it needful, the point was gained; but into such cases like that of Hutchinson, and they were not isolated, it were useless to inquire, and there was no redress.

Logical and philosophical reflections obtrude themselves and demand expression at this stage. It is the very genius of a hierarchy to exert its repressive force against popular liberty in the sense of its last analysis: individualism. And this it does by subordinating the individual activity to the uniformity of the system. It studiously avoids recognition of the unit, and spends all its energies in exalting the aggregate. The man is nothing; the system is everything. As it is exhibited in the unique hierarchy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, modified in administration by the pressure of liberalism upon it within and without in recent years, yet like the leopard it does not change its spots, so that the outspoken representative of its genius even in the present year of grace, eighteen hundred and ninety-four, does not hesitate to inculcate this very sentiment. At the Baltimore Conference of 1894, Bishop Fowler presiding, one of the most gifted of her chief pastors, but thoroughly saturated with the authority of office, and enamored of the system as such, addressing a class of candidates for orders in the presence of the Conference and a crowded congregation, consumed its time at great length, evidently intending his address for the benefit of the body and the people present, as much as the four young preachers who stood before him, for the substance of it was, "You do not come here to be made Baptist, nor Presbyterian ministers, but Methodist ministers. You do not join the Baltimore Conference, but you join the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. You become a part of the system and agree to be directed by the au-

¹ Atkinson's "Centennial History," p. 152.

thorities of the church so as to best promote the efficiency of the system.”¹ The address is not thus crystallized because it misrepresents the polity, but as evidential of affirmations concerning it. It was thus declared that its controlling, cohesive, and coercive forces are ecclesiastical and not moral, and just so far forth it is clear that it operates upon the lower plane of human nature and that the trend of its education is destructive of moral liberty. No question is raised as to the potentiality of such a system, not as an aggressive force only, but for growth and consolidation. All extant Episcopacies from Rome downward are in demonstration, but not a few of their strongest and most alert thinkers, specially in the Methodist Episcopal Church, are holding out the danger signals: the growth and consolidation of officialism and institutionalism as well. It is admitted that every system will develop its extremes, and that these must not be made the criterion for either its approval or disapproval abstractly. To use a nautical figure, if the popular, representative system of the Methodist Protestant Church, by its levelling principles tends to overweight the hold of the Church craft with ballast and so detracts from its sailing momentum by settling it too deeply in the water, the system of paternalism, authority in the head, flies the danger-signal of being top-heavy—it carries too great a spread of canvas for the amount of ballast—its officialism and institutionalism are listing the craft. This is not an invention or an imagination of the writer. Only a few months since one of the leading periodicals of that Church, employing the same nautical figure, illustrates the continued repression of lay influence and gives warning that the timbers of the old ship are creaking and groaning under it, and hints that if the stokers in the hold, meaning the laymen who supply the sinews of strength, once throw down their shovels, and the fires burn low or are extinguished, there will be no longer use for the blue-coated officers who pace the ship’s bridge and command the quarter-deck trumpet in hand.

To resume the argument. The solidarity of the hierarchal system, whatever may be its efficient uses, is radically opposed to that individuality which is the very genius of the gospel, not for personal salvation only, but for true ecclesiastical assertion. Its essential quality is self-determination. It deals with human nature on its highest plane. Its authority is from below upward and not from above downward. To repeat a geometrical figure, the pyramid stands upon its base and not its apex, and there can be

¹ Condensed by Rev. W. M. Strayer, an eye and ear witness.

no dispute that this is the order both of nature and of revelation. In no other way can a system of government be kept in touch with the moral convictions of men. This truth has been well expressed by a contemporary: "Civilized society is gradually being conformed by the leavening influence of the principles contained in the gospel of Christ. Instead of depending on force and fear, organized society is coming to recognize the voluntary principle as the power by which the community is to be held together. 'A government of the people, by the people, and for the people,' is but another expression for the incarnation of the gospel of Christ in the social relations."¹ Rev. Dr. Buckley, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, and one of the brightest and shrewdest of Methodist Episcopal officials, sees this truth, but as a conservator of old methods, as in duty bound, grasps at a straw in a current number of that paper. Quoting a deliverance of Bishop Watterson of the Roman Catholic Church, at a summer school held at Columbus, Ohio, recently: "All the revolutions of this century have been caused by a wrong principle, which sought to make authority come from below rather than from above," he italicizes, and says: "There is a great truth in this." But only as he evidently mistakes the Bishop, who was not thinking of the theocratic side of government, but of the Popish side. So viewed, who will dare affirm that there is a great truth in it in the sense of commendation? Not even Dr. Buckley. He sees the dilemma in which his admission places him, and, holding to the mistaken sense, adds: "A republican government can be harmonized with this principle without difficulty, providing the people recognize their allegiance to God, and exercise their votes conscientiously." That goes for the saying, but what he wishes to teach the Church between the lines is, that there is an excuse for a system; that is, the Methodist Episcopal polity, in which authority is from above downward, as in the Romish Church.

The essential differential quality of hierarchy and democracy is, that the former recognizes no sovereignty but that of government, while the latter recognizes none but the sovereignty of the people. The former is the basic principle of all monarchic, aristocratic, and autocratic, civil and religious systems; the latter, the basic principle of the republic of manhood in both civil and religious systems. And it is noteworthy that New Testament teaching, as embodied by Christ and the apostles, while it recognizes in civil government "the powers that be" of whatever existent type;

¹ Dr. Stephens in *Methodist Recorder*.

for religious government it lays down the one law of love, Christ, as Head of the Church, being its only criterion as declared in His fundamental, "One is your master, even Christ;" it as absolutely recognizes the equality of brotherhood as underlying the sovereignty of the people in the counterpart of this fundamental, "and all ye are brethren." It thus pronounces against the sovereignty of government as its ecclesiastical ideal, inasmuch as His law of love is the law of the many and not of the few or of the one. So while it declaratively enjoins as its ideal the sovereignty of the people, it also implicatively forbids all civil systems not grounded on this sovereignty of the people, as incongruous with His ecclesiastical ideal. Hence it is demonstrable that the autocratic system of Wesley, as a striking illustration of the sovereignty of government, while it was allowable and had its justifying uses in the formative stages of his religious "Societies," accepting him as their unquestioned ruler, its entailment under the Deed of Declaration was forbidden by Christ's ecclesiastical ideal, the law of love being in its necessary quality distributive of rights, and is utterly exclusive of any claim of obedience in one over another of his mystical members, the Church. The same holds true of Asbury's autocratic government of the American "Societies" as such, and while the same allowance for expedient ends may be conceded, it was none the less violative of Christ's ecclesiastical ideal when the sovereignty of government was entailed in 1784 in the organized hierarchy of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Hence it cannot be admitted that the limited monarchy of England, based upon popular suffrage in its representative House of Commons, can be in accord with Christ's ideal, and therefore right, and an opposite system as ordained by the Deed of Declaration for the Wesleyan Church be also in accord with it and right; any more than it can be admitted that the Republic of America, based upon the sovereignty of the people, can be in accord and right, and the sovereignty of government as displayed in the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church be in accord and right also. If the one be ideally right, the other must be ideally wrong, and so destroys for it all its traditional claims and expedient policy. And this leads to the contention that a hierarchy in the Church cannot peacefully abide, and be ultimately perpetuated in a civil republic, that of Rome not excepted. A hundred years of internal strife, and a gradual reform in the Methodist Episcopal Church of its features inconsistent with personal Christian liberty, are the irrefragable proof.

So complete is the scriptural and logical refutation that it led to the invention of the unchristian theory that, admitting the utter incongruity of its unbalanced polity with New Testament ideals, and the existent civil polity of the States of the American Union, a sufficient check is nevertheless found in the prerogative of the people to withhold supplies. It originated early after the enactments of 1784, as Ware declares in his "Reminiscences"; became the staple of Dr. Bond's argument in the controversy of 1827-30, and was then rightly stigmatized as "the purse-string" argument; and has been used by the ignorant with the ignorant ever since. What language of reprobation can sufficiently characterize a system which gave birth to the infamous suggestion as a salvo to Methodist Episcopal laymen: Your effective remedy and sufficient compensation for exclusion from the government is in your power to impoverish and starve your ministers as the legislative, judicial, and executive class in the Church! It led to the invention of that equally abhorrent fallacy that the assertion of manhood suffrage in the civil system and the subjection of manhood suffrage in the ecclesiastical system have the same divine warrant! And by consequence that the arguments which support the one do not invalidate the other. And these dual inventions led to the crowning one as the last resort and final analysis, that the exclusive rule of a limited class in ecclesiastical government is by a "divine right," the administration of "moral discipline" carrying with it the prerogative of ministerial rule under a hierarchic polity. It is destroyed the moment it is brought in touch with the Christly dictum, "one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." A recent writer has well observed (an enlightened Roman Catholic), "There is a true instinct in the popular mind which teaches it that the cause of civil and spiritual liberty is in truth identical." And this is but to affirm that the civil order of personal liberty is but the reflex of the scriptural order whose "seat is the bosom of God and whose voice is the harmony of the universe."

Dr. Coke's sudden and unexpected arrival in England, and what came of it until his return to America in November, 1792, a period of over eighteen months, has already been rehearsed in previous chapters. Bishop Asbury's Journal for this period is a series of jottings of his ceaseless travel, hardships, and ill-health, through New England, with a return tour as far south as Charleston, S. C., and Georgia, and thence back to Baltimore in time for the General Conference which he had called under the pressure

brought to bear upon him by the principal preachers and influential laymen, Coke having thrown the weight of his influence in favor of it also. The odds had been too much for Asbury. Snethen says, "It is well known what immense labor and difficulty it cost Mr. Asbury to maintain the non-representative system." It was his chief concern now to mould what he could not control. His Journal, however, for all these months gives no hint of the internecine struggle, except that he was unremitting in letter-writing to the preachers. No man knew better than he how to conciliate men either by epistolary contact or personal interview. It has been found that for many months, despite frequent letters of parley from Dr. Coke, he steadfastly refused to condone his conduct in the Bishop White affair and the circular he addressed the preachers favoring ostensibly radical changes in the Methodist government—he took not the slightest notice of him. But he kept close to O'Kelly and the American dissenters. In September, 1791, he records, "I received the olive branch from Virginia. All is peace; it was obtained by a kind letter from me to O'Kelly." Could the letters of that day be collected as to the prevailing contest, what a revelation they would be of political manoeuvring, spiced with intrigue and craft. But that the truth of history, as to momentous issues, is involved, it would be well if the veil of oblivion were drawn over it.

Though an organization was effected in 1784, there was no semblance of a Constitution, so that, for the period intervening, there was but one law—the will of Asbury. Snethen says, "No period of the same duration in the history of any church exhibits such a jumble of powers as ours did from 1784 to 1792." The ostensible purpose of the General Conference was to review the doings of the Council and to supersede it; but O'Kelly and not a few of the leading preachers saw in it the opportunity for curtailing the powers of the Episcopacy. They, too, were busy through the mail disseminating their views. The right of appeal from the appointing power of the Bishop was their objective, and, as will be presently seen, they came to the Conference of 1792 in a decided majority. That there was quiet agitation among the laymen for changes giving them some recognition there can be no doubt, otherwise it is impossible to account for the favor with which the innovations made by O'Kelly in the seceding section under his lead in 1792–93 were received. Indeed, so complete was the subordination of the laity, that their interchanges of grievance were with bated breath. There is not

wanting evidence that governmental questions were not discussed by the preachers with the laity, the prevailing opinion being that the less they knew of such matters the better. In many it begat an indifference to the whole subject of polity, and they were so willing through the indolence of human nature to waive its consideration, that it encouraged the arrogation of the preachers. Forcibly Snethen has put it: "Truly, if the people care not how the Church is governed, their governors will, in process of time, care little how they govern them. This indifference is one of the awful and undoubted evidences of the effects of an absolute government." By a species of heredity, it must be confessed it has come down to this day in the laymen of that Church. Knowing the subject to be under ban, the average member lives content with the peace of stagnation. It has been availed of, by the ministerial class, during all the uprisings of the thinking membership for the hundred years of its well-nigh ceaseless agitation. It was the affirmation in reply to the Reformers of 1824-28, and so onward; the people do not wish participation in the government, or so soon as a sufficient number demand, heed will be paid; but more than forty years passed away before the General Conference of 1872 took the initial steps, and every concession from that date to this has been wrested from the clerical class; for voluntary surrender of power is a thing unknown to absolute systems. It will be seen, in the succeeding chapter, how the General Conference of 1792 rejected every proposition looking to a modification of the aristocratic polity.

Lee affirms that, during this eventful year, or from December, 1791, to September, 1792, eighteen Conferences were called by Asbury, with a change of method in that they began in Virginia, went southward, then northward, and returned to Baltimore. Eleven new circuits were formed, fifty young preachers received, and 2314 added to the membership. It was a great falling off compared with the 6257 of the previous year. He makes no attempt to account for it; but the prevailing unrest of the preachers—the strife between power and principle—must be accepted as a large factor in the case. The statistics as thus given by Lee do not quadrate with those of the minutes in Dickens's edition of 1795. He gives for 1790 whites, 45,949, colored, or "blacks" in the phrase of the day, 11,682; for 1791, whites, 63,269, blacks, 12,884; for 1792, whites, 52,109, blacks, 13,871. Further comment on these figures will be made under the results of the O'Kelly secession. Mention must also be

made in this connection of the historical fact that in 1789 Bishop White of Pennsylvania called a Convention of the Episcopal Church, now dissolved as a national one by the declared Independence of the United States. A Constitution was formed recognizing equal representation of the clergy and laity, the latter to be elected as delegates to the Conventions, Annual and General, by the local vestry of each congregation, the vestry being elected annually by the congregation, thus securing a direct lay-representation. This Constitution was adopted by the General Convention of that Church in 1792. Thus the only denomination in America except the Roman Catholics, not directly controlled by the primary assembly of the people in membership, came into line and harmonized with the civil government of the country. These examples were before the English Bishops of the American Methodist Societies, but instead of proving an incentive to a scriptural and rational polity for the Methodists, the very presence of the laity seemed to repel these autocratic men, for the overtures which were made for a union of the two churches in 1784 were rejected by Coke and Asbury, this reason no doubt being one of the determining ones, as was learned from Kewley's disclosures upon the subject. Lay-participation and popular suffrage were inimical to Wesley's views, and his American Superintendents would have none of it. Alas, for the peace and unity of Methodism in every quarter of the globe; from 1784 for the Deed of Declaration and also for the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

CHAPTER XXXIII

The General Conference of 1792; sources of information — Arrival of Dr. Coke; Asbury receives his repentant brother — The business prearranged by Asbury in conference with his confidants; O'Kelly's account — November 1, 1792, the Conference assembled at Light Street church, Baltimore; who composed it; Coke presiding; business committee shut out the Council matter for which it had been called; revision of Discipline instead; Lee's and O'Kelly's story as to the business; Coke a confessed "weathercock"; forsakes O'Kelly and reform and works with Asbury — O'Kelly's right of appeal brought forward; methods for its defeat; large majority turned into a small minority; ingenious scheming of Asbury; course of the debate; Asbury's letter to the Conference; defeat of O'Kelly and his secession — The Episcopacy strengthened; and other business of the Conference.

THE minutes of the General Conference of 1792, like those of the General Conference of 1784, are irrevocably lost. In the printed edition of the minutes by John Dickins of 1795, it has been established that the prefatory statements as to 1784 were made on the sole authority of the Superintendents Coke and Asbury. They are brief and misleading, and because misleading were afterward amended with the change of circumstances for a specific purpose by the same sole authority. This edition makes no note whatever of the Conference of 1792. All that is known of it must be gleaned from Asbury's Journal, Lee's "History," O'Kelly's "Apology," and a few reminiscences left by preachers who were also present. This testimony, except O'Kelly's, is biased in favor of the constituted authority of the Church of that day. It shall be the purpose to weave a consecutive statement which will offset this bias as far as may be without falling into the opposite tendency.

Asbury says: "Tuesday, October 30 — Came to Baltimore in a storm of rain. Whilst we were sitting in the room at Mr. Rogers', in came Dr. Coke, of whose arrival we had not heard, and whom we embraced with great love." Dr. Coke left England for America, September, 1792, and after a stormy voyage of sixty days, as is ascertained from his Journal, reached New Castle, on the Delaware, October 30, Stevens says, citing the Journal. He had seventy miles to ride in the space of a day and a few hours, in order to be in time for the General Confer-

ence; he flew over the distance, wearing out one chaise-horse and breaking down another. "About nine o'clock Wednesday night, October 31, I arrived at the house of my friend, Philip Rogers of Baltimore, with just time to take some refreshment, and a little sleep before the General Conference commenced. Mr. Asbury and the preachers who were at Mr. Rogers's were surprised to see me at this critical moment. They had almost given me up, but intended to spend ten days in debating matters of the smallest importance, in prayer, and in declaring their experiences, before they entered upon the weightier business, if I did not sooner arrive." Recurring to Coke's letter to Asbury of September 23, 1791, in which he so piteously begs for recognition, and anxiously solicits an interview with him in America in November, 1792—the time set for the General Conference—it is necessary to observe that there are no data by which the period of Asbury's condescension to resume epistolary association with Dr. Coke, after this utter estrangement, can be fixed, as no other letters between them during this time are extant. There can be no doubt, however, that Coke confessed, promised to abandon O'Kelly and the Reform movement in America, and put himself once more under the absolute direction of Asbury. Otherwise it is impossible to account for the fact that he received Coke with an "embrace" and "great love," and that Coke came to America at all at this time, despite his pledges to O'Kelly. Asbury took the prodigal back and his vanity was flattered at the prospect of his reception, so that he cannot restrain an overweening conceit, that the whole General Conference would wait ten days for him, if necessary, dawdling away the time for this purpose. What light it would throw upon the "weightier business" already agreed between them, if their letters could be read from the time of the reconciliation to Coke's departure for America. If Drew found this correspondence in Coke's posthumous papers he discreetly destroyed it, as the episode of this visit to America is dismissed in half a dozen lines, telling, however, what Asbury does not, that, after the General Conference, he left America for the West Indies December 12, 1792.

Asbury had been closeted with "the preachers who were at Mr. Rogers's" for several days in advance of the Conference. Who they were is not known. It may be taken for granted that neither O'Kelly nor any of his ilk was of them. He held in his possession, however, two letters: that written by Coke from Wilmington, already cited, and that written by Asbury about the

same time and also given, and of which more presently. Asbury had constituted the coterie at Rogers's a committee, and they pre-planned the business of the Conference. Coke, when he arrived, shared the confidence. It was a prudent arrangement, for O'Kelly had been diligent in mustering his forces, and no one knew better than Asbury the strategic importance of holding the key to the position. It will anticipate but slightly the order of events if O'Kelly be allowed to give his testimony, particularly as he is entirely ignored in making up the case by the biased historians. He cites from Coke's letter to him, and also from Asbury's, and says: "Just at the eve of business, the Dr. [Coke] appeared. His presence revived me, for I thought my best *friend* had come to town. I perceived by the countenance of Francis [Asbury] that he rejoiced to see Thomas [Coke]." He had not witnessed them embrace each other. "And, after the salutation, fixed him in the chair. I began to think that Thomas had taken the alarm, and rather than be expelled as John [Wesley] was, he had stepped over to the strongest side, and left me to suffer: and it was so. Then proceeded Francis, according to his foreknowledge, predestination, and sovereign power" (referring to the secret meetings at Rogers's) "to choose out of Conference a few men, which framed the privy council. Then he proceeded to read their names, and asked if there was any objection to any of them. And it was so that my name was among them. He appointed for us to meet him (and Thomas) that evening in a private house. Conference adjourned."¹ That will do for witness O'Kelly for the time, while attention is directed to the General Conference which was convened November 1, 1792, in the Light Street church, Baltimore.

Contemporary evidence is that it was the largest and most influential gathering of the preachers from every section of the country ever assembled. Consulting the minutes it is found that there were now 28 who were admitted on trial, 48 continued on trial, 45 admitted into full connection, 82 deacons, 78 elders; and omitting those on trial, a round number of 188 who were entitled to membership. It may be assumed that not less than 150 of these availed of the opportunity of attending. There are no means, however, of tabulating a roster of those who were present; even less satisfactory, therefore, is the information than for the informal gathering of 1784. Lee, who gives the most information in general terms, as O'Kelly gives the most in details, says:

¹ "Apology," p. 20.

"On the first day of November, 1792, the first regular General Conference began in Baltimore. Our preachers who had been received into full connection came together from all parts of the United States where we had any circuits formed, with an expectation that something of great importance would take place in the connection in consequence of that Conference. The preachers generally thought that in all probability there would never be another Conference of that kind, at which all the preachers in connection might attend. The work was spreading throughout the United States, and the different territories, and was likely to increase more and more, so that it was generally thought that this Conference would adopt some permanent regulations, which would prevent the preachers in future from coming together in a General Conference. This persuasion brought out more of the preachers than otherwise would have attended." The ostensible and controlling reason for the call was the Council question. The last, at its session in 1790, had adjourned to meet at Cokesbury College, December, 1792, but the overwhelming opposition of Coke, Lee, O'Kelly, and many of the leaders, as well as the people so far as they dared to discuss such questions, intimidated and overslaughed Asbury so that he abandoned the project even before the General Conference could officially pass upon it. Stevens says it was called, "probably supposing that it would be recognized and empowered by the General Conference." There could have been no such supposition in the case, inasmuch as the opposition had not developed in 1790, and before 1792 it was absolutely certain that the General Conference would decide against it, and this is the reason Coke and Asbury refused to allow it to be so much as named in the General Conference, to the surprise of the preachers.

The committee had arranged that it should not be presented, and substituted a revision of the Discipline as the business of the body, and, that innovations might be under control, a regulation was proposed on the opening day of the Conference and carried, which provided that two-thirds of the members could abolish an old law or make a new one, but that a majority might alter or amend any existing law. A whole day was spent in such preliminary work. Stevens in his account of the proceedings follows the order of business as it was remembered by William Colbert, one of the members, and with it O'Kelly in the main agrees. Lee says as to the Council business, and in confirmation of these allegations: "By this time the plan of the former council

had become exceedingly disagreeable to the greater part of our brethren, both preachers and people; and it was expected that some of the preachers would try, at that Conference, to revive and establish it. But we were agreeably disappointed. For soon after we met together, the bishops and the preachers in general showed a disposition to drop the council, and all things belonging thereto. And the bishop requested that the name of the council might not be mentioned in the Conference again. No one attempted to bring forward that business again."

It has been found that, much to his surprise, but in line with Asbury's cajoling letter to him, O'Kelly was named on the committee to mature business. Let him be called again as a witness. "I met the select number that evening according to appointment, and found them engaged in revising our old form of discipline. My thoughts were many but my words were few—they looked one at another, and one turned toward me, and addressed me in the following manner: 'Will you pass your word to abide by what this Conference may do?' My answer was, 'You alarm me. Tell me what you intend to do?' They answered and said, 'we cannot tell; but we will pass our word to abide by the decision of this Conference.' I utterly refused to pass my word. I then saw why they wanted me in that meeting." It was diamond cut diamond. Never before did the sagacity of Asbury exhibit itself to such advantage, as in the whole politic management of this Conference. At the very opening of the session he modestly proposed that Dr. Coke should preside. He says, "At my desire they appointed a moderator." Many ends were thus subserved. He was in poor health and might find it a burden. It flattered the well-known vanity of Dr. Coke. It enabled him to be present or not as he deemed best. His knowledge of human nature had led him to measure the strength and mark the weaknesses of his principal foeman in the debates, James O'Kelly. He knew that he was irate and impetuous, and he foresaw that in his own absence from the chair and from the Conference at times, he would probably be provoked into indiscretions and extremes, and so defeat himself, and this forecast proved to be true. It enabled him to confer with his tried adherents and so direct the course of events. With Dr. Coke and the committee he had a full understanding. Self-poised, he viewed the field, and in the hottest debates he was calm. He saw a large majority against him dwindle into a small minority. His voice was seldom, if ever, heard, and his manipulating hand, gloved in velvet, seldom seen.

Let the devious course of the proceedings be traced as far as the meagre information that has come down will allow. Quite promptly Dr. Coke reported from the committee the final regulations, and said: "The members of this Conference are the representatives of the People, and we are to all intents the legislature of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the government is aristocratical. You may call me a weathercock."¹ O'Kelly has preserved this deliverance in part. Asbury, Lee, Bangs, and Stevens are all silent about it. The reason for their silence need not be pressed. Alas, for Dr. Coke! How these sentiments compare with his letter to O'Kelly in May, 1791. How amazed must have been the numerous preachers to whom he had sent at the same time his private circular outlining the reforms he and O'Kelly would inaugurate at this Conference. His conscience extorted from him the confession, however ignoble — you may think me a weathercock! O'Kelly was left no longer in doubt that he was not only deserted, but turned upon by his quondam friend and ally; but he did not quail or despair. In this regard he was made of much the same clay as Wesley and Asbury. The committee reported revisions of the Discipline for Conference action. Some of the leading preachers demanded the Council business, to pass upon which they had joined in the call for this General Conference. Let O'Kelly be called again. There is something naïve about his manifestly truthful story, maugre some lapses of memory as to dates, as when he puts this Conference "in the latter end of the year 1791." It may be in this case a misprint only. He says: "This speech [of Coke's just cited] affected many minds, because they justly expected the affairs of the council to have come before them; that being the business for which they were called together. Some of the members at sundry times would interrupt the president after this manner: but where is the council affairs, etc. Thomas [Coke] would arise and warmly oppose, and demand silence on the subject: and silence it was. In our debates if at any time we were led to speak of the conduct of Francis [Asbury] he would leave the house." Among the interrupters of the president were James O'Kelly, Freeborn Garrettson, Ivy Harris, Rice Haggard, Hope Hull, Stephen Davis, William M'Kendree, and others, the last named then a young preacher, but exhibiting all the characteristics that afterward as a Bishop in the Church made him a worthy successor of Francis Asbury. He was quite intemperate in his speech, and one of his impassioned utterances has

¹ Guirey's "Episcopacy," p. 372.

been preserved and was used as a slogan by the Reformers of 1820-30. It must not be forgotten that not a few of the ringing, epigrammatical, and pungent sayings of these Reformers were the coinage of such changelings as M'Kendree, Emory, and Waugh, all of them afterward bishops.

On the second day of the Conference, according to Colbert, but according to the drift of the discussion as reported by O'Kelly it must have been later, this great leader of the opposition brought in a resolution which Lee gives in full: "After the Bishop appoints the preachers at Conference to their several circuits, if any one think himself injured by the appointment, he shall have the liberty to appeal to the Conference and state his objections; and if the Conference approve his objections, the Bishop shall appoint him to another circuit." It has become embalmed in history as the "Right of Appeal." Lee farther says: "This motion brought on a long debate, the arguments for and against the proposal were weighty, and handled in a masterly manner. There never had been a subject before us that so fully called forth the strength of the preachers. A large majority of them at first appeared to be in favor of the motion. But at last Mr. John Dickins moved to divide the question thus: 1. Shall the Bishop appoint the preachers to the circuits? 2. Shall a preacher be allowed an appeal? After some debate, dividing the question was carried." Dickins is the same who so stoutly and successfully withstood Asbury at the Fluvanna Conference in a contention for a more liberal Methodism, the right of the preachers to form a presbytery, ordain, and secure the ordinances; but a changeling too; afterward book steward, and a staunch adherent of Asbury and his methods. A skilled parliamentarian and adroit debater, this movement of division insured the defeat of the appeal. Lee says farther: "The first question being put, it was carried without a dissenting voice. But when we came to the second question, there was a difficulty started whether this was to be considered a new rule or only an amendment to an old one. If it was a new rule, it would take two-thirds of the votes to carry it. After a considerable debate, it was agreed by vote that it was only an amendment to an old rule. Of course after all these lengthy debates, we were just where we began, and had to take up the question as it was proposed at first. One rule for our debates was 'that each person if he choose shall have liberty to speak three times on each question.' By dividing the question and then coming back to where

we were at first, we were kept on that subject called the appeal for two or three days. On Monday we began the debate afresh, and continued it through the day; and at night we went to Mr. Otterbein's church, and continued it until near bedtime, when the vote was taken, and the motion was lost by a large majority." It does not appear that Lee was prominent in this debate.¹ He was resting on his laurels. The Council had been abolished by common consent. Lee's biographer says: "He was present at its funeral. It had threatened to disown him as a preacher, because of his opposition to it. His triumph had come and it was complete. He enjoyed it in silence." After Dickens came Henry Willis, one of the ablest of the preachers, and full of Asbury's high church notions,—so full that he persisted in wearing the gown, bands, and cassock in Philadelphia some time after even Asbury and the other elders had sent them into an "innocuous desuetude." It greatly distracted the Church. He was an ardent defender of the absolute powers of the Bishop. The exciting debates were relieved on the Sabbath by preaching,—Coke in the morning, O'Kelly in the afternoon, and Willis at night. What a green spot Stevens discloses amid the sands of this desolating debate: "Meanwhile, there was daily preaching in the city and vicinity, and a general 'revival' kindled, for there were many of the preachers who cared more for the prosperity of the churches than for the controversies of the Conference."

Asbury gives more space in his Journal to this Conference than usual, and does the very uncommon thing for him of citing entire a letter he wrote to the brethren during the session—probably in the early portion. It was not the only letter he wrote directing the storm. Let him be heard: "I felt awful at the General Conference, which began November 1, 1792. At my desire they appointed a moderator and preparatory committee to keep order and bring forward the business with regularity. We had heavy debates on the first, second, and third sections of our form of discipline. My power to station the preachers without an appeal was much debated, but finally carried by a large majority. Perhaps a new bishop, new conference, and new laws would have better pleased some. I have been much grieved for others, and distressed with the burden I bear and must here-

¹ He is mentioned by Peck in his "Early Methodism," who gives in the affirmative of the debate, O'Kelly, Ivy, Hull, Garrettson, and Swift, omitting Haggard and Davis, given by O'Kelly, and for the negative, Willis, Lee, Morrill, Everett, and Reed, omitting Dickens, the chief of them, so that he probably erred as to Lee.

after bear. O my soul, enter into rest! Ah, who am I that the burden of the work should lie on my heart, hands, and head? Thursday, 8 — Having taken cold, and had my rest broken, I went to bed to bring on a free perspiration, and from this I received relief. My soul breathed unto God, and I was exceedingly happy in his love. Some individuals among the preachers, having their jealousies about my influence in the Conference, I gave the matter wholly up to them, and to Dr. Coke who presided. Meantime (confirmatory), during the first week I sent them the following letter: —

“MY DEAR BRETHREN: Let my absence give you no pain — Dr. Coke presides. I am happily excused from assisting to make laws by which I myself am to be governed: I have only to obey and execute. I am happy in the consideration that I never stationed a preacher through enmity or as a punishment. I have acted for the glory of God, the good of the people, and to promote the usefulness of the preachers. Are you sure that, if you please yourselves, the people will be as fully satisfied? They often say, ‘Let us have such a preacher,’ and sometimes, ‘We will not have such a preacher — we will sooner pay him to stay home.’ Perhaps, I must say, ‘His appeal forced him upon you.’ I am one — ye are many. I am willing to serve you as ever. I want not to sit in any man’s way. I scorn to solicit votes. I am a very trembling, poor creature to hear praise or dispraise. Speak your minds freely; but remember you are only making laws for the present time. It may be that, as in some other things, so in this, a future day may give you further light.

I am yours, etc.,

“FRANCIS ASBURY.”

“I am not fond of altercations; we cannot please everybody, and sometimes not ourselves. I am resigned.”¹ This record bears study. He no doubt prayed much over it. And what a disclosure it makes of the inward workings of the autocratic mind, the parentalism of which he is so unconsciously fond. Did he mean this letter to influence legislation? Read it again and note the argument. The issue before the Conference was trembling in the balance; he threw this letter into the scale, but it was not the final determining factor. What does O’Kelly farther say of the course of the debate? His style is by no means faultless, but there is a verisimilitude in it that convinces you he is speaking the truth as he remembered it. “The debates of the synod turned chiefly on Episcopal dignity. The Virginians for a while did distinguish themselves in defending their ecclesiastical *liberties*, but they fainted in the struggle. Richard Ivy exceeded himself; he spake with tears, and in the fear of God,

¹ “Journal,” Vol. II. pp. 172, 173.



WILLIAM M'KENDREE.

and much to the purpose, crying popery, etc. If at any time a minister would move to *abridge* (in any degree) the Bishop's power, the defenders of that faith would not only oppose the motion, but would charge the member with something like treason, as it were." He continues in the "Appeal," pp. 21-25, to give circumstantial account of the fencing by the able champions on both sides, but it might be discriminating to burden these pages with so much of his testimony. Let a few citations suffice. "William M'Kendree, with several more, did with holy zeal strive with me for liberty." "Hope Hull, a worthy Elder, sounded a proper alarm. He exceeded himself by far. . . . He spoke after this manner: 'Did not our fathers bleed to free their sons from the British yoke? and shall we be slaves to ecclesiastical oppression!' He lifted up his voice and cried: 'What, no appeal for an injured brother? Are these things so? Am I in my senses?'" "Stephen Davis, in whom was the spirit of wisdom, withstood the celebrated Henry [Willis], assuring us that the last arguments were badly founded — 'We are far gone into popery.' Quickly after this the vote was taken. Ah! fatal hour! the motion was lost; and out of an hundred and more, we had a small minority."

In these and other extracts the extremes of declamation are discovered; happily, the crowning one by M'Kendree has been preserved by Ezekiel Cooper, one of the preachers present, and in it, probably more than any other utterance, the determining factor is laid open. In his semi-centennial sermon he states, that while M'Kendree was on the floor, delivering a masterful and vehement argument, he said, referring to the power of the Bishop to appoint absolutely without any appeal, "It is an insult to my understanding, and is such an arbitrary stretch of power, so tyrannical [or] despotic, that I cannot [or] will not submit to it." These are red-letter sentences, and will recur forty years later in this History of Reform. Thomas Ware, another of the preachers present, gives the rationale of the defeat of O'Kelly. Stevens quotes a page and a half of it, but as much of it has already been anticipated by the writer, in dissecting Asbury's management of the logical fray, the whole need not be here reproduced. He says: "Had O'Kelly's proposition been differently managed, it might possibly have been carried. For myself, I did not at first see anything very objectionable in it. But when it came to be debated, I very much disliked the spirit of those who advocated it, and wondered at the severity in which

the movers, and others who spoke in favor of it, indulged in the course of their remarks." He cites some of the extreme illustrations, and gives in part M'Kendree's philippic. "The advocates of the opposite side were more dispassionate and argumentative. . . . Hearing all that was said on both sides, I was finally convinced that the motion for such an appeal ought not to carry."

The sagacious Asbury foresaw what would thus happen under O'Kelly's leadership, and, by frequent absences from the Conference, his magnetic personal presence, awesome to most of the preachers, was lost upon the advocates of repeal, and Dr. Coke gave them full latitude for extreme denunciations degenerating into personality. There were enough present on the other side, wily and composed, who urged on their opponents. It is also a common experience in deliberative assemblies, that a proposition, however popular at first, by acrimonious debate gets into a position of doubt, and then, the longer it is continued, the less its chances of success; its timid friends absenting themselves, and so a default. Over-confidence was another element in the defeat. Coke was believed to favor it until he arrived and showed his perfidy. O'Kelly had rallied most of the leading preachers, so that he came to Conference backed, as he believed, by a strong majority, and he presumed upon it. It was kept a full week upon the anvil of discussion, and was beaten out of all shape. A night session was called, sure to distemper speech and action. Of one hundred and fifty members in the city, the vote was taken by something over a hundred. These considerations are recited because otherwise it is impossible to account for the defeat of a measure every way amenable to reason. It had just been carried by the English preachers, among other guarantees in the British Conference of 1792, and from which Dr. Coke was fresh. He knew of it, and probably informed Asbury, but they made no sign. If O'Kelly knew of it, it was not brought forward. But it is morally certain he did not, for it would have been a powerful argument on his side, and would probably have settled the vote affirmatively. It has continued a constitutional right of every Wesleyan preacher the world over. It has been incorporated into the organic law of all the liberal Methodisms. It is an essential feature of the Methodist Protestant Church, and wherever adopted it has proved a safeguard with no injurious results to the itinerancy of the Church. In the denomination last named it is seldom availed of, but held as a sacred right,

inalienable and indefeasible, against errors of judgment in the appointing power, whether the President of an annual Conference or a Stationing committee. In the Maryland Conference, chief among its confederates in numbers, in a period of over sixty years it has been resorted to but some half-dozen times, with varying results to the individual appealing; but every man knows that his rights cannot be invaded, and that there is for him redress, if he can prove a grievance. What was the upshot of this debate, of which Stevens says: "Coke, however anxious for the issue of the controversy, sat in the chair rapt in admiration of the talent it elicited"? Lee answers this question: "The next morning, when the Conference assembled, we received a letter from Mr. O'Kelly, and a few other preachers, directed to the Conference, informing us that they could no longer sit among us, because the appeal was not allowed." This act of secession, and the disastrous consequences it involved to the Methodist connection, will be fully considered in the next chapter. The proceedings of the Conference sequentially demand attention.

Stevens says, "After the withdrawal of O'Kelly, peace and the old brotherly spirit again pervaded the Conference." Even so. Asbury says: "The General Conference went through the Discipline, Articles of Faith, Forms of Baptism, Matrimony, and the Burial of the Dead; as also the offices of Ordination. The Conference ended in peace, after voting another General Conference to be held four years hence." The words, "went through the Discipline," mean more than they seem to imply. Asbury was quick to discern the vantage, and with his adherents lost no time in strengthening the Episcopacy. There were several weak places in the joints of the armor which the events of the past few years exposed. Effective means must be placed in his hands for the arrest and disposal of malcontents. Such scenes as those just exhibited must be no more. Lee gives a summation of the principal changes made. The Annual Conferences as such were virtually abolished, and distinguished as "District Conferences," one to be held in each presiding elder's district, their limits to be defined by the bishop, "yet so as not to include more than twelve, nor less than three, circuits in each district." The bishop has also power to appoint the times of meeting. Thus Asbury's method of segregating the preachers had now the sanction of law, though Lee says it had been so unpopular when episcopally exercised by him without law. The supernumerary preacher is defined.

Provision was made more definitely for the election, ordination, and trial of bishops, the latter feature being open to serious objection as was afterward pointed out. The Presiding Elder took definite form, and he was limited to reappointment over the same district to four years. This was to meet such cases as that of O'Kelly, who had been reappointed by Asbury for some ten consecutive years to one district, the only exception of the kind he ever made, and under stress of his great personal popularity, and a disinclination not to disregard his wishes; for in influence he was second only to Lee. Stevens says, "By the present Conference the presiding elder was virtually made a diocesan bishop." It became the right arm of the Episcopacy. The powers of the office were great, but care was taken that the subordination should be perfect. The transfer certificate of membership was formulated, without which no one could be received on removal into another society. The trial of preachers and members was made more specific. Cases of "improper words, tempers, and actions" were provided for, as well as provision for trial of ministers or preachers "who hold and preach doctrines which are contrary to our articles of religion." A backward step was taken touching Band meetings, which under "needless self-indulgence" included "such as taking snuff or tobacco" among reasons for exclusion. This was now rescinded. Tobacco was grown all over the southland, hence this weak concession. Lee quizzically says of it, "Some of them say it is an advantage to their teeth, and others, that it is good for their health." In this year of grace, however, it is a condition of ordination in most of the Conferences, and must ultimately come under ban as a habit a Christian man can indulge and be blameless. Most of the new prohibitive regulations were made to anticipate O'Kelly and hold in firm subjection the membership. To this end an amendment was made to the mode of trial of members, looking to their speedy expulsion for other cause than immorality. It was in these words: "If a member of our Church shall be clearly convicted of endeavoring to sow dissensions in any of our societies, by inveighing against either our doctrine or discipline, such persons so offending shall be first reprov'd by the senior preacher of his circuit; and if he afterward persist in such pernicious practices he shall be expelled the society." An old regulation of Wesley's time, intended by him to protect the high officers of the British crown from defamation, and phrased as "speaking evil of ministers," was incorporated in the American rules, and though proven to have been used by

Wesley exclusively of political officers, was perverted at this time and with marked effect in the controversy of 1820-30, as meaning gospel ministers. The two regulations were stigmatized by those who suffered from them, while blameless in moral deportment, and by their friends, as "the gag law." Indeed, from this memorable Conference of 1792, which so firmly welded the iron laws of a hierarchy, not over-scrupulous care was taken as to the means employed so the ends of discipline were secured.

John Dickins was continued as book steward at a salary of \$666.33, a comfortable provision in that day for one who had no family but his wife, in the city of Philadelphia. Provision was also made for Cokesbury College, \$800 a year for the quadrennium. It is notable that the salary of the Bishop is still kept at \$64 a year. Asbury preached one sermon toward the close, and Coke the concluding one on the last and fifteenth day of the session. He says: "The meeting was continued until about midnight, and twelve persons, we have reason to believe, were added to the family of God. This was a glorious conclusion; a gracious seal from heaven to our proceedings." That large majority who came to the Conference in favor of the right of appeal melted away to a small minority. They acquiesced in the decision, but did they surrender their convictions? No. The question revived in after Conferences, but never successfully, largely, perhaps, by reason of the ill-considered secession of O'Kelly, and the thousands of the membership who followed him into an independent organization. Asbury left Baltimore the day after the Conference adjourned and made speed to the Manchester District conference which met November 26, at Manchester, Va. Ira Ellis and other preachers accompanied him. Dr. Coke went North, and, after tarrying, preaching, and employing himself in directions to Dickins for a new and revised edition of the Discipline, he set sail for the West Indies December 12, and reached St. Eustatius on the 31st, in pursuance of the missionary work intrusted to him by the British Conference. It is an unalloyed pleasure to follow him as the great Methodist Missionary propagandist, as he passed from island to island superintending the various societies which had sprung up, ameliorating their persecutions as far as possible, abundant in preaching labors himself, and keeping all around him on the move. His biographer gives numerous interesting incidents of this visit to the islands, where he continued until he sailed from Jamaica on the 14th of April, 1793, for England, landing at Falmouth the 6th of June.

CHAPTER XXXIV

The secession of O'Kelly ; motives ascribed to him ; his abrupt departure from the Conference of 1792 with Rice Haggard and others ; Lee's account ; heresy charge by "one of the preachers" — O'Kelly's own account ; efforts to conciliate him by Asbury through Coke — M'Kendree's desertion of O'Kelly and the motives for it traced ; Haggard, Hull, Bruce, and Garrettson not of M'Kendree's ilk — Extent of the secession ; how it spread in its principles ; the Republican Methodists, afterward the Christian Church — The heresy examined ; true history of it — Outline of O'Kelly ; strong and weak points of his character ; the war of pamphlets — Snethen's answer to O'Kelly, true account ; only edited what Asbury prepared ; much new evidence and new facts as to O'Kelly ; complete vindication of him as to heresy — Asbury and O'Kelly in a final interview — Stevens's errors and aspersions exposed as to O'Kelly — This chapter contains the fullest and fairest account of O'Kelly and his followers ever published — Major Sommers, a contemporary of O'Kelly and his cause — Summation ; Gladstone in point.

THE secession of O'Kelly, and what came of it, shall be the text of this chapter. Asbury says: "Mr. O'Kelly, being disappointed in not getting an appeal from any station made by me, withdrew from the connection, and went off. For himself the Conference well knew he could not complain of the regulation." It is ever thus, and commonly only too true, that the diversions of men from the settled order have at bottom some selfish motive. Asbury thinks he finds such an incentive in O'Kelly, but the very argument he cites disproves his insinuation. It is that he was allowed to continue in the south district as elder for ten years, and that such was his influence that he had nothing personally to fear as to his appointments. Yet he threw himself into this breach with the almost utterly unselfish purpose of securing protection to his preacher brethren, and not for himself. Thus traducement of motive is sure to follow your change of attitude. By others it was charged that he was ambitious to be a Bishop, and intended this as a stepping-stone. It is true that Jesse Lee and himself, by their friends at least, were quasi-candidates. It is known only that when O'Kelly heard this imputation he made the solemn affirmation, "I arose before the people, and spake after this manner — I can appeal to the Lord,

and am now ready to be qualified, that the man hath belied me to my face." These were not the only Parthian arrows that were shot after him. Lee, after briefly rehearsing the efforts made to conciliate him and his friends through Dr. Coke, which O'Kelly, in his "Appeal" gives in full, says: "Waiting in town a day or two longer, he and the preachers that were particularly influenced by him set off for Virginia, taking their saddle-bags, greatcoats, and other bundles on their shoulders and arms, walking on foot to the place where they left their horses, which was about twelve miles from town. I stood and looked after them as they went off, and observed to one of the preachers, that I was sorry to see the old man go off in that way, for I was persuaded that he would not be quiet long, but would try to be the head of some party. The preacher then informed me that Mr. O'Kelly denied the doctrine of the Trinity, and preached against it, by saying that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were characters and not persons; and that these characters all belonged to Jesus Christ. That Jesus Christ was the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The preacher farther said that it was his intention to have had O'Kelly tried at that Conference for the false doctrines which he had been preaching; and he believed that his leaving the Conference was more out of fear of being brought to trial than on account of the appeal. But so it was, Mr. James O'Kelly never more united with the Methodists." How insidiously insinuating! Lee does not furnish the name of this scandalizing preacher. Yet it seems he had not before heard of O'Kelly's grave heresies. As put by his traducer one is at a loss to find it except by the art of the disingenuous — the trick of those

" Who can sever and divide,
A hair 'twixt north and northwest side."

But this paragraph from Lee has wrought great mischief to O'Kelly personally, and to the denomination he fathered and left behind him to this day. Lee speaks of him as "the old man." Stevens is led to reproduce the heresy motive, and to speak of him disparagingly. His excuse may be that he had nothing to guide him but Lee, and the old saw accounts for the bias he exhibits, followed by other historians of Methodism, that "when the wish is father to the thought, we are apt to draw upon our imagination for the facts." He says, "He was now a veteran, broken with age, an Irishman of fiery temperament, and, as usual with such temperaments, his conscience was weak and easily

swayed by his prejudices; weak to yield to them, but strong to defend them." The truth is, that he was now only about fifty-eight years of age, and able to walk twelve miles with saddlebags and other impedimenta; and such was his vitality that he lived to be ninety-two years old. As to the heresy, the grain of truth in it shall be sifted out of the bushel of doctrinal slander.

Secession pure and simple is rarely justified and as rarely succeeds. This was a case of secession pure and simple. So soon as O'Kelly's letter was received by the Conference, Asbury set Coke in motion to conciliate him if possible. He knew his worth and foresaw that it meant a heavy collateral loss, and he also knew his power, and that to cope with him challenged a giant's strength. O'Kelly tells how he was invited to an interview with Coke in private, how obsequious he was, and asked "pardon ten thousand times." He inquired then of O'Kelly on what terms he would return, and he answered, "Only let an injured man have an appeal." Then Coke gave the final word, "That cannot be granted." Let it be here observed that no one honestly desiring to know the truth of history as to these things will fail not to read only, but to allow full credit of general truthfulness to O'Kelly in his elaborate exposures in his "Apology." The temptation is strong to quote largely from it as offsetting the text of most historians who have taken pains to garner all the fragments of testimony of the opposite complexion, but forbearance will be exercised as this History is meant to observe the golden mean of extremes. His story, rigidly condensed, is that he left as Lee informs, accompanied by Rice Haggard, John Robinson, John Allen, William M'Kendree, and, perhaps, a few others, who subsequently helped him though they did not secede at this time, among them Hope Hull and Philip Bruce. He admits that he knew not what to do, except that he intended to keep on preaching; "but I have no intention of a separate party." Reaching home, in a few days messengers came to him from Asbury, expressing his sorrow at his departure; that he was his "right eye, right hand, and right foot." He promised him free access to the Methodist pulpits and £40 a year, because "I had suffered so much for the cause of truth and liberty." The former he says he accepted, but not the latter. Some time afterward he was sent a present of £10 by Asbury which, on the advice of friends, he received, and gave it the same day in part pay for a saddle-horse. "After these things I was met by one of their elders, who blamed me for leading the people into

the nature of church government; whereas they had no business with such knowledge." The fact that he accepted the £10 was soon used against him—he was receiving support from the Methodists, and yet opposed them. Then, he says, he saw it was intended for hush money. He could neither be coaxed nor bribed out of his position. Then Asbury left him and turned his attention to M'Kendree.

O'Kelly had no plan. There was no forethought. His ardent temperament, when he was so certain of success, could not brook the mortification of defeat. The personal equation was too large. Two wise sentiments of D'Aubigné are in place as warnings: "Every revolution should be wrought out in men's minds before it takes the shape of action," and "Mankind needs time to accommodate themselves to great changes." O'Kelly, without intending it, was driven onward by the pressure of those disaffected elements which the "aristocratic system," Coke's favorite phrase for the polity then prevailing, had fomented, and which had lain dormant for a long time—at least since the General Conference of 1784. Thoughtful laymen through the connection felt the galling yoke, and awaited opportunity only to assert their recognition. This is evident from Coke's plan in his circular from Wilmington, in 1791. It is plain from the large concessions made the laity in the "Republican Methodist Church," as organized by O'Kelly and his compeers. And great as was its success as a wide secession and a working polity, it can be shown that the introduction of this element was not the cause of the ultimate decadence of the new denomination. It was not sufficiently anchored in fundamental principles, and the true causes of its decay will be uncovered as its history is explored. But every fact entering into it will serve to demonstrate that the allegation is true: the Asburian system was responsible for this, the first great division of the Church. American Methodist unity was destroyed by the established hierarchy of 1784, in less than a decade afterward. And yet but little can be said in extenuation of O'Kelly, who could not, would not wait, and had no plan to make the elements cohere and perpetuate themselves. In the General Conference of 1796 the right of appeal, modified as the right of an elective presiding eldership, was brought forward;¹ but the old leaders were not there, and the spectre of secession,

¹ It is a noteworthy fact that *none* of the Methodist historians makes the slightest allusion to this important revival of liberal principles. Asbury alone gives us a slight cue. He says: "At this Conference there was a stroke aimed at

and the mongrel polity which grew out of it, cut the nerves of its power as an initial step to other reforms. Had he remained, with such coadjutors as Haggard, Hull, Bruce, Garrettson, Davis, and M'Kendree, there would have been hope, stimulated by the abuses which were practised under the more rigid Episcopacy of the period from 1792 to 1796. Nothing remained, however, but a protesting minority, who fostered for years afterward the liberty they could not gain. All honor to them, and those who came after them, exhibiting heroic efforts for Reform in 1820, and again in 1824-30, and, with some measure of success for lay-rights, forty years later still. So true are the words of De Tocqueville, "Stubborn minorities are the hope of republics."

The situation confronting both Asbury and O'Kelly was perilous in the extreme. Both leaders seem to have recoiled from the consequences and resorted to pacificatory means of averting a formal division. Give them both a hearing, something Bangs, Stevens, and others did not do; thus the golden mean will be observed. Asbury says: "Sunday 25" (November, about two weeks after the General Conference had adjourned) "Came to Manchester, and preached in the afternoon, and felt life amongst the people and preachers who were met for the district Conference. . . . W. M'Kendree and R. H. [Rice Haggard] sent me their resignations in writing." A pause is demanded at the mention of M'Kendree. Every effort short of direct prevarication has been resorted to to minify the conduct of this historical character of early Methodism as to his connection with the O'Kelly movement. Let all the facts be disclosed. William M'Kendree, or, as it is entered in the early minutes, M'Kentree, and confirmed by Alexander McCaine, who knew whereof he affirmed, to have been originally Macintree, was born near Richmond, Va., July 6, 1757.¹ His early educational advantages were sparse, and at twenty he entered the Revolutionary army and rose to the position of adjutant, remaining in the army until the close of the war. He was converted in 1787, at about thirty years of age, and joined the Conference in 1788, so that at the time of his resignation he had travelled four years and was thirty-four years of age. His biographer claims for him "that element of all true greatness,

the President Eldership." See "Journal," Vol. II. p. 319, edition of 1852. Incidentally from other sources it is ascertained that it was ably debated, but for the reasons assigned made no headway against Episcopal prerogatives now so impregably intrenched and buttressed by this same Conference.

¹ "Life and Times of Bishop M'Kendree." By Bishop Paine. Nashville, Tenn., 1880.

known as *common sense*, which he possessed in an eminent degree. . . . Few men have been more distinguished for sound, unsophisticated judgment . . . and a manly independence in the investigation of truth." He had travelled under O'Kelly and was thoroughly imbued with his ideas. Such was the mature and self-centred man who, in the Conference, uttered the declaration against unamenable Episcopal prerogatives, which has been already quoted and which history will never suffer to die, both for its relative and intrinsic importance. Six weeks afterward he sent to Asbury his resignation in writing. Ample time for calm review and change of purpose. Rice Haggard was one of the leading preachers of the South. These three, and no doubt others in sympathy, did not attend the Manchester Conference.

The reflection to be entertained as to M'Kendree is: Is it antecedently probable that such a man could have been unduly influenced by O'Kelly or any other person in this matter of Reform principles? The reader must answer. Paine, his biographer, indulges in all the extremes of accusation against O'Kelly, and exonerates M'Kendree. A specimen is given from page 76: "What a pity that one so pure and artless should be brought under the influence of a jealous, sour, intriguing old preacher! . . . Yes, here is an elder poisoning the minds of the young preachers against Asbury, and other holy men; assuming extraordinary piety and love for Methodism, leading these unsuspecting souls to regard Mr. Asbury as despotic and mercenary, and plotting the overthrow of the very system for which he had lately voted in Council. What a presiding elder! A wolf in charge of lambs!" There is much to the same purpose, and couched in as charitable language. He also gives a letter at length, written at the request of Asbury and bearing date 1803, in which M'Kendree exculpates himself on similar grounds, but the gist of it is found in the following statement, "I therefore refused to take a regular station at Conference, because I expected to reject the 'monstrous system' [of O'Kelly] when it should appear; but met you and the presiding elder a few days after the Conference, and took a station." How is human credulity taxed to believe it! He had sent a letter of resignation to this very Conference because he was settled in his convictions as to O'Kelly's reform measures, and was not in attendance. Reconcile the facts who can with this letter ten years afterward, "I therefore refused to take a regular station at Conference because I expected to reject the monstrous system."

Why this sad exposure? To save the memory of men who have been bitterly aspersed and misrepresented—to save the truth of history. Can such tergiversation be accounted for in such a man? Let a few facts be stated. Asbury says not one word of M'Kendree's return, and does not even mention him for a year afterward, when the brief record is from Virginia, "I gave place to brother M'K.,” [M'Kendree] in preaching; and Lee does not so much as mention M'Kendree in any connection these days; and Stevens only observes, innocently enough: "The indiscretion [M'Kendree's] was brief, however; it does not appear in the Conference minutes, there being no interruption in his appointments, for at the next Conference he was designated to Norfolk and Portsmouth. Regretting his sudden error, he resolved to ascertain, from personal acquaintance, the real character of Asbury, and for this purpose accompanied the Bishop in his travels. He became satisfied that O'Kelly misrepresented him, and resumed his work with a devotion which never again wavered." Resort will have to be made to other sources and presumptive evidence. M'Kendree was on the Greenville circuit, not very far from Manchester. After Conference—"a few days," himself says—Asbury had an interview with him and the presiding elder. Did Asbury seek M'Kendree, or otherwise? Can there be any doubt? A presiding elder (who was it? for it is in O'Kelly's district and he had not been officially removed) accompanied the Bishop, and M'Kendree was interviewed. What took place no mortal knows. What is known is, that M'Kendree accepted a change of appointments from Greenville to Norfolk, and the next Conference he was entered for "Norfolk and Portsmouth." These were growing towns adjacent to the Portsmouth work of the Conference, numbering near eight hundred members. It is known that the Bishop took M'Kendree with him on his travels, changed his appointment to Petersburg and several other places. It is known that M'Kendree forsook O'Kelly and his cause. It is known that from a recusant he was transformed into a partisan. Much more is known to be considered later. So far the witnesses have had it about their own way, so let O'Kelly be heard.

What did this man of "fiery temperament," as Stevens says, do? It has been found that he declined, under the interviews of the "messengers" Asbury sent to him, to recant and return, but as a forlorn hope the Manchester conference at Asbury's instigation left the pulpits open to him and voted him £40 a

year for his past services. He did not accept the latter, though the historians raise a dust and make it appear that he did; but they are confused probably with the £10 he did afterward receive, sent him by Asbury. This suggested neutrality did not last. O'Kelly says: "I was quickly shut out of doors, none to publish my appointments, the people warned against hearing me preach the gospel. This act of cruelty did not satisfy the rage of false zeal, but they fell upon my character, even to cruel reproaches. They picked up and retailed things they cannot prove." Charlotte County was the hot-bed of O'Kellyism. Two meetings were held of the aggrieved members who sided with their loved Elder and leader. They sent John Chappel and E. Almonds as messengers to Asbury, "over the great mountains," proposing a compromise, "yet all their efforts were in vain." Then petitions were drawn up by O'Kelly and others asking for certain reforms and praying for union. "But the people were forbid to sign on pain of expulsion." The new law of the Discipline, contrived for the purpose, "sowing dissension, etc.," was used effectively. The Asburian preachers told those who were for changes to "go out," so the petitions fell through. That this was the purpose of the new law is attested unwittingly by Lee. Referring to the divisive spirit prevailing he says, in reference to the law, "They [the Conference] therefore determined to try and check it as soon as possible." A conference was called of all the disaffected to meet at Piney Grove, Chesterfield County, August 2, 1793. They once more formulated their wishes, and sent it by messengers to the Petersburg conference, which met November 15, 1793. Asbury presented their petition to the conference, and after due consideration he answered for it, "I have no power to call such a meeting as you wish, if, therefore, five hundred preachers should come on their knees before me, I would not do it."¹ It is not too much to say that he evaded the issue, and the autocrat of Methodism delivered his final decision. The die was cast.

These facts are stated because they prove that the secession was not as precipitate as adverse historians would make it. More than a year elapsed before the conference at Manakintown was held, December 25, 1793. It was a memorable place, for here it was that the Virginia preachers, in 1779, under Dickins, Gatch, and others, organized Methodism on a basis which would have placed it in harmony with the civil government now in the throes

¹ Guirey's "Episcopacy," p. 380. Also Lee's "History."

of a successful Revolution: they asserted and practised the New Testament right of any body of Christians, in default of so-called regular order, to organize a Church, appoint a Presbytery, ordain its preachers, and secure to it the ordinances, outside of priestly succession of any kind. It would have secured the unity of American Methodism to this day. The defeat and surrender of these brethren has already been recited. The evidence is sadly abundant how fiercely and unrelentingly the controversy raged throughout Virginia and North Carolina, and sympathetically in adjacent parts, for three or four years. As in all religious strife the tongue, that "world of iniquity," scattered "firebrands, arrows, and death." Crimination and recrimination was the staple of discourse everywhere. Asbury's Journal contains numerous allusions to the bitterness and uncharitableness of the O'Kellyites, even to a confession involving himself. February 2, 1793, he writes: "I am not enough in prayer. I have said more than was for the glory of God concerning those who have left the American connection, and who have reviled Mr. Wesley, Mr. Fletcher, Dr. Coke, and poor *me*." O'Kelly's "Apology" and Guirey's "Episcopacy" are equally abundant with citations of vile and slanderous imputations upon him and his adherents by the Asburian zealots, who hunted them down like partridges on the mountain.

The Manakintown Conference was well attended, and orderly in proceeding. There is no evidence, however, that more than one of the travelling preachers with O'Kelly was present to join his fortunes with the new Church. Rice Haggard resisted all the inducements held out for the recalcitrants to return. Remembering the fearful cost of such a resolve in that day you are surprised. The new Church was without chapels, and there was less prospect of support, specially to married men, than before, meagre as it was, and the whole power of the old Church was brought to bear to crush the faction, and, such is the religious persecuting conscience, they believed such conduct was to do God service. The return of M'Kendree has been recited. It differed from the others in that he made haste to retrieve his hierarchal character by denouncing his seceding brethren and zealously advocating the things he had so mercilessly decried at the Conference of 1792, and later on accepting the Bishopric, and exercising the powers with severity, which he had stigmatized as an "insult to his understanding," as an "arbitrary stretch of power so despotic that I will not submit to it." Others who stood by

him and O'Kelly in that famous debate submitted at once to the voice of the majority, or soon returned. Garrettson, Hope Hull, Philip Bruce, and others continued to receive appointments under Asbury, did valiant service for the gospel, and maintained friendly relations with their chief. But it is not recorded that any of these stultified themselves or were guilty of the unspeakable meanness of open treachery. Many of the local ministers joined the movement, while the people in whole societies swelled the tide, and then, like a reflux wave, obliterated the old Church in entire neighborhoods. The Republican party in civil politics was strong at that time in Virginia, and the name "Republican Methodists" was adopted at the Manakintown Conference. Lee says they did it in order to curry favor with these politicians. O'Kelly summarizes what they farther did toward a permanent organization: "We formed our ministers on an equality; gave the lay-members a balance of power in the legislature; and left the executive business in the Church collectively. But fearing we should err again, as we were young hands at the business, we resolved to establish nothing before another general meeting. So we adjourned Conference."

As is inevitable, malcontents of every class sought admission, and stray preachers of every name found work, as the secession proved one from the membership in such large numbers, the underswell being a lay-revolt, that preachers were scarce. There was much unwisdom in the councils, and the sails of the new craft were set by unskilled officers to catch favoring breezes. They adjourned to meet again in Surry County, August 4, 1794. "We held Conference with open doors that all might see and learn." It was a wise departure from the Asburian rule of closed door and secrecy of administration. But the differing opinions which cropped out overturned what they had done, and the whole question of organization was referred to a committee of seven. The fatal immaturity of the secession became apparent to others, if not to themselves. O'Kelly, in his "Apology," gives an outline of the long and distracting proceedings, ending in the Conference discarding all human laws and accepting the Word of God as their guide, and so set the new craft afloat once more. Meantime the old Conference tried to be happy over the situation, and face with composure the heavy loss of members. They passed to the seceders this Christian (?) salutation,¹ "A few

¹ General Conference of 1796, Address to British Conference, in Stevens.

indeed, who were as great enemies to the civil government under which they lived as to our Discipline, have left us; and now we have not a jarring string among us." Except the last sentence, and that with a sign of interrogation, the same amount of misrepresentation could not well be put in as few words. O'Kelly, while never looking back, admits, "We very plainly felt the loss of union with the Episcopalian brethren." The breach could not be healed and there were no farther attempts on either side to do it. Lee gives about the same account of the O'Kelly movement, save the bias is always strongly against it. Asbury sums it up in a fashion which could be taken as a model for all imputators of motive, "If the real cause of this division were known, I think it would appear that one wanted to be immovably fixed in a district; another wanted money; a third wanted ordination; a fourth wanted liberty to do as he pleased about slaves, and not to be called to an account," etc. Stevens says of the Bishop, "He found it necessary to recite in his congregations the history of these disputes, to vindicate his episcopal administration, to encounter personal rebuffs from former Methodists." It was a sad piece of business all around.

Attempts have been made to minify the extent of the secession and consign to a swift oblivion its leader. Let this aspect be examined. The minutes, as published by John Dickins in 1795, and attested by those of 1813, make the statistical showing as follows: for 1791-92, 63,269 whites, 12,884 blacks; for 1792-93, 52,109 whites, 13,871 blacks; for 1793-94, 51,416 whites, 16,227 blacks; for 1794-95, 52,794 whites, 13,814 blacks. So, for the General Conference year of 1792, there is a decline in numbers of 11,000 whites, and for the succeeding years, despite the fact that the average increase from conversions was about 5000, there is no increase until 1794-95, when it gains about 1400. This confirms the estimate given in the introductory chapter that the secession of 1792-93, with collateral causes, cost the Methodist Episcopal Church about one-fifth of its whole membership. This aggregate loss did not go to swell the numbers of the Republican Methodists as such. Many simply fell away from religion, preachers withdrew and located, many people stood aloof from the Methodists for no other reason than the hierarchal nature of the government. The liberal principles of 1779, in Virginia, were not dead—this schism revived them, and the agitation continued within the Methodist Church. Lee, speaking for 1794-95, says: "This was a year of great trouble and distress

among the Methodists in the Southern states, partly owing to the divisions that had taken place, as mentioned in the foregoing chapter, and partly to an uneasy and restless spirit that prevailed in many places, both among our local preachers and private members. Some of them contended that the local preachers ought to have a seat and a vote in all our Conferences; and others said there ought to be a delegation of lay-members."

Thus it is seen that the old fires only smouldered. The secession of Hammett in Charleston, S. C., already referred to, ran parallel with it, and out of it grew a bitter war of pamphlets, Hammett attacking, but not always wisely, Wesley, Asbury, Coke, and others in turn, and a defender rose in Morrell, a man of splendid abilities and a popular preacher of the North; and he ably championed Asbury and the Episcopal polity. O'Kellyism, as it was stigmatized, became noised over the connection and polemical parties divided the brethren, both of the ministry and the laity. Asbury found it at the Lynn, New England, Conference, in 1793, and Stevens says that "The news of the O'Kelly schism in the South reached them. Nearly twenty-five preachers, in various parts of the connection, had ceased to travel; four of them had withdrawn, and among them was their own 'Boanerges.'" The defenders of Asbury did not fail to use the heresy argument as well as every other damaging report bigoted zeal had set afloat against O'Kelly. Lee, who was laboring these years in New England, except for a period after the Conference of 1792, when he helped Asbury in the Virginia and North Carolina sections (his native heath) to pacify the Methodists, made much of the doctrinal heresy of O'Kelly as published by "a preacher who told him" all he knew of it at the 1792 Conference. It was advertised in New England, and it will presently be seen what came of the substantial slander by reason thereof. The true extent of the schism being thus portrayed, let the minifying historians speak. Bangs says, "They began to contend among themselves, and then to divide and subdivide; until within a few years scarcely a vestige of them was to be found in all Virginia." Alas! he so eagerly wished it to be so that he was content to make "history" out of some such rumor a prevaricating preacher, perhaps, had retailed to him. Stevens is more careful, "The year [1793] had been a calamitous one for the Church generally; the minutes reported an aggregate decrease of 6317 members;" but he does not tell how he made it this figure. Lee, without entering into the statistics, says, with a better knowledge of its

extent, "Such a loss we had never before known since we were a people."¹

What a price it cost to maintain the absolute system! What a responsibility it assumed! Conscience does not teach what is right, but it prompts to do what is believed to be right. The conscience of the defenders of the hierarchal plan had only been enlightened on one side of the question. Unfortunately the principles of Scripture and reason, which so radically overthrew it, were in that day largely abstract, — the history of Methodism furnished no antecedent facts against the plan, — it had always been so, and although it is now known to have been a bald fallacy, fairness demands that their conscience in the matter should be respected. Paine, M'Kendree's biographer, says, attempting to account for his tergiversation, "He soon understood, too, the evil consequences which would inevitably follow the adoption of the O'Kelly favorite measure — the ruin of the General Superintendency and of the whole itinerant system." It is remarkable that Asbury, the crowned authority, does not argumentatively defend it, — he simply personated it, — it was foregone with him. He and Dr. Coke, travelling together in the South in 1796,² thus piously dispose of it. Going over the scenes of the Virginia secession Asbury writes: "I feel happy among the few old disciples who are left. My mind of late hath been in great peace. I am glad I have not contended with those violent men who were once with us." Contend with them! not he; but what about the history of those days? Coke rejoiced also at the Virginia Conference. Hear him and be amazed, careful reader. "It was in respect to love the counterpart of our General Conference. Oh, what great good does the Lord frequently bring out of evil! The sifting and schisms we have had turned out to be the greatest blessings!"

No such sleuth-hound can be let loose upon a preacher as a charge of heresy. True or false, it answers its purpose. It has been found that Dr. Coke tried it against Newton in the British Conference, and others against Dr. Adam Clarke — was he not a believer in the Eternal Sonship, etc.? Hound him down. It was so with O'Kelly in America. Let that good man, Bishop Paine, M'Kendree's biographer, a veritable Boswell for his Johnson, though steeped to the lips in the bigotry of early Methodist opinion, state the case against him: "Indeed, there is a strong

¹ Yet he also minifies elsewhere the new Church.

² Stevens says 1795, an error. See "History," Vol. III. p. 355, edition of 1867.

probability that, knowing he would be impeached on account of his denial of the distinct personality of the holy Trinity, he felt himself in 'a strait between expulsion and secession.'" What Christian magnanimity of statement! And to show that he is not underrated as a biographer, listen, "He did not withdraw from the Church or the ministry." Asbury says, as found, "W. M'Kendree and R. H. [Rice Haggard] sent me their resignations in writing." That shall be enough from him on the O'Kelly matter, but there are other precious tidbits to come ere M'Kendree disappears from these pages. He is now in heaven with O'Kelly and others of either side who could not in this world "see eye to eye," and abused each other roundly in consequence.

How much truth was there in the heresy of O'Kelly? Perhaps a grain. Make a search through the bushel of lying chaff to find it. It is worth the space and trouble, for this man was so foully spit upon and maligned. It will not be found with any of the historians of Methodism. But it is found with other witnesses who are not partial to him on this score. First, perhaps, a designed word from O'Kelly incidentally wrought. Speaking in his "Apology" of the form of ordination of his preachers he gives it, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the authority of the Holy Scriptures, with the approbation of the Church, and with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, we set apart this our brother to the Holy Order and Office of Elder in the Church of God; in the name of the *Father*, and of the *Son*, and of the *Holy Ghost*, Amen." The italics in the triune blessing are his own. It is noteworthy that this reference by implication to his views of the Trinity is the only one to be found in any of his writings for many years after. If in his preaching he ever expressed a formula of belief as to it differing from that found in the Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church, its production is challenged. He was an original thinker, but not a scholastic, and assuming that the error of his statement of the Trinity is truthfully given in Lee's expression of it, as volunteered by "one of the preachers," it will be discovered, from this and other proofs to be furnished, that it is found in an undue emphasis upon the Divinity of Christ that "Jesus Christ was the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Nothing more heretical than this can anywhere be found as evidence against him. In preaching and conversation this emphasis no doubt caught the attention of quibblers, and in 1792 it is made the occasion for accusation of heresy. It does not matter that the foundation is

as frail as that of Dr. Coke's charge against Newton, and much less frail than those alleged against Dr. Clarke which were passed as peccadilloes of a masterful mind; he must be hocked in his career, and the attempt was made with as blunt an instrument as the heresy-cry.

In passing, it may be observed that but little is known of O'Kelly's antecedents or of his manner of life up to manhood. He must have had such educational advantages as the times afforded,¹ and he says, in vindication of his loyalty, that he was a private in the Revolutionary army, was taken prisoner, and resisted bribery as a bait to disclose information against his country; he marched on foot and was honorably discharged at the close of the war. He was thoroughly American. His name first appears in the minutes of 1778, as a preacher "on trial," and as it is not among those admitted on trial in 1777 it is clear that Asbury assigned him to work in the interval, and as he died October 16, 1826, in his ninety-second year, he must have been at this time about forty-three years old. That is, born in 1734, joined Conference 1777-78, aged forty-three or four, which would make him, as already stated, in 1792 about fifty-eight; so he survived that General Conference thirty-four years, and Asbury ten years, being his senior about twelve years. His after career to the period under consideration has been sufficiently traced. The imputation of false doctrine was broadcast by the unfriendly. How it came to be linked so closely with his name and that of his followers in later years will be seen in the sequel of his history and the denomination here presented.

After the Conference in Surry County, Va., in 1794, the new organization pursued its way with the fluctuations of fortune common to secessions among Methodists. The work was manned largely from the locality until preachers arose out of the converts of many successful revival meetings held by the Republican Methodists. O'Kelly cannot be regarded as an able constructionist, so that the gathered forces were of slight structure. Jealousies and bickerings grew apace among them, owing to diverse views and many other causes of distraction. In the neighborhoods where it carried most of the old Methodists with it the work prospered; but where there was division the strife was continuous, and the communities were vexed with the controversies of embittered partisans. O'Kelly issued pamphlet after pamphlet,

¹ "Letters from Heaven, Consulted." By James O'Kelly. Hillsborough, 1822. 8vo, 67 pp. Its literary ability is very fair.

which were answered by the friends of Asbury with the logical advantage so greatly with the New Side that Lee and Asbury were both stirred to replication. The former, however, never published his manuscript, anticipated probably by the voluminous preparations Asbury made, but which he also hesitated to publish. As late as July, 1798, he writes: "Mr. O'Kelly hath now published to the world what he hath been telling to his disciples for years. Mr. Hammett was moderate; Glendenning not very severe; but James hath turned the butt-end of his whip and is unanswerably abusive: the Lord judge between us! And he certainly will in that day of days." And later still, September, 1799: "James O'Kelly hath sent out another pamphlet, and propounds terms of union himself for the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists. . . . I ask in turn, what will James give up? His Unitarian errors? . . . I am now more fully satisfied than ever that his book is not worth answering." So it is seen that if O'Kelly could use the butt of his whip Asbury knew how to parry and thrust. A Unitarian! Whatever else he was, if to be a Unitarian is to deny the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ, then he was the last remove possible from being one, as will be exposed presently. Probably Asbury took no pains to be better informed — he joined in the hue and cry. And he did answer him, forging out the arguments, but hiding himself under a proxy. Lacking some of the elements of effective leadership, O'Kelly could not control other aspirants within the new Church. Extremes were advocated, factions arose, and one of them convened in Charlotte County, a stronghold of the seceders, and organized on a plan of their own. Amid these distractions not a few returned to the old Church and others were scattered for lack of proper pastoral oversight. There was much in the movement that was educating in two directions: first, as depreciatory of premature schism; and second, as sowing liberal principles and enfranchising the laity, an influence which was subsequently felt throughout the whole Methodist Church. So matters continued until the meeting of the General Conference of 1796. It and concurrent salient events in the Methodist Episcopal Church shall receive attention later, so as not to break the continuity of the O'Kellyite history, one action of the Conference excepted as a part of it. It has already been cited — a slur and slander unworthy of the Conference.

It is time to group the concluding events of this divisional struggle. John Dickins entered the fray with a pamphlet, in 1795, in which the extremest positions as to the Episcopacy were

taken, and, as may be inferred from his abilities, with much plausibility. From the General Conference of 1796, in which measures were taken to triply bar the Church against a recurrence of such a loss as came of the new Church movement, up to 1801, the Republican Methodists about held their own, counting those who separated, but who did not return to the old Church from time to time. Meanwhile the controversy so thickened and the pamphleteering so increased that Asbury brought his accumulations for a swooping answer to the General Conference of 1800, and requested that a committee be appointed to edit a "Reply" to O'Kelly. Bangs makes no allusion to this item. Stevens summarizes it, but not correctly. As Rev. Nicholas Snethen figures so conspicuously in it, let him tell what was done, and who did it. And as his career is to be fully limned hereafter, it is necessary only to say that he was now a young preacher of splendid abilities, both with pen and tongue, who was admitted to the Conference "on trial" in 1794. He acknowledges that as a young preacher, in 1792-94, he was prejudiced to the extent of a firm belief that all the reformers of that day were bad men. "Motives and intentions, thoughts and designs, that were known only to God, were thus transmitted to me by my seniors and superiors as facts, and as such I received them, without reflection or examination. It is evident, therefore, that my mind was prejudiced against men I had never seen, not merely because they had done a peculiar act or held a certain opinion; but I was led to infer from my information that they were bad men, and whatever they might say and do in their vindication must go for nothing so long as this prejudice against their moral characters remained in my mind. All that those men could have said of the nature and tendencies of the existing powers, though its truth might have been as evident as the sun at noonday, would not have convinced me but that they were bad men. And while this prejudice remained, I must needs have thought I did God service in opposing them. . . . And how can a young man doubt what a bishop or a presiding elder shall tell him of a Reformer. . . . It seems that there is hardly a besetment of our frail nature, that we are so seldom successful in guarding against, as evil surmisings. To question a man's motives is, indeed, infinitely easier than to answer his arguments." What a faithful portrait this is of the human heart and mind, and how it should be used as a mantle to cover a multitude of sins ascribed both to reformers and anti-reformers. Again his evidence direct as to the "Reply"

to O'Kelly. "At the General Conference of 1800 Mr. Asbury presented a mass of materials and documents which he had prepared and collected as an answer to O'Kelly's 'Apology.' The Conference was not eager to accept them. But near the close of the session Philip Bruce, George Roberts, and Nicholas Snethen were chosen as a committee, with powers to compose such an answer as they might think proper from the papers furnished by Mr. Asbury. It was not Mr. Asbury, but the General Conference, which made the choice of me as the *last* member of the committee, and the youngest. To this choice Mr. Asbury did not object, though he well knew that I was what is now called a new-side man. My colleagues devolved the labor of the compilation, or abridgment, upon me, and in this humble task I think it likely that I made much of the language my own, but how much I could not now tell; for I have not seen either of the pamphlets these twenty-seven years. But the leading ideas in the quotations I am persuaded I spake not of myself. Young men were then taught, as they are now, if not that 'might is right,' that success is truth. The reader may perceive that in those days young writers, scarcely out of their novitiate, were quite as flippant in the use of the arguments drawn from our success as they are in these days," etc. And here is a stray fact. "No circumstance is more distinctly in my recollection than that Mr. Asbury conceived that the English preachers were of opinion that Mr. Wesley might recall him, and that some of them were disposed to use their influence to effect his recall. The documents I thought best in my answer to O'Kelly to suppress, and Mr. Asbury acquiesced."

And now final explanation of his connection with the "Reply." "In 1800 I lent the aid of my pen to stop the progress of a separation from the Church; in 1821 I did the same, as may be seen from the first volume of the *Wesleyan Repository*. . . . In 1827 I continue to do the same." Upon what was this line of procedure based? He tells in a judgment of the O'Kelly secession, with which the views the writer has expressed are in accord. "The disastrous division in Virginia savored more at first of a strife for the mastery than a fair and correct discussion of social rights. The leader of it, while a presiding elder, was considered among the most rigid of that class of officers; and, like most men of irascible tempers and indistinct views, in the progress of his struggles and disappointments seems to have yielded himself up to the influence of the most desperate prejudices. There was a

crisis in the public mind, which, I cannot but think that if he had possessed a head sufficiently clear to have seized upon and held up to the view of the people, the true principles of social liberty would have insured him success. This chapter in our earlier history ought to be an everlasting monument to warn all of the danger of building or attempting to support a church upon any but the broadest foundation of the abstract principles of social rights."

There is much solid philosophical instruction in these quotations, but they are given at such length because those who read Methodist history elsewhere cannot but be struck with the half-concealed zest with which Snethen's name is connected with Asbury's "Reply" (so it should be titled) to O'Kelly's "Apology," and the suggestion, as between the lines, of his inconsistency therefore as a reformer in 1827-30. But the difference between the objective of these two men is antipodal: O'Kelly's contention was for ministerial rights pure and simple at the time; Snethen's contention from 1800 to his death was for laical rights—he was a lay-representationist pure and simple. Bangs and Stevens, and, specially, Drs. Bond and Emory, were not ingenuous in this mal-use of Snethen's name. O'Kelly's "Apology for Leaving the Episcopal Methodists" was not issued until 1799-1800, the first editions. The Asbury-Snethen "Reply to an Apology" followed, to which O'Kelly rejoined in "A Vindication of an Apology," printed at Raleigh, N. C., Jos. Gales, Printer, 1801, 62 pp. Snethen answered the "Vindication." The whole was under the revisive eye of Asbury, as it must be remembered that Snethen was travelling companion to the bishop by appointment of the General Conference this year. He refers to it in his Journal: "Thursday, 28th [August, 1800]—At Perry Hall—I was visited by Elders Bruce and Snethen. I heard the 'Reply' to Mr. O'Kelly's 'Apology'; soft and defensive and as little offensive as the nature of the case would admit."¹ M'Kendree

¹ Asbury in his "Journal," Vol. III. p. 8, admits fully that Snethen's work was a mere compilation. He is in South Carolina, February 5, 1801: "I received the compilation of N. Snethen, intended as an answer to James O'Kelly: it is well done, and very correctly done, except in a few cases." Snethen could not restrain the expression of his liberal views even in the O'Kelly matter, much as he disapproved his secession at the time, and this is the significance of the remark, "except in a few cases." In the same paragraph, Asbury having just been over the ground travelled by him and Coke in 1791, and having probably heard some averments of his "cold" treatment of Coke when he arrived at Charleston, S. C., and was chagrined to discover that he was against the Council, and in favor of a General Conference, siding now with O'Kelly as was found, he thinks it advisa-

and Lee were also much with him at this period. In all this Snethen was entirely consistent with himself. At no time of his life did he lose his personal respect for Asbury, and their friendship remained to the close of the latter's life, though he held pronounced liberal views on government and often discussed them with his chief. It was during this period that he won from Asbury the cognomen "My silver trumpet," alluding to his remarkable voice and overwhelming oratory. There may be surmised two reasons Asbury did not complete his purpose to reply to O'Kelly personally. He had a distrust of his literary abilities, hence he left nothing but his Journal, and this severely edited by Hollingsworth, and his posthumous instructions to the Conference through M'Kendree. Again, he fully understood the levelling tendencies of controversy, so he forebore to enter the lists with O'Kelly under his own name—he held himself above him. It is noteworthy that Lee makes not the slightest reference to the Asbury-Snethen-O'Kelly controversy.

A period is now reached in the career of O'Kelly which calls for a resumption of the heresy question and its final disposition. Dissatisfaction grew out of the denominational name, Republican Methodists, so in 1801 O'Kelly published a pamphlet in which was proposed a new name—"The Christian Church."¹ Most of

ble to enter a disclaimer at this late date, ten years after, as to his treatment of Coke by declaring: "There was no sharpness at all upon my side with Dr. Coke at Charleston respecting the proposed General Conference which was afterward held [1792]. I was fully convinced that nothing *else* would finish the unhappy business with O'Kelly, and that did finish it." But not on the original issues, which were the abolition of the Council and the call of a General Conference, points which were won by Coke and O'Kelly; but the issue that finished O'Kelly in the disastrous secession was a new one, that of an appeal for the preachers. Naturally Asbury puts the best face on it he can in this note.

¹ Following in this the best obtainable data from Methodist historians, error is recorded as to the origin and time of this new appellation. Happily, recent reliable information gives the corrections and other interesting facts as to O'Kelly, and the denomination of Christians acknowledging him as their father. The writer has before him the centennial number of the *Christian Sun*, organ of this Church in the South, and published at Raleigh, N. C., under that title since 1844. It is exhaustive of the whole church history of the Christians, and supplies not a few facts as to O'Kelly not before generally known. This issue of the paper bears date December 6, 1894. From it information is gleaned that O'Kelly was born in Virginia, his father at least being an Irishman, and that he had the best educational advantages the country then afforded, being a school chum with Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry. On the 4th of August, 1794, a Conference of the O'Kelly reformers was held at Lebanon chapel in Surry County, Va., and Rice Haggard then moved "the adoption of the name Christian to the exclusion of all party or sectarian names," and the motion prevailed. The several divisions of the Christians (not the Church of Alexander Campbell) in the South, West, and

his societies accorded with it; but it became a new occasion for division among them, and led to the Charlotte County defection of four of his preachers and a number of members. The original movement was confined to Virginia and North Carolina, with fragmentary adherents in the adjacent states. As the Christian Church it held well. The old Methodist doctrines were zealously preached, the means of grace observed, and there was nothing in the teaching that savored of O'Kelly's alleged Unitarianism. He circulated among them, aided by Rice Haggard, and they were accomplishing the work of Methodists under a liberal polity; but the organization was fated to suffer from the heresy allegation in an unexpected manner. Rev. Dr. John Paris of North Carolina, author of a "History of the Methodist Protestant Church," etc., and who was thoroughly acquainted with the Christian Church and its divisions, bears testimony, in 1849, "The Church in connection with Mr. O'Kelly always did and still does believe, and the ministers preach, the doctrine of a Trinity, the divinity of the Son of God, and His atonement for lost sinners, as fully and closely as any people on earth." Ten years after this date he wrote a pamphlet, "Unitarianism exposed as it exists in the 'Christian Church,'" ¹ from which the following facts are cited. Rev. Leonard Prather, the friend and pupil of O'Kelly and for many years one of their ablest and most learned preachers, says: "Some years after the organization of this [the Christian Church], a sect sprang up in New England that was strictly Unitarian, and also calling themselves the Christian Church. They published a paper called the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, edited by Elias Smith, in which they deny the divinity of Christ and ridicule the doctrine of the atonement." This paper was instituted in 1808, and, it is conceded, was the first religious paper ever published in the United States. Hearing of O'Kelly's Christian Church in the South, they sent one of their missionary preachers, by the name of Plummer, to visit them at Pine Stake, N. C., where the Conference had assembled. Why was Plummer sent? Undoubtedly because years before Lee and others had circulated the

North have been united, making to-day quite a strong denomination, with college and seminary and other appliances of a well-equipped organization. O'Kelly is buried in the cemetery attached to the Raleigh, N. C., church, and his grave designated with a suitable monument. The Church he originated is essentially Methodist in its teaching and methods to-day, though the sections West and North differ in some particulars; and the reunited body has a respectable standing and a reasonable degree of prosperity.

¹ Baltimore, Sherwood, printer. 1860. 16mo. 72 pp.

heresy charge against O’Kelly in New England, and Plummer was impressed that the southern Christian Church must be doctrinally akin to his own. Making his mission known at the Conference, O’Kelly confronted him with the direct question, “If Jesus Christ were now on earth, and you knew it were he, would you worship him?” He answered, “No; no sooner than I would you, for I do not believe he was any more divine.” Mr. O’Kelly replied, “Then I have no fellowship with you.” Plummer was a man of ability and insinuating address, and drew off William Guirey, author of the “Rise of Episcopacy,” cited in this work, one of their ablest preachers; and the infection spread among others, and “some of the most numerous and respectable societies in Virginia.” O’Kelly was now an aging man and unable to cope with the outbreak, but he and his adherents refused all fellowship with the northern Christian Church, and until long after his death there was no intercourse between them. The Christians under Plummer and Guirey established not long after a weekly paper at Suffolk, Va., which continued a feeble existence many years, called the *Christian Sun*. It was against them that Paris wrote while defending the orthodoxy of O’Kelly and his societies.

It is but fair to the preachers and people, still quite numerous in North Carolina and Virginia, to state that they have ever denied being Unitarians of the Priestley and Channing order. About 1840 a union was formed of these Christians in the North and in the South, both the Trinitarian and the Unitarian sections of O’Kelly’s people (it was fourteen years after his death), and the disciples of Barton W. Stowe in the West. The platform on which they united is a broad one. “1st. Christ the only head of the Church. 2d. The name of Christian to the exclusion of all party or sectarian names. 3d. The Holy Bible, or the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, our only creed or confession of faith. 4th. Christian character or vital piety the true Scriptural test of fellowship or church membership. 5th. The right of private judgment and the liberty of conscience the privilege and duty of all.” They hold an annual convention of a representative character, and at their last meeting claimed some two hundred societies under their union. The subject need not be pursued farther. Enough has been shown completely to vindicate O’Kelly and his followers from the aspersion of heresy.¹ He was as true

¹ Bishop M’Tyeire says: “Impartial history requires us to say we find no evidence of the heresy alleged against James O’Kelly — that he was unsound on the

to the Articles of Religion and doctrinal standards of Methodism as those who traduced him; and historians of that ilk should correct their records and sin no more against his memory. The final allusion of Stevens needs correction, "Though the schism lingered, it gradually died from this period," i.e. the period of 1801. It is fair to admit that he knew no better, though the same sources of information were open to him if he had sought for them. With Snethen it is believed to have been premature and ill-considered, and as a secession not to be justified in the circumstances; but its author died under a full persuasion of its necessity and rightfulness. "To the latest period of his life he retained unabated confidence in the purity and power of his system. In age and feebleness his hope in the work of his hands did not desert him. He went down to the grave, according to one of his followers, satisfied with the past, and peaceful and trustful with respect to the future."¹

A few facts and reflections remain in conclusion of this subject. Asbury relates in his Journal, under date of August 20, 1802, Winchester, Va. — "Mr. O'Kelly having been taken ill in town, I sent two of our brethren, Reed and Walls, to see him, by whom I signified that if he wished to see me I would wait upon him: he desired a visit, which I made him on Monday, August 23. We met in peace, asked of each other's welfare, talked of persons and things indifferently, prayed, and parted in peace. Not a word was said of the troubles of former times. Perhaps this is the last interview we shall have upon the earth." The interview is alike honorable to both. They went their ways again, Asbury to survive fourteen years and O'Kelly twenty-four. It is a sad fact that Stevens, after noting this exchange of Christian courtesies, should occupy a full page in moral reflections, in which he classes O'Kelly's proceedings in the same category with the sins and frailties of David, Judas, and Peter, concluding with the Scriptural admonition, "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."

It has been affirmed that the liberal lay features of the seceding Church had little, if anything, to do with the circumscription to its original boundaries and, at best, its stunted growth. Rev. W. C. Lipscomb, an unimpeachable witness, testified² that it

Trinity, and hastened his secession for fear of being brought to trial. . . . The trouble was governmental, not doctrinal." "History of Methodism," p. 412.

¹ Dr. L. M. Lee's "History of Jesse Lee," p. 287.

² *Methodist Protestant*, April 2, 1859.

failed of general adoption by the Methodists for want of proper disciplinary arrangements solely. In evidence of this statement he cites his recollection of a conversation with Major Simon Sommers,¹ who was contemporary with O'Kelly and a Methodist of that early day, and, though not identified with his societies, was personally acquainted with him and knew whereof he affirmed, a large society of Republican Methodists existing in the neighborhood of his plantation, "Sommerville," where he lived and died. His opinion in effect was that if O'Kelly had rejected only such parts of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church as were deemed objectionable, and retained the remainder, he "would have swept the concern." And now, as offsetting Stevens's category of ecclesiastical sinners, the whole of this Asbury-O'Kelly contest may be crystallized in the language of Mr. Gladstone, ex-premier of England. In a recent article on "The Place of Heresy and Schism in the Modern Christian Church," speaking of the non-conformists and citing their service to both the Church and State, he observes, "There are civil cases when, though we may not be able to say the rebel is in the right, yet we can clearly see that the possessor of power, who drove him to be a rebel, is far more profoundly in the wrong."

¹ Simon Sommers, of Alexandria County, Va., was a Major in the Revolutionary War, was on the staff of General Washington, and, residing so near Mount Vernon, was socially intimate with him. He was an educated Christian gentleman who had embraced the Methodist religion, and became the head of a large and influential family of Methodists, some of whom were among the founders of the Methodist Protestant Church in that section. He was intimate with Asbury, and occasion will be had in a review of the General Conference of 1796 and the events to 1800 to note an incident in which both figured in church affairs. He was born in Fairfax County, Va., November 23, 1747, and died in Alexandria County, Va., at his homestead, "Sommerville," December, 1836.

CHAPTER XXXV

A bead-roll of worthy names; itinerants of this early day who pioneered the Methodist gospel in America, with brief comments—The General Conference of 1796—Presence of Coke—Lee's narrative; the new form of church deed; other salient doings—Response to the British Conference Address—A general Fast—Proposal to elect another bishop; adroit management by Asbury, and Coke accepted under restrictions—The instrument defining his relation—The Discipline of 1796 with Notes prepared by Asbury and Coke—A running comment on these Notes; moulded in the interest of Episcopacy—Section on the Trial of Members considered; stringent and summary method of expulsion of Reformers of that day—Slavery, and the attitude of the Church in 1796; no comment on it in the Notes—Bishop and not "Superintendent" the term now constantly used officially—Asbury sends copy of Discipline with Notes to Major Simon Sommers of Virginia, asking his opinion—The latter replies exhaustively in a letter now published for the first time.

BEFORE cataloguing the salient events of the General Conference of 1796, brief reference will be made to the prominent workers who successfully preached this Methodist gospel of spiritual regeneration, the witness of the Spirit, and holiness of life. The career of Benjamin Abbott has already been sketched. Whatcoat was quietly travelling; more intent upon doing good than interested in the Asbury-O'Kelly struggle. Stevens, in his running narration of the giants of these times, recites with romantic fervor the labors of such men as Henry Smith and M'Cormick, and gives large eulogistic space to M'Kendree, every word of which is merited for zeal, abilities, and like Asbury, ascetic habits and unflinching courage as a herald of the cross in these days of hardship, and in many cases, of literal martyrdom. Enoch George, afterward Bishop, John Easter, Hope Hull, who left an undying memory in the far South. Coleman and Simon Carlise, Stephen G. Roszel, and Joshua Wells, whose renown was in Maryland and Virginia. George Pickering, Ezekiel Cooper, John M'Claskey and Lawrence M'Comb, Morrell and Colbert in the East and North. Henry B. Bascom, the brilliant young itinerant, and who will receive large notice ere this History is concluded. The two Bowmans, with Thornton Fleming and Valentine Cook. The Emburys and Hecks in Canada. Dunham and Losee, Coleman

and Woolsey. Sylvanus Keeler and Samuel Coate, one of whose printed sermons is in possession of the writer. Wooster and Lorenzo Dow, who, after much hesitation by Asbury on account of his eccentricities, was received by the Conference of 1798, but did not long abide in the regular harness. Benjamin Bemis, and Enoch Mudge, the first native Methodist preacher of New England. Aaron Hunt, Joshua Taylor, Daniel Ostrander, Zadock Priest, Joshua Hall, and Thomas Ware, of fragrant memory among Methodists. These and others just as worthy, but whose names have no embalmment except in the Minutes. These men laid the doctrinal and spiritual foundation of what the *London Quarterly Review* of nearly three decades ago denominated: "American Methodism is the most wonderful instance of Church development which the world's history has shown." The grandeur of the spectacle is marred only by its numerous divisions the world over, all of them it may be averred the direct or indirect consequence of the organized error of 1784 both in Britain and America as to its polity. This is repeated with due deference to the preponderating opinion of its advocates that ecclesiastical wisdom was about exhausted in these paternal entails of Wesley and Asbury. In the West such men as John Cooper carried on the pioneering, and with him Samuel Breese, John Akers, Moriarty, Tunnell, and Poythress. Barnabas M'Henry, William Burke, and Francis M'Cormick, the founder of Methodism in Ohio. Scott, Tiffin, and others. Stevens gives up three-fourths of his third volume to sketches of these noble men.

The General Conference of 1796. Dependence must be placed upon Lee for the most details. It met October 20, in the Light Street church, Baltimore. Asbury dismisses it in a few lines. "About a hundred preachers were assembled. . . . They agreed to a committee and then complained; upon which we dissolved ourselves. . . . No angry passions were felt among the preachers; we had a great deal of good and judicious talk. The Conference rose on Thursday, November 3: what we have done is printed. Bishop Coke was cordially received, as my friend and colleague, to be wholly for America, unless a way should be opened to France. . . . I am thankful that our session is over." October 14, six days before the Conference, he notes, "We heard by the newspapers of the arrival of Doctor Coke in the United States." The reader will not take the impression that Asbury was not expecting him. Their relations had been cordial and confidential since the General Conference of 1792, when Asbury received his

submission and restored him to favor. Lee says there were one hundred and twenty preachers present. He also states that the District conferences, on the segregating plan of Asbury, and which gave such dissatisfaction to the preachers, gave even more up to the General Conference of 1796, when the name was changed to Annual, and the number restricted by law to seven in each year.¹ It was a set-back for Asbury, but he does not refer to it, as he knew how and when to bend, under the conviction that if he did not there might be a serious break.

At this Conference also a new form of deed for holding church property was enacted, and the link forged was a solid one for Episcopal supremacy, as it formally established the dictum, "Empire follows property." It is given in full in the tenth edition of the Discipline of 1796, on pp. 172-176, a copy of which is now before the writer, printed in 1798. The gist of this new deed is in the stipulation, "For the use of the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America, according to the rules and discipline which from time to time may be agreed upon and adopted by the ministers and preachers of said church, at their General Conferences in the United States of America; and in further trust and confidence that they shall at all times, forever hereafter, permit such ministers and preachers, belonging to said church, as shall from time to time be duly authorized by the General Conferences of the ministers and people of the said Methodist Episcopal Church, or by the yearly Conferences authorized by the said General Conference, and none others, to preach and expound God's holy word therein." Then follows provision for filling vacancies in the board of trustees which place the choice practically in the preference of the minister or preacher, and under his full control, and so also as to the first choice of a board. This legal paper, copper-bottomed and steel-riveted, holds to this day, except in the case of a few large and influential churches which are held by the congregation in fact as well as form, the authorities of the Church having found it wise to connive at the departure. The true character of this deed has been discussed for nearly one hundred years, and in its proper place in the controversy of 1827-30 it will be thoroughly explored.

The *Arminian Magazine* was changed in name to the *Methodist Magazine*. The Chartered Fund of the Church was instituted for the support of superannuated preachers, their widows and orphans. Preachers on trial were not to attend Conference. Local preachers

¹ Lee's "History," pp. 194, 195.

were allowed some compensation when actively employed, and provision was made for their trial under charges. A stringent law against the use and sale of spirituous liquors was enacted. An attempt was made by the reforming party of preachers to secure the election of presiding elders by the Annual Conferences, but, as already noticed, it failed for reasons given. An Address was ordered to the British Conference in response to one brought over from it by Dr. Coke, and presented to the American Conference, which was couched in the most fraternal language, but carefully guards any recognition either of Asbury as a "Bishop," or of the Conference as "The Methodist Episcopal Church." Neither of these terms is found in it. As exposed already, the British brethren would not be compromitted with the proceedings of 1784 in America, because believed by them to be utterly subversive of Wesley's intent in the mission of Coke to Asbury. It is in this American Address that the fling is made at O'Kelly and his followers already noted. It is worth the mention in passing that Dr. Coke brought with him, in 1796, as a companion, Pierre de Pontavice, a nobleman of a distinguished house in Brittany and a convert from Romanism to Methodism. Though he could not preach in the English tongue, he was cordially received and hospitably entertained. A General Fast had been ordered by the Conferences of 1795, for the first Friday in March, 1796, and a General Thanksgiving for the last Thursday of October, 1796. Lee puts the Fast on the last Friday in February, 1795, and the Thanksgiving on the last Thursday of October, 1795. He is probably in error as to the year; Bangs and Stevens are for 1796.

The two most material actions of the General Conference are yet to be noted. Asbury was in failing health, though but fifty-one years of age, and it was manifest that his labors were too onerous. By his own election he must keep himself in actual touch with every part of the Methodist machinery in America; he felt that his Primacy depended on it. It is not known whether he suggested it, or whether the Conference first moved in the matter, but it is known that a proposition was introduced and carried to elect another Bishop for the Church, to coöperate with him. Stevens says, "A discussion ensued for two days, not without some partisan feeling on the manner of his appointment." For this information he is indebted to Dr. L. M. Lee in his "Life of Jesse Lee," written many years afterward, as compiled from Lee's papers. Lee says only in his "History": "At that time it was thought proper to have another bishop elected and ordained, and

the Conference voted that it should be done during the sitting of that Conference. After the vote was taken, a difficulty arose about the manner of choosing or electing a man to be ordained a bishop." Why a difficulty, is a query arising in every thoughtful mind. Did they not have the action of the Conference of 1784, which quite a number of them had attended, and knew precisely how it was that Coke and Asbury were "elected or received" as Superintendents? Of course they had, and it revives the old question as to that muddle, never satisfactorily explained to this day. Lee continues, "and before the point was settled Dr. Coke begged that the business might be laid over until the afternoon, which was done. When we met in the afternoon, the Doctor offered himself to us, if we saw cause to take him; and promised to serve us in the best manner he could, and to be entirely at the disposal of his American brethren, and to live or die among them." Had he consulted with Asbury in the meantime? Who can doubt it. The truth of history would be helped very much if the fine work put in as to this business were known. The Conference of 1787 had cashiered him, and exacted that humiliating abdication already given to the readers. He went back to England, and suffered the displeasure of Asbury until the winter of 1791-92. The paper of abdication with his sign-manual and attested by three Conference witnesses Asbury had preserved. But times had changed. He is now restored, and is the ready instrument of Asbury's dominating will in everything. Hear Lee again: "The Conference at length agreed to the Doctor's proposal, and concluded that if the Doctor tarried with us we could do with two bishops, without ordaining a third, and the former vote for choosing another bishop was dropped. The Doctor then gave us the following instrument of writing:—

"I offer myself to my American brethren entirely at their service, all I am and have, with my talents and labors in every respect; without any mental reservation whatever to labor among them, and to assist Bishop Asbury; not to station the preachers at any time when he is present; but to exercise all the episcopal duties, when I hold a conference in his absence, and by his consent, and to visit the West Indies and France, when there is an opening, and I can be spared.

“[Signed] THOMAS COKE.

“CONFERENCE ROOM, Baltimore, October 27, 1796.”

This paper is as much of a study as that of his abdication. The brethren must have taunted him on his failure to stay after 1784, as Wesley intended, and on his restless absences from the country

ever afterward. Could they trust him if he promised to stay among them now? Was he tricky and uncertain? Else why this sentence — "without any mental reservation whatever?" There can be no doubt that seeing "the difficulty," Asbury quietly put in his velvet hand and managed it. He did not mean that another Bishop coequal with himself should be thus elected. Is there moral certainty for it? In a year it will be seen what he proposed as a substitute, and the reader can determine. The trouble with good Dr. Coke was that he was kept so busy, "running with the hounds and holding with the hare," — trying to sit on two stools, that he ever and anon fell between them.

Another important measure of the Conference was their authorization to the Bishops to issue a new Discipline with Notes. As given in the "Advertisement to the Reader," page 4, of the Discipline of 1796, it reads as follows: "The last General Conference desired the Bishops to draw up Annotations on the Form of Discipline, and to publish them with the present edition; — The Bishops have accordingly complied, and have proved or illustrated everything by quotations from the Word of God, agreeably, also, to the advice of the Conference; and they sincerely pray that their labors of love may be made a blessing to many." Dr. Coke remained in America this time until the 6th of February, 1797, when he embarked for England from Charleston, S. C., a period of about four months from the General Conference. It was during this time that the Bishops prepared the Notes. They are elaborate, and show the ecclesiastical hand of Asbury and the classical pen of Coke. They travelled together from the General Conference during these four months, and had ample opportunity to consult and make the Notes. Asbury says at Charleston, S. C., February 9, 1797, "To-morrow my dear Dr. Coke sails for Europe." And on the 10th he writes: "This day Dr. Coke is waiting to sail for Ireland. Strangers to the delicacies of Christian friendship know little or nothing of the pain of parting." Drew's date of the 6th of February, already given, must be an error quite common to him. Asbury and Coke had become again as David and Jonathan. Lee makes no mention of this Discipline with Notes.

It may be well to run through the new Discipline and examine these Notes. The copy in hand bears this title-page, which is of historical interest: "The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America with Explanatory Notes, by

Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury. The tenth edition. Philadelphia: Printed by Henry Tuckniss, Sold by John Dickins, no. 41 Market street, between Front and Second streets, and by the Methodist Ministers and Preachers throughout the United States. 1798." 12mo, 208 pp., sheep. These statements show that ten editions were sold within about a year. The preachers were diligent in circulating them, and Asbury was very proud of the Notes, and frequently sent copies to special friends and those whom he thought needed conversion from liberal views. A striking instance of his method and its result in one notable case shall be given presently. They began at the prefatory statement and remoulded it. They then added a new section on the Origin of the Church, which is a wide departure from their previous accounts in 1784 and later. It is a studied effort to show an Episcopacy derived from Wesley, and it is a mild criticism to say that the facts are wrested to make them quadrate with the theory. McCaine severely arraigned them for it, and there is no escaping the verdict just given.

The Notes to this section cover three closely printed pages in fine type. It is the arsenal from which has been furnished the arms and ammunition to the defenders of its polity to the present day. The line of the argument is that as apostolical succession as held by the high churchmen of the National Establishment in England cannot be maintained, "It follows, therefore, indubitably that every church has a right to choose, if it please, the episcopal plan." This is a truism, but the objection to its application to the Asburyan Church is that as such it did not choose it, and that it was foisted upon the preachers who organized it. The literature of the subject fills volumes for and against, but the allegation made has already been proved and submitted for the verdict of the reader. "The late reverend John Wesley recommended the *episcopal* form for the societies in America; and the general conference, which is the chief synod of the church, unanimously accepted of it. Mr. Wesley did more. He first consecrated one for the office of a bishop, that our episcopacy might descend from himself." It seems difficult to understand how these good men could bring themselves to make this unqualified record. There is no solution but to assume that, having a case to make, and believing the end justified it, they strained the facts of history. "Mr. Wesley, therefore, preferred the episcopal form of church government; and God has (glory be to his name!) wonderfully blessed it amongst us." The true question is evaded

throughout. Mr. Wesley, it is known, was an Episcopalian of the low-church school, and he avows that for "a National Church he knows no form as good," and this is not disputed. Neither is it the question, if Wesley had ordained a polity for the American societies that he would have preferred the Episcopal to the Presbyterian polity, though in the new American environment, and his instructions to the American Methodists in his letter to them, it is doubtful. The question is: Did he recommend the Episcopal form, and did he authorize the formation of an American Church under it? Facts enough have already been presented at an earlier stage of this History to demonstrate that he did not, and that Coke and Asbury knew he did not; though it was adroitly concealed from the preachers in 1784, and the catenation of adverse facts were not exhumed and made known until 1827-30 by Alexander McCaine. His statement of the facts has never been invalidated, though his style of statement was open to objection and weakened the force of his allegations, as will be exhibited in its proper order. Coke and Asbury did not fail to clinch their averments with the old-time Methodist acclamation, "glory be to His name!" and so challenged contradiction. The scripture argument for the Episcopal plan, and just such a plan as the Asburian, is put as strongly as it can be—the learning of Coke and the shrewdness of Asbury combined upon it. They take up the Articles of Religion, and under XXII. administer a severe animadversion against the "spirit of division," in the main unexceptionable, but for its direct thrusts at O'Kelly and his friends. Next the Discipline proper is taken up, and an ingenious defence made of it. They meet the question (showing the lay agitation of that early day), "But it may be asked, Why are not delegates sent to these conferences from each of the circuits? We answer, It would utterly destroy *our itinerant plan*." Every autocrat firmly persuades himself that without his headship there could be no union, and without such a union there could be no effective administration. It was easy for the preachers to believe it, so that it was almost universally entertained by them; there was no counter-experience to disprove it, and though the course of Methodist events has since clearly shown that the presence of lay-delegates, so far from hampering the itinerancy, has strengthened it, and they have proved themselves the most reliable upholders of the general superintendency and an itinerant ministry; so the fallacy of assertion has been overborne by the logic of events.

The Notes upon this subject occupy nearly seven pages. Imaginary opponents of an itinerant plan, like men of straw, are set up — there was no whisper of opposition among the people of that day, and the preachers were well-nigh a unit in favor — and the Bishops knock them down and then thresh the straw! Why all this labor? The true objective was the absolute headship of the Bishop, and his unlimited power in stationing the preachers. It is interesting to watch them examining every link in the chain, and forging new ones where wanted, and then they connect the ends and make it a circle of iron. Thousands of good men have gone down to their graves in the full persuasion that this method and nothing else was the moving spring of Methodist success, and much may be and must be conceded to it. It was a power for good, but as Snethen has so convincingly shown, it carried with it a corresponding power to do evil, which its advocates refused to consider, but out of which have come issues which have destroyed the unity of Methodism, an evil far outweighing the good of an arbitrary system. It is the principal contention of this History to prove the allegation true. The hortatory mood of the Bishops is something vehement for a final word, "Shall we not rather support it, notwithstanding everything which may be subtly urged by our enemies under the cry of tyranny, which is the common cry of restless spirits even against the best governments in order that they may throw everything into confusion, and then ride on the whirlwind and direct the storm." There are catch phrases here that have come down through all the Reform movements. "We recommend a careful perusal of the Causes, Evils, and Cures, of Heart and Church Divisions." It was published as a pamphlet about these times, and widely distributed. Asbury referred to it frequently in his Journal. He read it into himself until it was thoroughly assimilated. It was one of the O'Kelly antidotes and contained very good advice, only the Bishop seemed never to suspect that his methods might be among the Causes of Church Divisions.

Section VIII., under the question, "How shall a suspected member be brought to trial?" the old method is given, and then is added as an "N.B.," the new law, "If a member of our society shall be clearly convicted of endeavoring to sow dissensions in any of our societies, by inveighing against either our doctrines or discipline, such person so offending shall be first reprov'd by the senior minister or preacher on his circuit, and if he afterward persists in such pernicious practices, he shall be

expelled the society." It was enacted for a specific purpose — a ready instrument for the precipitate expulsion of all reformers within the Church without regard to their moral character. It was found so effective that it has been retained in the Discipline to this day with the single amendment, "He shall be brought to trial, and if found guilty." What! the reader exclaims, was not that the case as originally framed? It was not. It gave the preacher power after reproof to expel without formality, and it was exercised unsparingly. Its power of evil was tremendous. From 1796 down to 1812 and farther, it was held as a menace over all who might dare to sympathize actively with any who opposed the will of the preacher in any of his measures. If distractions or dissatisfactions occurred in the society even stripling preachers ended it by publicly tearing up the class book, and reinstating such as they chose. Under it presiding elders ruled with a rod of iron all refractory elements. Examples of its working will occur later in this History. Two observations of the logical and philosophical Snethen must be cited as bearing upon the subject, the one directly and the other indirectly. "This article [just canvassed], if I remember rightly, was introduced into the form of discipline after the separation of James O'Kelly; . . . it were to be wished that enactments which are predicated upon temporary and accidental circumstances might expire by their own limitation, and not be suffered to remain a dead letter in the discipline long after the occasion for them ceases." This was written before the expulsions of 1827-30, or in August, 1821, or he would have discovered that it was not a dead letter. And now as to the impolicy of such a law, and its reflex influences, he says: "The weakest governments are not those which have the least power, but the least degree of social organization. To govern is to manage the social sympathies and energies so as to bring the greatest possible degree of general regard to bear upon the general interest. The oldest and most powerful hierarchies stand recorded upon the pages of history, and will forever stand recorded, for unparalleled corruption and depravity. For all moral and religious purposes they become utterly impotent; innocence and virtue alone groaned and bled under their iron rule."

The agitation against the unbalanced system of the Episcopacy not only cost the wide and disastrous secession of O'Kelly; but the slow recovery of the old organization, despite the accustomed zeal and fidelity of both preachers and people, is in evidence how whole communities in which they labored were prejudiced against

a system giving birth to such expedients for the equalizing of rights and of such laws as that under review for the suppression of the Reformers. How many stood aloof from Methodism on this account is an unknown quantity, but the patriotic intelligence of the times was offended at the exercise of ecclesiastical authority by an exclusive class. The course of history in the Church is proof, however, that power is repressive, so that the reforming element was twenty years in reaching the position abandoned when O'Kelly seceded. They were put under espionage, and hampered in every way. History fairly recorded shows that the Reformers among the ministers and people persisted despite all discouragements. The moral courage required cannot be appreciated by Methodists of to-day. Hope seemed forlorn, but they did not surrender their principles. All honor to them for keeping alive the issues which have made this "History of Methodist Reform" both a possibility and a necessity. The keen-cut words of the philosophical novelist, George Eliot, are in place, "Any coward can fight when he is sure of winning, but give me the man who has pluck to fight when he is sure of losing." The brainful, liberal element of both classes in the Church saw the concrete idea of a hierarchy fastening itself with the grip of an octopus, and they resisted with Christian manliness its arrogations. But what availed counter Scripture and reasoning? For the time nothing. Principle has an inherent vitality, as the contest of a hundred years convincingly proves, but power is overmastering, and again and again prevailed. Snethen has in a few pregnant sentences crystallized the whole controversy: "Power combined with interest and inclination cannot be controlled by logic. But even power shrinks from the test of logic." It was true at this period, and in every period of Reform, but conspicuously so in the contention of 1827-30, as shall be seen. Shrinking from the reasoning, it withered with power. The answer of the Throne has ever been, I meet your reason with my resolution.

The regulations as to slavery were made more stringent, the provisions and conditions exhibiting the difference between the pronouncements of a theory and the impracticables of a condition. No Church ever spoke with so clear a voice as did the Methodist Episcopal Church on the theory, and no Church has ever been so handicapped by it as an inexorable condition. The majority of its membership always lay in the slaveholding states. The Scylla or Charybdis was always before it, and impartial history will give the verdict that it did the best thing possible at every

period and in every phase of it down to 1844. It is observable that to Section IX., on Slavery, no Notes are added, exposition and exhortation are refrained. It must also be declared how vulnerable are these Notes as to the true application of Scripture, the pertinence of examples and the conclusiveness of reasoning, — the plausibility alone is satisfying. Take an example — “The sitting apart of men and women’ was the universal practice of the primitive church. A general mixture of the sexes is obviously improper in places of divine worship: 1 Cor. xiv. 40, ‘Let all things be done decently and in order.’” What as to the fact, what as to the obviousness, and what as to the Scripture proof? The Disciplines of 1784 to 1796 (a copy of that of 1790 now before the writer) are substantially the same, and cover 256 pp., sheep, only 60 pp., however, are of the Discipline proper, the remainder consisting of essays on doctrine, while the additions and Notes made in 1796 swell the Discipline proper to 187 pp., all the essays omitted. The old Discipline did not contain the Forms for Ordination, while they are affixed to the new one after the index. The term “Superintendent” nowhere occurs in it; it is an Ordination of a Bishop, and the form is almost identical with that of the National Church of England. The inconsistency and absurdity of it remained until the hard common sense of the preachers analyzed it and enforced the changes congruous with the official deliverance of the modern Methodist Church that the bishopric is an Office simply, and not an Order. It is now a “Consecration” service, and is freed from the incongruous Churchism of Asbury and Coke.

Before closing observations on the Discipline with notes recurrence must be made to Asbury’s high estimate of it and his diligence in circulating it. Soon after it came from the press he sent a copy with his regards to one of his lay Methodist friends whom he knew to entertain liberal views of church government, Major Simon Sommers of the west end of Alexandria (near the line of Fairfax) County, Va., courting his opinion of it with apparent confidence that it was unanswerable. Major Sommers, heretofore referred to as giving the true cause in his view of the failure of O’Kelly’s movement to prevail over the Asburyan Church, answered the Bishop’s request in a letter which is made, because of its intrinsic and antiquarian importance, and despite of its length, an Appendix to this volume. No reader should fail to peruse it in full as furnishing an intellectual treat and as a fine specimen of the lay-rights arguments of that early day.

Such were some of the men who were denied all participation in the government of the Methodist Church.¹ See Appendix D.

¹ A "copy" of a letter addressed to Bishop Asbury, August 6, 1798, by Simon Sommers, a layman of the Methodist Episcopal Church on Fairfax circuit, Va., in answer to a copy of the Discipline of 1796-97 with Notes, sent to him by the Bishop as a token of friendship. He resided, after his active career in the United States Army, at his plantation, "Sommerville," about three miles from Georgetown, D. C., in Fairfax, or Alexandria County, Va. He held his membership at the old "Brick Chapel," near by his residence, and was a trustee. He withdrew from the old Church long years before the Reform controversy of 1827-30 was inaugurated, thus proving that there were not wanting intelligent laymen who discerned and protested against the arbitrary methods of the Episcopal *régime* long before that period. That their voice was stifled goes for the saying, only an opportunity like this was not allowed to pass without Christian protestation. Sommers lived to a great age, and was associated with the Reformed Methodists of 1820-36. This copy was presented to the writer by Miss Elizabeth M. Minor (whose mother was a daughter of Simon Sommers, and married Smith Minor of Fairfax County, Va.) some ten years ago. Subsequently a second copy, in a different chirography, but a transliteration of the first, was presented to the writer by the same granddaughter. This is in evidence that Sommers and his reform friends multiplied copies of it in writing for circulation. Both are in a good state of preservation. A letter from this granddaughter under date March 22, 1898, says: "Grandfather was always a strong advocate of Mutual Rights, and took the paper from its first publication. My mother told me that Bishop Asbury made my grandfather's his home when on his visiting tour from North to South, and they had many long controversies on church government, sometimes sitting until a late hour discussing the matter."

CHAPTER XXXVI

• Racy extracts from Asbury's Journal on sundry subjects — His falling health and the Wilbraham annual conference; "assistant bishops" proposed; Lee in the episcopal saddle; and what came of the adroit proposal; McCaine's information — Asbury's extraordinary itinerary for a sick man — Statistics as to the O'Kelly secession; reflections on it — Sudden appearance of Dr. Coke in Virginia; how he played coy with the American and British brethren; present at the General Conference of 1800; how Asbury now began to play fast and loose with him; McCaine exposes letters throwing light on the subject — The writer's justification for exhuming these hidden facts; ignored by other Methodist historians — Coke's resolve to come no more to America unless he can be received as a coördinate Bishop — Final disappearance.

A FEW events call for notice. Asbury writes, May 21, 1795 — "This day I heard of the death of one, among my best friends in America — Judge White, of Kent County, in the state of Delaware. This news was attended with an awful shock to me. I have met with nothing like it in the death of any friend on the continent. . . . He was about sixty-five years of age." And then a quizzical note — October, 1795, in the Pitt District of Maryland — "The Africans of this town desire a church, which in temporals shall be altogether under their own direction, and ask greater privileges than the white stewards and trustees ever had a right to claim." Naughty fellows. Was not Asbury striving for the freedom of them all, and they innocently conclude that, if the sauce is good for the goose it must be good for the gander — they would like to be free Christians also! The Bishop's language leaves in doubt whether he was ready to laugh or cry. January, 1796 — "We have now a second and confirmed account that the Cokesbury college is consumed to ashes, a sacrifice of about 10,000 pounds [fifty thousand dollars] in about ten years." It was ten months before the meeting of the General Conference. And now January, 1797, or two months afterward: "Serious news from Baltimore — the academy and our church in Light st., with brother Hawkins's elegant house, all destroyed by fire. The loss we sustain in the college, academy, and church, I estimate from fifteen to twenty thousand

pounds; it affected my mind." These were providences by second causes only. It was no Divine frown, for in nothing has Methodism been more blessed than in its institutions of learning, etc. It has been an unmingled good, except the churchly presumption it has engendered, and the strength it has given to its largely unamenable officialism. Built by the people's money, but controlled and owned by the Cincinnati, Ohio, Incorporation of the Methodist Episcopal Church in trust for the General Conference. But what did the O'Kellyites and the Sommersites say about it? It is a gratification that, so far as can be discovered, there are no criticisms except those indulged by Asbury and Lee themselves. Can it be believed that if the O'Kellyites had built such structures, and the destruction had followed, that the Asbury party would have been as charitable? Asbury agreed with Cowper — "God made the country and man made the town," and his notes are full of his preference for the country. Escaping out of Charleston, S. C., he says: "On my way I felt as if I were let out of prison. Hail! ye solitary pines! the jessamine, the red-bud, and dogwood! how charming in full bloom! the former a most fragrant smell." June, 1797, in Baltimore — "Thomas Barber, from Birmingham (England) took a second likeness of me, at the desire of my mother, to send to England." His health is desperately broken, yet he keeps right on, and it is simply amazing to follow his path as laid down in his Journal; he is over the whole expansive territory, from South to North, and from North to South, with incursions to the West and back again. It is doubtful whether even Paul was such a suffering traveller. But one idea possessed him: to be the prime mover of the Methodist machinery, spurred by the conviction that Methodism and the salvation of souls were synonyms. He could not consent to be chief among equals, even in the Episcopacy, until physical prostration so increased that he literally dropped in his tracks.

It has been discovered how the project at the General Conference, of electing another Bishop in view of Asbury's fast-failing health, was estopped by the accepted offer of Coke to remain in America and act as Bishop, a plan in which Asbury concurred, to forestall the election of another, though Coke remained in the country but four months afterward, embarking from Charleston, S. C., apparently without Asbury's consent,¹ so

¹ On the eve of his departure Asbury placed in his hands a letter, which McCaine in his "Letters on the Organization of the M. E. Church," page 145, gives

that for many months he was left alone. He struggled, under burning fever and dropsical symptoms, northward, to meet, if possible, the Wilbraham Conference in Massachusetts, September 19. At New Rochelle, N. Y., he utterly broke down, and wrote a letter to Jesse Lee, appointing him to preside at the Conference. The next day, however, he was again on his way, but had to return. There were some strong men now laboring in New England, Enoch Mudge, Jesse Stoneman, Philip Wager, Joseph Mitchell, Evan Rodgers, Joshua Hall, Joshua Wells, Shadrack Bostwell, Michael Coate, Peter Jayne, William Thacher, Lorenzo Dow, the last still refused admission to the Conference, and Jesse Lee, the corypheus of them all. For the hard soil of New England¹ they had met with phenomenal success. It was Asbury's opportunity to advance his own plan for Episcopal support, and in a letter to the Conference he proposed the appointment of Jesse Lee, Richard Whatcoat, and Francis Poythress as "assistant bishops." Asbury knew what he meant, and his meaning was plain enough. He was to be chief, not among equals, but among assistants. He did not consent to be chief among equals until the election, in 1800, of Whatcoat as Bishop. He was domiciled with the Sherwood family, who showed him much kindness and nursed him back to travelling health, though that was not much. On the day before the Conference at Wilbraham he writes: "I feel strength of faith and body, as if I should be raised up again. I rode for recreation, nine miles. The clouds are dispelling from my mind. . . . I wished to speak to a poor African whom I saw in a field as I went by. . . . Oh, it was going into the Egypt of South Carolina after those poor souls of Africans I have lost my health, if not my life in the end. The will of the Lord be done!" Again from his retreat, while the Conference was in session, September 23: "I received a

in full, in which he strongly reminds him of his pledge to assist him in America, made to the Conference. The following are excerpts: "My very dear friend, Dr. Coke: When I consider the solemn offer you made of yourself to the General Conference, and their free and deliberate acceptance of you as their *Episcopos*, I must view you as most assuredly bound to this branch. . . . Nothing ought to prevent your hasty return to the continent to live and die in America." He appeals also to his pride and ambition by contrasting the little island of Britain with the American continent. "I am, with great respect, your ever dear brother, Francis Asbury." Dated Charleston, February 8, 1797. A postscript is added: "I give you this to remind you, lest you should forget what you have done, and what the General Conference expects from you."

¹ Lednum assigns three reasons for the predominance of Methodism in the South—the temperament of the people, the Church of England education, and the absence of strong Calvinistic teaching. See in full, page 418.

letter from Dr. Coke; . . . it is a doubt if the Doctor cometh to America until spring, if at all until the General Conference. I am more than ever convinced of the propriety of the attempts I have made to bring forward Episcopal men: first, from the uncertain state of my health; secondly, from a regard to the union and good order of the American body, and the state of the European connection. I am sensibly assured the Americans ought to act as if they expected to lose me every day, and had no dependence on Dr. Coke; taking prudent care not to place themselves at all under the controlling influence of British Methodists." Why his apprehension of the influence of the British brethren? Was it because liberal sentiments were prevailing and liberal concessions being made, despite the reactionary efforts of Coke, Moore, Pawson, Clarke, and others who acted together? Let a better reason be assigned, if possible.

Before noticing the action of the Wilbraham Conference on the Bishop's suggestion for three Assistants, it may be well to furnish a proof that this was but a revived idea of Asbury's. As early as 1786 he proposed a tantamount arrangement to Wesley and asked his concurrence. McCaine in his "History and Mystery," p. 42, assigning reasons for the action of the Conference in expunging the name of Wesley from the minutes in 1787, gives among others the following: "A writer from whose work we make the following extract, 'in 1786, Mr. Asbury complained of the long Latin word *superintendent*, and wished it to be termed *bishop*. This was not all, but he proposed to the Rev. Mr. Wesley, Mr. T., Mr. W., and Mr. A., as three persons to be appointed bishops for the United States to act under Mr. Asbury.' Mr. Wesley's answer was to this purport, and is worthy to be engraven in characters of gold, 'During my life, there shall be no Archbishops for the Methodist Church, but send me the man of your choice, and I shall have him appointed *joint superintendent* with you. Mr. Asbury objected to either of these men proposed as joint superintendents with him; but desired Mr. Wesley to send a man of his choice, and he would receive him.'" The history is that subsequently Mr. Wesley called through Dr. Coke a special General Conference for America, and named Richard Whatcoat as a Superintendent. The result has already been traversed. After the practice of Methodist writers of the period as to so much that was done in secret, and written, if at all, in initials, you are left by this writer to guess who the three were. Examining the minutes of that period, and of the eligible elders whose reputation

would make them a likely choice with Asbury, Mr. T. was John Tunnell; Mr. W., Richard Whatcoat; and Mr. A., Beverly Allen. Of these, ten years later, 1797, Tunnell was dead and Allen had withdrawn. Comparing the facts given with the recommendation he made to the Wilbraham brethren, and it is clear that Asbury no more than Wesley would permit "a rival near his throne." The Father of Methodism may have overreached a little in construing Asbury's sub-bishops as named into an ambition to be an Arch-bishop, though the squinting in that direction is sufficiently pronounced; but it establishes the moral certainty before premised that Asbury alone would be the Bishop during his life of the American preachers and people. The names he proposed were judiciously chosen: Lee for the Northeast, Whatcoat for the East, and Poythress for the Southwest; each swayed a commanding influence in his section.

Conjecture is legitimate as to what he would have further done had the Wilbraham brethren approved his plan. He would have carried it, armed with their action as a precedent, to all the other six Conferences, and winning them to it, it is an open question whether he would have ventured to "set them apart," or held them over to the General Conference of 1800. As neither Asbury, Lee, nor Bangs makes any allusion to this episode in the proceedings, Stevens must be accepted as to the result and the reason for it, and he depends upon Dr. L. M. Lee's "Memoirs" for what he asserts, "The Conference declined the proposition as being incompatible with the requirements of the discipline." No one knew the requirements of the Discipline better than Asbury, so that this conclusion of the brethren was either an easy evasion of his wish, or they misunderstood him to appoint Bishops when nothing was further from his purpose. Lee's account is simply the following: "The Conference at Wilbraham made choice of me to preside in that meeting and to station the preachers. The business was conducted to the satisfaction of the preachers, and peace and love dwelt among us. At the close of the Conference the preachers gave me a certificate, signifying their approbation of the proposed plan for me to travel with the Bishop, and to fill up his appointments when he could not be present." Asbury in his letter to Lee urged him to travel with him, "He said he had made it a matter of prayer, and there was no one who would do to travel with him, or to take his appointments but myself." Not a word about the assistant bishops. October 26, a month after the Conference, he was again in the saddle and he

records, "This day Joshua Wells returned from Wilbraham conference. Matters were conducted well." He did not offer his plan at any other Conference. It did not fall in with the humor of the preachers, and to press it might prove another cause of serious contention, so he dropped it.

Lee and Wells accompanied him to the South, then Whatcoat joined Lee, and Wells returned, and together the first two went on with him as far as Charleston, S. C., and in accordance with the new order of the previous year of beginning the Conferences from the South northward, so as to secure better weather for Asbury. Before another year he is back in Massachusetts. Think of it, twice the length of the continent mostly horseback, for a sick man within a year. Lee attended the Charleston Conference for him; Asbury was afraid of the malaria, and says, "I believed that going to Charleston this season would end my life." The blessed work of soul-saving after the Methodist fashion was again going on. Lee says that at the close of 1797 there had been a net gain of 1999 members, the first gains reported for five years, and this small outcome is in proof how deeply the O'Kelly secession and its causes had shaken the very foundations, and how widely it had affected the public mind against the arbitrary system of Asbury, so that new converts and thoughtful people stood aloof from the Church. This will read like a novel explanation to those who have found no hint of it in other histories of these times, but every current fact vouches for its truth.

During Asbury's enforced brief seasons of rest, he engaged himself in revising his Journal. This year Alexander McCaine, who will figure so largely and notably in this History thirty years later, and who was the O'Kelly of the new Reform, was received on "trial" with thirty-eight others. Honored names occur in the roster of the Conference, and the Eldership was particularly strong. Among those admitted in 1798 are Lorenzo Dow, heretofore noticed; Truman Bishop, one of the purest men of his day, and a Reformer of 1827-29, against whom calumny never raised its voice, though he set his face like a flint against the persecuting spirit and practice of his quondam brethren; and Billy Hibbard, whose eccentricities and usefulness were excelled only by Dow's. Nicholas Snethen had joined the Conference in 1794 and rapidly forged his way to the front as a young man. He had great versatility of talent, a voice of wonderful timbre and penetration, education above his peers, deep spirituality, and developed a mind more philosophical and logically prescient than any other man

ever produced by early Methodism. The minutes of 1798 give nearly three pages, an extraordinary length, to an obituary of John Dickins, who died September 22, but of whom enough has been already said in this History.

Comparison of statistics as to membership from 1792 to 1796, the period of the O'Kelly agitation and secession, is very uncertain if the printed minutes are followed, for notable errors occur in the summing up. A glaring one is found in the minutes of 1791, of thirteen thousand in the white membership.¹ It ought to have been easy of detection by comparing those of 1790 with those of 1792, but it is carried over from the edition of Dickins in 1795 to those of 1813 without correction. And for this period a cursory reader of these minutes could not detect any declension of numbers from 1792 to 1796, yet Jesse Lee, who next to Asbury was in closest touch with the whole work, declares, after giving the aggregates according to states which are found to be perfectly accurate compared with the same in the Minutes, except that he counts white and colored together, making for 1796, 56,664, that, "We lost in numbers for this year (1796) 2627 members. We have been going back, and our numbers decreasing for three years past, in which time we have lost 10,979 members in number. The declension was mostly in the middle states, and especially where the divisive spirit most prevailed." Methodist historians do not cite these figures of Lee's, but, by citing the not unfrequently erroneous numbers from the printed minutes, minify the decrease largely. Lee, and in this he is followed by others, gives the O'Kelly secession as the prime cause; the occasion of it, and the principal fact is not revealed: the arrogation of ecclesiastical power by Asbury and his coadjutors. The one phenomenal fact about it is that the ministry during this period continued to increase in a way altogether incommensurate with the loss of members. Taking the minutes, as Lee does not furnish the data here, the preachers were, in 1791, 250, and in 1796, 293, an increase of nearly one-sixth, while the membership declined about one-fifth. It is a curious study, and there is no way of accounting for the strange contrasts but on the human theory that the environment attracted rule-loving men into the ministry, but repelled liberty-loving Christians from the membership, a heavy percentage by actual loss and a heavier one by standing aloof from the organization.

¹ The unfair part this error is made to play in the Emory-McCaine disputation in 1827 will be noted in its connection.

Asbury had for his travelling companions during these years up to the General Conferences of 1800-04, Lee, Whatcoat, Snethen, Hutchinson, or McCaine. Allusion has been made to that immense circuit of the continent after the Wilbraham Conference with Lee as companion. He had about given up seeing Coke return, but this ecclesiastical magician thought nothing of taking ship from Europe or America and crossing the ocean, with a sudden appearance among his friends like an apparition. While Asbury and Lee were returning northward from Charleston in November, 1797, they stopped for a night with John Ellis, who lived ten miles from Bellamy's chapel in Virginia. Asbury records, "We rose early to go on our way, and behold who should meet us but Bishop Coke with a borrowed horse, and a large white boy riding behind him on the same horse!" He had come to America by way of Charleston without notice, and remained about six months travelling and preaching, but he kept no journal of it. You must look beneath the surface to find the method and meaning of these alternations between England and America. His abilities were freely recognized on both sides the ocean, while his liberality and zealous labors were without stint. Asbury wanted him and the British brethren wanted him — he was their missionary propagandist. It would be interesting to traverse all the negotiations carried on over him, and which Coke stimulated and prolonged by playing coy — a sort of hide-and-seek between his brethren — but space forbids indulgence. Coke was politic enough to keep both parties bidding for him. When in America his letters to England intimated that he would never be back. When in England his letters to America intimated that he would remain at home. The abundant direct and collateral evidence is that the one overmastering weakness of Dr. Coke was his ambition to be an ecclesiastic coequal with Wesley or Asbury. Deeply pious, consecrated, gifted, versatile, his heart took in the world in its love of souls, but, running parallel with all his endeavors, and the spring of much of his unwonted activity, was this aspiration which he would not let die.

It seems opportune to exhaust this phase of his character before dismissing him finally from these pages. Drew, his biographer, has summed it up with a charitable pen as to his benefactor. "The general conference, after viewing with due deliberation the peculiar ground on which he stood, and weighing the solicitation which the English conference had made for his return, instead of enforcing those claims which his promise had

enabled them to urge, manifested a willingness to follow the example which the preceding letter (Asbury's from the Virginia Conference to the British brethren) had set before them. They were willing to suspend their demands, but not to renounce their rights. The utmost, therefore, to which they would submit was, that Dr. Coke should remain in England and act under the direction of the British conference so long as his presence in America was not essentially necessary. But in case they thought it needful to call him to the continent, his promise was still to be considered obligatory, and he was to obey the summons. Such was the final determination of the general conference, and in this state of uncanceled suspension his promise remained until his eyes were closed in death."¹ Coke remained in England after the last visit to America already noted until his return at Asbury's solicitation to attend the General Conference in May, 1800, in Baltimore.

One difference between him and Asbury was that the latter was a crowned authority over his brethren and dictated accordingly, while the former exercised the authority without being crowned. He could not help meddling. An instance was his unauthorized correspondence with the Bishop of London on March 29, 1799, proposing a union of the Wesleyan Societies with the Church of England. It was repelled by the Bishop, and Coke was scarified for it by the Conference. At the General Conference of 1800 he was a welcome guest and participant. Asbury showed him every deference consistent with his own grasp of the keys. He preached the ordination sermon, and was otherwise honored. Asbury says "two days were spent in considering about Doctor Coke's return to Europe." He makes no further mention of him for this visit to America. It will be inferentially seen presently that the cordiality between them was again shadowed. The final answer of the Conference to the British brethren for Dr. Coke's services Drew gives in full—the gist of it is: "We have, therefore, in compliance with your request, *lent* the doctor to you for a season, to return to us as soon as he conveniently can, but at the farthest by the meeting of our next General Conference." Signed, Francis Asbury, Richard Whatcoat.

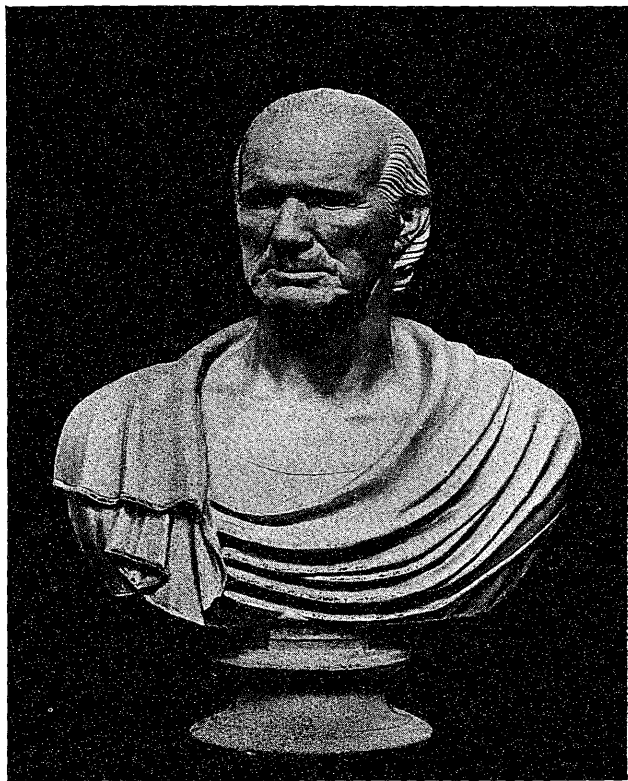
Somehow they had reached the conclusion that they could spare him for four years. Coke observed it all, and he made a hasty retreat to the West Indies on his missionary work for the Wes-

¹ "Life of Rev. Dr. Coke," p. 282. No other title given him in England.

leyan Conference. He returned to England and established the Welsh missions, and was unremitting in labors until the autumn of 1803, when he again visited America. It was unsolicited and apparently unexpected. Asbury says, December 26, 1803: "To my surprise I find Bishop Coke is in Augusta [Ga.] before me. I have received letters of consequence from the North." Coke had also his American correspondents. There were ambitious schemers, plotters, and counter-plotters among the leaders, and the bishopric was the shuttlecock these battledores kept whizzing in the air. In fact, Asbury had ceased to have personal use for Bishop Coke. Whatcoat had been named coadjutor, and he had other travelling companions. He must make some disposition of Bishop Coke. "I gave Bishop Coke a plan for a journey as far as Boston, before the General Conference." It was sent to him in a letter, Drew says, under date of November 23, 1803, and addressed to him at Light Street church, Baltimore, and points out a track of nearly five thousand miles in length, a tour which would take him about nine months to accomplish. As the date of this letter was a month before Asbury found him with surprise in Augusta, Ga., before him, he must have known of Coke's coming and waylaid him with this letter. Drew says, "Whether he acceded to the proposal is to the writer of these pages very uncertain." Alexander McCaine says of Coke's trip from Baltimore to Augusta: "The writer was fleeing by the advice of his physicians, from the rigors of a northern winter to the South, where he fell in with Dr. Coke and travelled with him to Augusta." He was a member of the General Conference the ensuing May, in Baltimore, and makes this significant mention: "And he is no less certain that he was applied to, by one in authority, in a matter relating to Dr. Coke, which no man living knows but himself; but as he has no document to prove the fact, the secret shall go down with him to the grave."¹

Asbury and McCaine were bosom friends; it shall be duly proved that no man in the connection had more of his confidence and affection. And while there can be little doubt that the "matter relating to Dr. Coke" was one of the esoteric schemes of the bishopric, the writer will not attempt to surmise it, in the face of this conspicuous instance of McCaine's honor. As Coke left no Journal of this his last visit to America, and as Asbury makes no farther mention of him in his Journal from November, 1803, to May, 1804, it is impossible to trace Dr. Coke through

¹ "Letters on M. E. Church," 1850, p. 151.



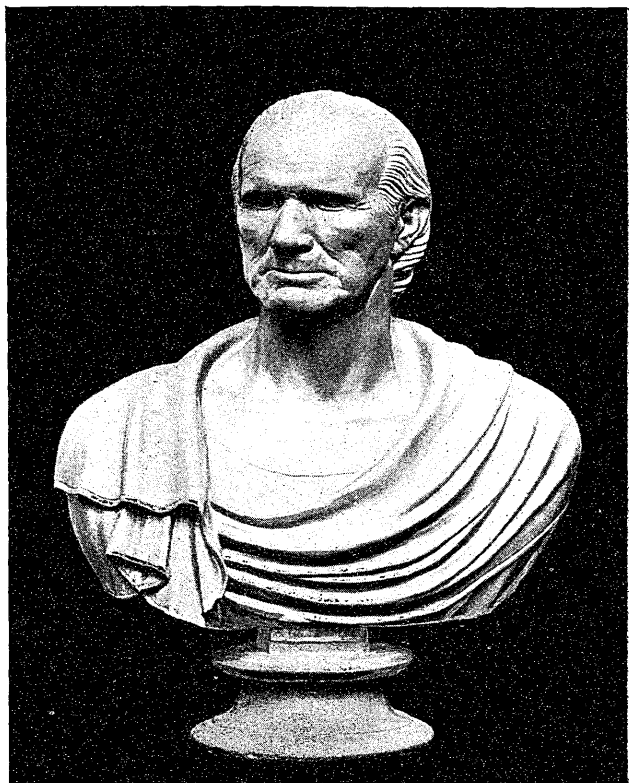
ALEXANDER McCAINE.

Cast taken about 1835.

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Cast taken about 1835.

these nine months. All that is known leads to the conclusion that he did not follow Asbury's letter of instruction, but responded to invitations for his services in any direction, and it would be unlike him if he did not keep himself in close touch with all of Asbury's malcontents. He makes no mention of Coke in his brief lines upon the General Conference of 1804, nor does he name him again until March, 1806. Is there a reason for it? Do not look for it in the writings of Methodist Episcopal historians — they are silent as the grave. Why not be silent also? Because of the repeated asseveration by their apologists, notably Dr. John Emory, that "the greatest harmony, union, and affection" subsisted between these brethren through life. If true, then Methodist Reformers have defamed them and should be gibbeted in history. If not true, then are their averments vindicated, and their smooth-tongued accusers should be historically hung; the gallows built for Mordecai must be used for Haman.

If abundant evidence has not already been offered in their vindication, the following as a cap-sheaf is presented in proof likewise of the endearing relations existing between Asbury and Alexander McCaine. The latter furnishes from their correspondence, "a few extracts from letters in our possession that have never seen the light" (1850). Extracts from Asbury's private letters to McCaine, their use justified by the calumnies heaped upon him by Emory, Bond, and others: "I have no correspondent in England. I should be afraid of committing myself. In compliance with my character I answer all letters." (An aside by the writer: then Coke's complaint in September, 1791, shows more glaringly than ever how Asbury repelled and resented Coke's conduct in the Bishop White business.) "I cannot say but Dr. Coke will use policy to attach the British connection to him" (just as the writer heretofore has asserted he did). "Some have thought that he only wished to get off from his engagements to the Americans, and never would visit the continent again. But I should not wonder if he should be upon the continent in less than a year. And I know not how soon death may put me out of his way. Some are bold to say I am the only person in his way. . . . Perhaps the Doctor's letter transpiring may not be so displeasing. The British must know he pledged himself in a most solemn manner" (McCaine here parenthesizes, and it shows his conscientious care in quoting) — "[the word manner it is presumed was intended to have been written, but it is not in the original]" — to the Americans — this the conferences remind him of, and tell

him he has changed his ground. . . . All establishments — all collegiate qualifications for the ministry must be done away. God is able to make prophets and apostles out of fishermen, ploughmen, or carpenters and tent-makers, as ever he was. F. ASBURY." McCaine then remarks, "There is no date to this letter; but it is received and labelled 'August 30, 1804.'" He adds: "In another letter which now lies before me, dated December 27, 1806, Mr. Asbury says: 'I wonder exceedingly why the British connection should be so agitated with Dr. Coke about his letter to us. They seem like bees, and all heads! But had the Doctor only written his letter to me, I would have handed it to every conference at his desire. *Yea, if it had been an impeachment of my own person.* . . . I do not correspond with any as I do with you. Only look well to your soul; to be holy is to be happy. Farewell in the Lord. Amen.'" Once more McCaine says: "In a Postscript of another letter, dated April 24, 1808, Mr. Asbury says: 'I have been grieved in former times with some little misunderstandings between the American connection; I now wish to guard against anything that might make discord between us and the British connection through Dr. Coke. We should all be pious, prudent, and pure, and entertain high and honorable thoughts of each other. . . . I leave you to make a prudent use of what I have written. I am yours as ever in Jesus. FRANCIS ASBURY.'" ¹

The reader having looked on that picture, now let him look on this; and while it allows Dr. Coke to speak for himself touching some of these very things, it supplies the cue to the whole of the negotiations of the Doctor with the American and the British Conference respectively during these years. The following are extracts from two letters Dr. Coke wrote to McCaine, and which the latter gives in full in his "Letters," 1850. He knew the intimacy of McCaine with Asbury and his trustworthiness. The first was written from "Truro, Cornwall, Eng., Jan. 10, 1806," and runs in part:—"MY VERY DEAR BROTHER: I wrote to you by the last packet, a letter for the Baltimore Annual Conference, in conference assembled, in answer to their official letter sent to you by me." He requests several paragraphs to be added to that letter so that it may quadruple with duplicates sent to Cooper and Wilson, and gives a reason for it. He begs McCaine to write him immediately as to the sentiments of the Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York brethren as to his return, etc. Signed, THOMAS COKE.

¹ McCaine's "Letters," 8vo, 1850, pp. 152, 153.

McCaine supplies the letter to the Baltimore Conference referred to, the gist of which is, his willingness to "come over to you on this ground—to assist in preserving the union of the body. To preserve that union I would think my life well spent, or well sacrificed, but I want you to indulge me with some explanation, with respect to myself and my sphere of action, if I come over." (An aside by the writer; he wishes to draw from them whether, if he come, the conferences will receive him as a coequal with Asbury as a Bishop. Unless this is made clear to him, though he appreciates the honor of preaching in all the American pulpits), "I could not, as the servant of Christ, sacrifice any considerable influence in Europe, when considered in all its parts, for a sphere of usefulness comparatively so small. . . . I have received letters from New England and Western conferences; but I shall not be able to hear from them again before the British conference." [This paragraph as a postscript.] THOMAS COKE." McCaine gives the second letter referred to, and says: "The next year I received from Dr. Coke the following letter:—

"TAUNTON, SOMERSETSHIRE, Feb. 2, 1807.

"MY DEAR BROTHER: Some time ago I sent you a long letter addressed to the Baltimore Annual Conference, and after that a short letter which I wished to be added to the former letter. But I request you to add the following to the first letter, instead of adding the first letter to it." (An aside by the writer: why these changes? He fluctuated as variant information reached him as to the temper of the American preachers, and he trimmed accordingly. This is what he now wishes added, in excerpts, though McCaine gives the full letter): "Perhaps, dear respected brethren, you will now ask—why did you offer yourself to us? I answer—it was your unanimous vote at the General Conference, that the Episcopacy wanted to be strengthened. I had been consecrated by our venerable Father in the Gospel, the late Mr. Wesley, a Bishop, particularly for America. I had been the means of establishing your present form of Church government, which in a general view (though it may admit of improvements) I prefer to any other. . . ." Changing the phraseology of the former letter, he next pursues the same thought about the union and his desire to promote it and the extent of the American territory, etc., but now for the gist of this epistle. . . . "I cannot come to you as a *mere* preacher. . . . Am I to come to you in any sense as a bishop, and in what sense? I don't want to act, if I come, but in perfect subordination to the General Conference, but yet still as a Bishop, and having a right to give my judgment in all episcopal matters, unless I render myself unworthy of the office. Do write me as soon as you have considered this letter. Send me duplicates, etc. In this case I believe I shall hear from you before the next British Conference, which I particularly desire to do, etc.

"T. COKE." 11

¹ McCaine's "Letters," 8vo, pp. 154, 155. 1850.

There is no mistaking his meaning now: "I cannot come to you as a *mere* preacher," the italic is his own. Resolve that you will receive me as the coequal of Asbury and as I came to you from Mr. Wesley, and I will finally break away from England and spend my days among you. Asbury, as is seen from his letters to McCaine, anticipated his purpose, and held him under deserved suspicion. The scheming and counter-scheming among the leaders reached a height from 1800 to 1808 never before attained. There were a number of aspirants to the Episcopacy, and the factions kept themselves in correspondence with Coke, while they were secretly united in deprecating his return in the capacity he wished, and so matters continued until the General Conference of 1808. Coke kept himself busy with his missionary plans in Europe, but did not venture to return to America. The Bishop White letter had been published, as found in 1807, and brought upon his head severe criticisms. It is doubtful if his letter to the Baltimore Annual Conference intrusted to McCaine, Cooper, and Wilson, was ever officially presented. He was evidently kept well informed of the course of events by his friends in America, so that as the Conference of 1808 approached he exercises his diplomacy by inditing a long and carefully worded letter to it, which can be found in full in Bangs's "History," Vol. II. pp. 207-210, in which he traverses the American Conferences from 1784 downward, devoting the body of the letter to an apology and explanation of the Bishop White letter which is ingenious and by his friends esteemed ingenious. The Conference carefully considered it, and with quite as much diplomacy made answer in substance, that they would retain his name among the Bishops, but he was relieved of any further service in America unless "recalled by the General Conference or the unanimous request of all the annual Conferences." A fraternal address was also received from the British Conference covering the same subject and this was also answered with many kindly phrases but to the same purport. All these may be found in full in Bangs's "History," Vol. II.

Alas for the discrowned hero. Lee makes no mention of his name after 1803. Bangs dismisses him from his pages after 1808, and Stevens also. After 1804, Asbury makes fitful mention of him. March, 1806, he says: "An answer was given to Dr. Coke's letter, I fear in a manner that will not please him. An order was passed that the answer should be presented to all the annual conferences." It was done accordingly, and he makes several

notes of it in Philadelphia and New York. August, 1806, in Virginia — "Report says that a copy of Dr. Coke's letter was taken by stealth: the British are irritated, and the Americans are not pleased." A glint this of Methodist Episcopal esoterics. November, 1806 — "I wrote a letter to Dr. Coke giving a general statement of the work of God upon our continent." It is the last mention until June, 1815 — "By vote of conference I preached the funeral sermon of Dr. Coke — of blessed mind and soul — of the third branch of Oxonian Methodists — a gentleman, and a scholar, and a bishop to us — and as a minister of Christ in zeal, in labors, and in services, the greatest man in the last century." It was less than a year to his own death. His memory is mellow and his words are eulogistically true. And such words are fitting with which to dismiss him from these pages, deferring to the verdict of the readers that if the singular foible of his character has been clearly exhibited as set over against his virtues, it is because this History is set for the defence of Methodist Reformers and their allegations of Dr. Coke as a part thereof. It is a background for the unavoidable recurrence to him in the controversy of 1827-30, and is so far anticipatory that the true likeness of him shall need but finishing touches of the author's historical brush. Attention must now be recalled to the General Conference of 1800.

CHAPTER XXXVII

The General Conference of 1800 — Asbury's resignations; comments of Lee and Snethen — A new Bishop again proposed; the contest between Lee and Whatcoat, and the close election of the latter — A plan for the support of the Bishops — Preachers' salaries — The presiding eldership question brought forward; Reformers still working at it — Coke and Wells attempt to limit the powers of the Episcopacy, but failed — The quadrennium of 1800-04 the most remarkable for revivals; camp-meetings introduced; statistics — McCaine, Snethen, and M'Kendree, travelling companions to Asbury; and his comment on his Episcopal power — The General Conference of 1804 — Snethen and a delegated Conference — Restless Reformers and the sticklers for old forms clash — Two Disciplines issued, one for the South, omitting the stringent regulations on slavery, and one for the North including them — Death of Whatcoat — Abortive Convention called; defeated by Lee.

THE manuscript Journal of the General Conference of 1800 contains no list of members, but as all the deacons and elders were entitled to membership, the printed minutes of that year furnish the list, except absentees. It met in Baltimore at the new Light Street church. This city was the cradle of Methodism, and all the previous General Conferences, as well as a number after 1800, met here. Asbury gives but fifteen lines to it, and some of these have already been cited. He says there were 116 members present. It held from the 6th to the 20th of May. The salient events were few but material. From the defeat of Asbury's assistant bishop plan of 1797, he struggled along in declining health, and the chroniclers say seriously meditated resigning his Bishopric. He virtually did so at this Conference. It is not meant to impeach his integrity and sincerity when the statement is made that he did it with a salvo. Lee gives us a candid account of it, and this is probably among the things Asbury excepted to ten years after in Lee's "History." Boehm was with him when he read the first copy that came into his hands, and he says, "it made the Bishop nervous." His own record of it is: "It is better than I expected. He has not always presented me under the most honorable aspect. We are all liable to mistakes, and I am unmoved by his." Lee, after

stating that Asbury had written to a number of the leading preachers during 1799 intimating his resignation, declares that he had it actually written for presentation. It came up as the first business of the Conference, and the body resolved: "This Conference do earnestly entreat Mr. Asbury for a continuation of his services as one of the general superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as far as his strength will permit." It is noteworthy that he is addressed as Mr. Asbury and as a general superintendent. Asbury's salvo is revealed by Lee: "Mr. Asbury told the conference that he was still feeble both in body and mind, but was much better than he had been for some time before; and, notwithstanding he had been inclined to resign his office, he was now willing to do anything he could to serve the connection, and that the conference might require of him." Nicholas Snethen was a member of this Conference and of subsequent ones, and witnessed other feints of resignation by the Bishop, resulting in virtual reëlections by the Conference. Sincerely as he loved and honored him, as these pages witness, these tentations led him to write in 1822: "When Mr. Asbury used to contrive to get the votes of the General Conferences to request him to continue to serve the connection other four years, that circumstance first set us to thinking whether it would be lawful, or expedient, to have an actual reëlection of bishops, or choose them only for a term of years; and the strongest objection to such a plan seemed to us, like to the divine right of kings, viz.; they are the Lord's anointed, and so we left it."

Asbury did not bring forward his assistant bishop plan; the preachers had canvassed it in the Annual Conferences and over-slaughed the Bishop's views. But it was evident that he must have episcopal coöperation. The question was squarely met by the Conference: "What farther help will this Conference afford him? *A.* Another bishop shall be elected and consecrated. *Q.* In what manner shall the votes for the election of a bishop be taken? *A.* By ballot." The impression was, Stevens says, that Lee was Asbury's choice, judging from his Wilbraham letter and other considerations, and he had a large following among the preachers. But they had had a taste of his administration since 1797, as Asbury's companion and substitute, and all the liberals combined against him. Moreover, it presented an opportunity of recalcitrants in the matter of Whatcoat's rejection in 1787, and the dissidents to the "rough usage" of Wesley, as Coke puts it, at the same Conference, to show their hands. Lee again

lifts the veil: "There was then a lengthy debate respecting the powers the new bishop should possess. Some were of opinion that he ought to act under the direction of the old bishop, and be governed by him; but it was finally determined that they should be on an equal footing and be joint superintendents." It was the expiring effort of Asbury's close friends to save for him the Primacy. The pseudo-archbishopric had been scotched; now it was killed. Lee concludes: "The conference then proceeded to vote for a bishop; on the first balloting no one had a majority. They balloted a second time, and the tellers reported that there was a tie between Richard Whatcoat and Jesse Lee. They proceeded to a third ballot, when Richard Whatcoat was declared to be duly elected by a majority of four votes." He was now sixty-four years of age, and, in view of the past, there seemed to be a poetic justice in his selection. To what extent it entered into the merits of the canvass, no one can tell. For sixteen years he bore among the brethren an unimpeachable character, while his self-poise and piety, his unoffending and meek attitude, made him a safe man for the emergency. Asbury silently acquiesced in the decision. On the 18th of May, he was ordained by Dr. Coke and Bishop Asbury and some of the elders. Among other items of business, the preachers' salaries were raised from \$64 to \$80 and their travelling expenses, the same for the wives, and \$14 for each child under seven, and \$24 for each one under fourteen. Provision was made for building parsonages. Lee also says: "There was a small alteration made in the rule for trying our members; and the private members in future were to judge whether the accused person was guilty or not of the crime charged upon him." This concession was made probably under pressure from such protesting laymen as Simon Sommers as a type, and the regulations as to this point among the Republican Methodists.

Seven Annual Conferences were now established by law, and the important financial scheme for the support of the bishops — "Let each annual Conference pay its proportionate part towards the allowance of the bishops." Lee says, "This was the first time that a regular plan was laid for the support of the bishops; formerly the bishop received the greater part of his support from private friends, and the deficiency was generally made up by particular societies." This plan in after years lapsed, and the bishops were paid out of the profits of the Book Concern, despite the provision of its charter that such surplus was to be equally divided

among the Conferences for the support of superannuated preachers, their widows and orphans. This continued to be the rule for many years, until finally the illegality of it was pointed out, and the assessment plan upon the Conferences reenacted. It is one among the curious but significant violations of law winked at to render the Episcopacy more independent. Preachers were allowed from this Conference to receive presents, etc., without accounting for them as salary. Also, "No preacher shall have a right to sit as a member in the next General Conference, unless he is in full connection and has been a travelling preacher four years." Formerly the deacons were members, and under it Alexander McCaine and others were members of the Conference of 1800. A rule was made for the ordination of colored preachers as deacons; but Lee says in 1810 that it was never printed, and so unknown to most of the preachers. Under it Asbury had ordained Richard Allen of Philadelphia, who subsequently seceded and originated the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and gave much trouble to the parent white body. It was not published, just as two editions of the Discipline were published,—one, omitting the stringent regulations anent slavery, for circulation among the southern people, another of the curious moral obliquities of Episcopal legislation.

Stevens furnishes some other items. Nicholas Snethen was Secretary of the Conference, and it voted to allow Asbury a travelling companion, and from his Journal it is learned that he selected Snethen. Stevens also records: "On the second day a motion was introduced to authorize the Annual Conferences to elect their presiding elders. It was defeated, but was the beginning of a controversy which prevailed for years in the Conference, and throughout the Church." He either did not know or forgot to mention that it was introduced in 1796, and, as will be found, bobbed up every time until 1820, when it was carried by a two-thirds vote, and stifled by the Bishops. It was the sign of that unresting minority from 1792, who bravely held out for a more liberal Episcopacy. There was quite a thick sprinkling of them, and Stevens further enlightens the Church in things "which have hitherto been unnoticed by the historians of the Church." He must be honored as the first of the class who uncovered suppressed facts, and opened the way for tardy justice to noble men. William Ormond was of the number, who appears to have been the noblest "radical" of the body, and tried to secure the ordination of local preachers as elders several times during the session,

but failed. The minutes of 1804 say that he fell a martyr to his work during the yellow fever at Norfolk in 1803; that "he had a high sense of the rights of men," and died triumphantly. A motion to reorganize the Conference as a delegated body failed by a large majority. Coke attempted, without success, to obtain a rule by which the new Bishop, in the absence of Asbury, should be required to read his appointments of preachers in the Annual Conferences; "to hear what the Conference may have to say on each station, in accordance with the English example." It was a piece of invidious legislation and deserved to be defeated on that score, though right in principle. Then Joshua Wells tried to hamper the new Bishop by "a motion to provide a committee of three or four elders to be chosen by each Annual Conference, to aid the new Bishop in making the appointments." It was twice renewed by other members, but lost. Various efforts were made to make the rule on slavery still more stringent. Light Street church, and specially Old Town, on Fell's Point, were in a blaze of revival during the Conference, and about one hundred conversions were reported. Henry Boehm, who was a visitor, gives quite a full account of the work in his "Reminiscences." Many meetings were held in private houses and most of the conversions so occurred. The ensuing General Conference was ordered for Baltimore, May 6, 1804.

The coming quadrennium was the most remarkable in the history of the Church for its extensive revivals. Lee gives up twenty-four pages of his concise "History" to a description of the wonderful work, which was not confined to any location or state. Camp-meetings were introduced into Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland, from the West, and afterward spread into most of the Middle States. They continued from three to ten days, and were attended by thousands, some of the campers coming for many miles.¹ The revival swept through whole towns. For the year 1800-01 the minutes report a gain of 7980 members. For 1802-03, a gain of 13,860. For 1803-04, 17,336, the largest

¹ One was held at Cobbin Creek in Kentucky, which many Presbyterians attended (this afterward led to the expulsion of a number of their ministers for holding such meetings and begat the Cumberland Presbyterian Church), and it was estimated that twenty thousand people were in attendance, and thousands fell as though stricken down as Paul was, and the whole state was quickened in religion. Another on Desher's Creek, near the Cumberland River, of which it is said, "The people fell under the power of the word like corn before a storm of wind." Among them Grenade, who had a remarkable conversion, became a leader of Methodism in all that section, and revival hymns, composed and sung by him, were familiar everywhere.

number ever received in one year. The total membership in the seven Conferences was 104,700, of whom 22,453 were blacks. Fifty young preachers were admitted on trial. Sixty remained on trial. Forty-six were received into full connection. There were 87 deacons and 204 elders. At the close of 1799 Lee took a census of the local preachers as far as he found it possible, and they numbered 850. It is safe to assume, in the absence of actual statistics, that up to 1804 they numbered a round one thousand. A considerable percentage of these were of those who located from the regular work.

Bishop Asbury's Journal of his itinerary from the General Conference of 1800 to that of 1804 calls for few references not already made in accord with the plan of this History. There are frequent mentions of his travelling companions and assistants, Alexander McCaine, Nicholas Snethen, William M'Kendree, whose splendid physique and intellectual strength made him a marked character among his brethren, and he became a leader of the itinerants of the West and South after the mental disability of Poythress. Whatcoat was much with him, and Hope Hull and John Watson are named as rendering faithful service. He notes affectionately the death of his mother, January 6, 1802, the father having preceded her. Hutchinson accompanied Whatcoat, whose health was feeble, as did also Asbury at times. In 1803 Asbury is occupied enough with the Reform sentiment among the preachers and people, which the Notes on the Discipline, the wide circulation of "The Cause and Cure of Heart and Church Divisions," and the negative action of the last General Conference on all liberal movements, could not extirpate, to make a paragraph on it to which space is here given that impartiality may be observed and his point of view exhibited. "I will make a few observations upon the ignorance of foolish men who will rail against our church government. The Methodists acknowledge no superiority but what is founded on seniority, election, and long and faithful service. For myself I pity those who cannot distinguish between a pope of Rome, and an old wornout man of sixty years, who has the *power given him* [his own italics] of riding five thousand miles a year, at a salary of eighty dollars, through summer's heat and winter's cold, travelling in all weather, preaching in all places, his best covering from rain often but a blanket; the surest sharpener of his wit, hunger—from fasts, voluntary and involuntary; his best fare for six months of the year, coarse kindness; and his best reward

from too many, suspicion, envy, and murmurings all the year round."

The General Conference of 1804, May 6, at Light Street church. Lee says there were 111 present, not including Coke, Asbury, Whatcoat. It has been found that there were 204 elders, so that the representation was but a fraction over one-half, and these so unequally distributed, owing to the expense of travel and other causes, that Lee makes special reference to it. From the Western Conferences, 3; South Carolina, 5; Virginia, 17; Baltimore, 30; Philadelphia, 37; New York, 12; New England, 4. He states a number of changes in the Discipline, Coke reading the book by sections while the Conference passed upon them. He deplores that there was no revival interest and attributes it to a most inadequate cause, but it shows how wedded the preachers of that day were to the old forms. They had opened the sessions of the Conference to the public who were allowed to occupy the spacious galleries, yet Lee puts its down as "one principal cause of our barrenness." But before the Conference adjourned they closed the galleries, and the revival did not come. Ezekiel Cooper, who had been elected Book Agent to succeed Dickins, was reelected, and the Book Concern removed to New York. Asbury dismisses the Conference with a few lines. May 7 (the 6th was a Sabbath): "Our General Conference began. What was done the revised form of discipline will show. There were attempts made upon the ruling eldership. We had a great talk. I talked little upon any subject; and was kept in peace. I preached but twice. . . . The Lord did not own the ministerial labors of the General Conference." Bangs gives a full list of the names of those in attendance and makes it 105, seven being declared ineligible by reason of time disqualification. Stevens, as usual, gives details. William Black, who was a visitor at the Conference, 1784, is again present just twenty years later. The unequal representation of the preachers gave much force to the renewed attempts to organize the Conference on a delegated plan. Stevens alone refers to it: "It was deferred to the next session." Sneathen furnishes an item. He had discussed it with Asbury in their travels, and he makes this record: "I was ignorant of Mr. Asbury's sentiments, about a representative General Conference, when I broached the subject to him. We discussed the subject between ourselves, and it was agreed that I should support it at the General Conference. The motion, however, was lost by a large majority; and when it was carried (1808) I was no longer a member of the General Confer-

ence. I will not take upon me to say that Mr. Asbury had not the plan in his mind, when I first made known to him my thoughts upon the subject."

Hitherto there had been no restriction as to the appointments. The preachers were sent for six months, or longer, as the Bishop might deem best, but some were retained through the pressure of influence for three years. A restrictive rule was now enacted which forbade the appointment of a preacher longer than two years. It is embalmed in Methodist history as the "Restrictive Rule." Asbury was pleased with this regulation as it came to the assistance of the appointing power. It was probably a wise regulation in its day, but it became so incorporated with the fundamental law as to require special legislation for any change of it. For more than fifty years it was jealously guarded as a kind of fetish which augured and secured the success of Methodist preaching. But with the increasing diligence and spirituality of the surrounding Christian denominations, and the peculiar environment of city pastoral work, the disadvantages of such an iron-clad law grew upon the convictions of the most thoughtful, and gradual extensions were made of the rule, more by the pressure brought to bear by the ministry than by the active interference of the laity, who though so thoroughly mistrusted and deemed incompetent to share in the legislative functions of the Church, have ever been its most loyal and conservative force, until, at this date, the time limit has been prolonged to five years.

A ruling was made that Bishops should allow Annual Conferences to sit at least a week. Hitherto they closed them at pleasure, often after two or three days. It gave more time, if not more liberty of debate, in these bodies. The presiding Bishop entertained, or refused to entertain motions, and controlled debate within such limits that there was little semblance of a deliberative assembly. The title of "Quarterly Meeting Conference" was given the quarterly gathering of the officary on the local work. Provision was made for the election of a presiding elder to preside at Conferences in the absence of a Bishop. The law against the marriage of Church members with "unawakened persons" was changed from expulsion to being put back on trial for six months. Rev. William Colbert, who was a member of the Conference, says of it: "I am possessed with awful fears that this Conference as a body will lift the flood-gates of corruption." It was recommended to Annual Conferences that preachers be restrained from publications of any kind before submitting their

manuscripts to the Conference or the Book committee in New York. It looks like an innocuous measure, but it virtually destroyed the liberty of the press and was widely intended to cut off criticism of church officials, and was in subsequent years made a criminal offence to infract it. The Article of Religion on the National Constitution was changed to its present form. It brings out that strange paradox, persisted in by the preachers of class legislative powers arrogated to themselves and utterly unamenable to the people, as to civil responsibility: "The President, the Congress, the General Assemblies, the Governors, and the Councils of State, *as the delegates of the people*, are the rulers of the United States of America," etc. The italics were put in the law as framed. The seeds of the paradox were sown early in the Church history, they fructified and flowered in 1827-30 in the open proclamation of the General Conference that her ministry not only preached and administered moral discipline, but ruled, legislatively, judicially, and executively, by Divine Right. More of it in its proper place.

Thomas Lyell moved the abolition of the presiding elders. It cut at the tap-root of the right-hand power of the Bishops as never before. "In the afternoon, after a long debate, the motion of Lyell was lost."¹ There must have been earnest supporters of it and Lyell himself was a foremost man. It was probably intended as a preparation for another radical step which will be disclosed in the proceedings of the ensuing General Conference, and it will be seen through these General Conferences down to 1820 how the Episcopal anaconda tightened its coils in these futile efforts of the liberal minority to secure some limitations to its power, until it crushed the authority of the General Conference itself. Watters had a favorite project which he pushed to a crisis: "Shall there be an ordination of local elders?" It was decided against it by a tie vote of 44 to 44, and then laid over as unfinished business to the next General Conference. Colbert says, "William Watters, who perhaps considered himself the most deeply interested in the business, went off this afternoon." He was becoming infected with radical notions, and some of his descendants were original members of the Methodist Protestant Church. It was a hopeless way they had in those days of emphasizing their dissent,—defeated, they went home. Colbert says the numbers were reduced within two weeks of the session from 105 to 70. It will be seen in the next General Con-

¹ "General Conference Journal," 1804, *passim*.

ference how the whole delegations of Philadelphia and New York, making nearly one-half of the body, threatened to secede, and were brought back only by yielding to their views. It was the Conference of 1804 that ordered a division of the Discipline into two parts—The Doctrines and Discipline, and The Temporal Economy. Two thousand copies of the first were ordered bound separately, and did not contain the laws on slavery, for the use of the South. On the twenty-third of May the Conference adjourned. Colbert says the debates were warm and spirited, and so was the preaching by the giants in attendance, of which he gives quite a full account, but there was no revival. Asbury, Coke, and Whatcoat parted to meet no more in General Conference. Coke never returned to America for reasons already presented, Whatcoat died two years after, and Asbury came to the Conference of 1808, once more sole Bishop of the Church.

A few events of conspicuous importance must receive attention before passing to the General Conference of 1808. The first is the departure out of this life of Bishop Richard Whatcoat. Asbury says, "On my return [Kingston] I found a letter from Dr. Chandler declaring the death of Bishop Whatcoat, that father in Israel and my faithful friend for forty years—a man of solid parts, a self-denying man of God; who ever heard him speak an idle word? When was guile found in his mouth? . . . A man so uniformly good I have not known in Europe or America. He was long afflicted with gravel and stone, in which afflictions, nevertheless, he travelled a great deal—three thousand miles the last year. . . . He died in Dover on the 5th of July, 1806, and his mortal remains were interred under the altar of the Wesley Dover Church. . . . I had changed my route to visit him, but only reached within one hundred and thirty miles; death was too quick for me." He had acted as Bishop six years and was in the seventy-first year of his age. Lee makes extended notice of him, of which a sentence is cited, "in his death the preachers have lost a pattern of piety, and the people have lost an able teacher."

Asbury's naturally strong constitution was rapidly undermining. It was nearly two years to the ensuing General Conference, and a project to meet an emergency was conceived, if not by Asbury himself, it met with his entire approval and coöperation in an endeavor to guard against insecurity in the Episcopacy. It ostensibly originated with the New York Conference, and it proposed that forty-nine delegated electors, seven from each Conference, should convene in Baltimore, July 4, 1807, "for the express pur-

pose and with full powers to elect, organize, and establish a permanent Superintendency, and for no other purpose." The paper was "signed by order, and in behalf of the unanimous voice of the Conference," by Freeborn Garrettson, Ezekiel Cooper, and Samuel Coate, attested by the Secretary, Francis Ward, and dated New York, May 22, 1806. It was laid before the several Conferences by Asbury, and he used all his influence to carry it through them. He succeeded in New England, the Western, and the South Carolina Conferences, but when it came to Virginia it met with a decisive rebuff—they refused even to consider it, only seven voting in favor, and on the second attempt, Asbury being present, only fourteen could be counted in favor. The answer of the Conference was a transcript of its minutes signed by P. Bruce, Jesse Lee, and T. L. Douglass, as Secretary. The original document came into the possession of Bishop M'Kendree as Asbury's literary executor, and through M'Kendree's posthumous papers it came into the possession of Bishop Paine, M'Kendree's biographer.¹ Lee says of it, "When it was proposed to the Virginia Conference . . . they refused to take it into consideration, and rejected it as being pointedly in opposition to all the rules of our Church. The Bishop labored hard to carry the point, but he labored in vain; and the whole business of that dangerous plan was upset by the Virginia Conference. The inventors and defenders of that project might have meant well; but they certainly erred in judgment." Like the Wilbraham Associate Bishop scheme, it was extra-conferential, but what did the autocratic mind of Asbury care for lack of precedent and form of law! The fact is there was no law and therefore could be no transgression. There was simply no precedent, as similar circumstances never before combined to make one. Lee is credited with the defeat of the measure. Perhaps, to copy the inelegant diction of an impugner of O'Kelly's motives, "he had a sneaking notion to be a Bishop" and stand in the shoes of his deceased competitor of 1800.

Lee was a brusque, honest man, and came near being as unmanageable by Asbury as it has been shown Strawbridge, O'Kelly, and Snethen were. He had much of the quality Asbury commended in Alexander McCaine—"Your *honest bluntness* I approve."² Asbury indorsed and urged the plan for a reason that always dominated with him and Wesley as well: Lead and select

¹ Paine's "Life of M'Kendree" gives it in full.

² "Defence of the Truth," p. 15.

your own helpers with as little conference as possible with your associates, and none with the Church. During the quadrennium from 1804 to 1808, the defeated proposition for a delegated General Conference came before the Annual Conferences with varied results. Asbury writes from the South at the close of 1806, "We began our conference. The subject of the delegated conference was adopted, with only two dissentient voices: these members, however, cheerfully submitted, and one of the dissentients was elected a member."

He comes to Perry Hall, May 2, 1808, and finds its owner, Harry Gough, dying. His remains were laid out in Baltimore. "When the corpse was moved to be taken into the country for interment, many members of the General Conference walked in procession after it to the end of the town." He and his palatial home receive much mention from Asbury and others. He was the means of his conversion, thirty years before, but living in high society, he afterward backslid, but was reclaimed by Asbury. It was not often that the Methodism of that day secured a family of such great wealth and social position, and it was these factors that made him religiously prominent more than his piety — this was embodied in his saintly wife. June 5, he preached Gough's funeral sermon — "there might be two thousand people to hear."

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The General Conference of 1808 — Asbury and M'Kendree presiding — It looks into the relation of Dr. Coke to the Conference — Asbury presents two letters from him, both of which were intended to placate his American brethren over the letter to Bishop White, etc. — Did he inform Asbury of the letter when he parted with him at New Castle? — A full analysis of this important point — Action of the Conference in Coke's case — The plan for a delegated General Conference; how it was brought about, after three differing systems were put forward by leaders with the final prevalence of the Asbury-Soule-M'Kendree preference — A full *exposé* of the whole transaction as never before presented in any History — Has the Church a Constitution considered — Snethen's voice in 1822 as to it — Lee's "History" under ban by the Conference; reasons; how finally published — The first delegated General Conference of 1812 in New York City — What it did; removal of the Book Concern to New York; its significance — Asbury's conduct with Lee — The slavery question.

THE General Conference of 1808. Not one of the historical sources gives information where it was held in Baltimore, May 6, whether at the old Light Street or at the new Eutaw Street church just finished.¹ Asbury's record of it as usual is brief. "Friday, 6 — Our General Conference opened in peace. On Saturday 129 members took their seats. The new church on Eutaw Street was opened on the Sabbath day and I gave a discourse on the occasion from 2 Cor. iii. 12. On the 26th the Conference rose. We have done very little except making the rule for representation hereafter one member of the General Conference for every six members of the annual conferences; and the electing dear brother M'Kendree assistant bishop: the burden is now borne by two pairs of shoulders instead of one; the care is cast upon two hearts and heads." The historians differ as to the order of the business, but this is immaterial. Lee briefly outlines what was done, but as it is in harmony with other chroniclers need not be cited.

Following the order Stevens gives, the salient events were as follows: After organization, Asbury presiding, a committee of two from each Conference represented was appointed to report on the subject of a Delegated General Conference. They did not

¹ Boehm says there was preaching at Light Street three times every day and on Sabbath, so that the Conference must have been held at the new Eutaw Street.

report for ten days. Meanwhile the Conference looked into the relation of Coke to the Church. He was not present for reasons already given. Bangs gives the full report of this item. The Conference was in a mood to discipline him for his manœuvrings with the preachers in the interval. He was kept advised of these things by his American friends, and, to make fair weather with the brethren if possible, he wrote two long letters to the Conference, which Bangs gives; the first intended to define his position as to his farther relations to the American brethren, which is only excelled in adroit wording and suggestions by the second, which he designed to cover his conduct in the matter of his letter to Bishop White, of 1791, which had become known through the Kewley pamphlet already fully considered. If this letter did not satisfy his critics, it did save him from open censure. In it occurs that sentence as to it: "Before I sailed for England, I met Bishop Asbury at New Castle, in the state of Delaware (from which place I went on board), and laid the matter before him, who, with that caution which peculiarly characterizes him, gave me no decisive opinion upon the subject." So far as is known Asbury neither affirmed nor denied the truth of this allegation. The assumption was made when that parting at New Castle was traversed in these pages that in view of the environment at the time the matter could not have been opened between them. It was farther assumed that from the necessary sequence of dates he had in his possession Bishop White's reply, but that gives but a meagre and unsatisfactory idea of Coke's letter in its details. So that if Coke did refer to it in that hurried parting, he did not give Asbury its contents, otherwise it puts the latter in the embarrassing position before the Conference of 1808 of being a silent partaker in the offensive business; for it is certain that he never reported any such conversation as held with Coke at New Castle. The logical dilemma for him then is this: If he knew of Coke's letter to White when this sentence was read to the Conference, he deemed it politic to be silent. If he did not know it, he was equally politic in not disowning it, as he knew the fate of Coke was sealed with the American brethren, and allowed it to pass. It is morally certain from the postscript to the White letter that Coke made no copy of it, and, therefore, could at the best only give Asbury an idea of what it contained. It consequently compromises Asbury too seriously to credit any other theory than what Coke had told him at New Castle did not make his plan with Bishop White clear to Asbury. This would account

for the indecision Coke admits he exhibited; for if he did understand it, Asbury was not the man to have "no decisive opinion on the subject." The Conference disposed of him by resolving "that Dr. Coke's name shall be retained on our minutes, after the names of the bishops, in an 'N.B. Dr. Coke, at the request of the British Conference, resides in Europe: he is not to exercise the office of superintendent among us in the United States until he be recalled by the General Conference or by all the annual Conferences respectively.'" He was, as genteelly as his past services would allow, laid upon the shelf. It is noteworthy that both of Dr. Coke's letters to the Conference are addressed "To the General American Conference." He claimed to have been the originator of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but for prudential reasons, writing from England, he omits its corporate title when he officially addresses it. Wesley never penned the title. It is among the facts the apologists and advocates of the American Episcopacy pass in silence; suppression, as in this whole class of facts, being opportune.

Before unravelling farther the interchanging business of this, the most momentous General Conference ever held, in its pregnant results, it is needful to recur to the appointment of the committee of fourteen, two from each Conference, whose report the thread of history awaits. It is the key to the position, and was never before so lucidly and convincingly set forth as by Dr. Tigert in his work,¹ the objective of which is to establish the superior constitutional status of the Methodist Episcopal Church South along the lines of Asburian Episcopacy. He gathers his materials from the General Conference Journal of 1808. It was composed of most of the strongest men of that day, and presently the leaders will close in a veritable battle of the giants. Three men may be named as conspicuously embodying as many theories, which were brought forward in this triple contest, namely, Jesse Lee, Joshua Soule, and Ezekiel Cooper, with Asbury supporting the Soule section. The composition of the Conference was as follows: New England, 7, New York, 19, Western, 11, South Carolina, 11, Philadelphia, 32, Virginia, 18, and 31 from Baltimore. It was found that the proposition of a Council, or Conclave, of 49 delegates, seven from each Conference, proposed in 1807 to give "permanency to the Episcopacy" was defeated by Lee and Bruce, though it was inclusive of a Delegated General

¹ "A Constitutional History of American Episcopal Methodism," Nashville, Tenn., 1894. 4to. 414 pp.

Conference. Four of the seven Conferences had approved, but these four had but 48 representatives on the General Conference floor as against the three non-concurring Conferences with 81. On the surface the prospect of carrying the measure, complicated as it was, and suspicious as it was to the liberal elements of the Church, was doubtful. But parliamentary strategy often accomplishes what fair, open dealing cannot, even in religious bodies. Let the reader observe this dexterously played game of ecclesiastical chess.

The memorial of the forty-eight was presented to the General Conference. The day following Asbury "called for the mind of the Conference, whether any future regulation in the order of the General Conference" was necessary. It was carried. Then Stephen G. Roszel of Baltimore and William Burke of the West moved for a committee "to draw up such regulations as they may think best, to regulate the General Conferences." Here Bishop Asbury (did he leave the chair to do it?) interposed with a motion that "the committee be formed from an equal number from each of the annual Conferences." It was a master move of the pawns by the king of the board. Tigert says, "this was excellent parliamentary tactics, for it insured to the memorialists a majority of the committee" — the forty-eight had this advantage over the eighty-one. If he ever merited his cognomen, "a long-headed Englishman," it was now. The motion carried, no one objecting; it seemed so fair. The committee was named: Cooper and Wilson from New York; Pickering and Soule from New England; M'Kendree and Burke from the West; Phoebus and Randle from South Carolina; Bruce and Lee from Virginia; Roszel and Reed from Baltimore; McClaskey and Ware from Philadelphia. Tigert says, "The memorialists had a clear majority of two, and thus, by the old Bishop's timely help, had won the skirmish for position." The sequel will show that it had won everything: an impregnable constitutional support to an unamenable Episcopacy, with a Delegated General Conference of one member for every five to be chosen by seniority, or choice, at the discretion of the Annual Conferences, etc.

The committee thus constituted retired and went to work. The official records of the Conference must be supplemented by the revelations of later days, from which it is learned that in session a sub-committee was formed to draft a paper for their action, and Ezekiel Cooper, Joshua Soule, and Philip Bruce were appointed. It was fair, as they represented the three theories

striving for mastery. The whole fray centred around the Episcopacy as may be assured. The three theories crystallized: that of Soule, a supreme Episcopacy; that of Cooper, an election of seven Bishops; one for each annual Conference, a species of diocesan episcopacy and no eldership, with Asbury for the time President of the bishops; that of Bruce, as representing Lee, for Annual Conference rights on a more liberal scale, and the principle of seniority. That of Soule he embodied in the third Restrictive Article, and must be given: "The General Conference shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away Episcopacy or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." Finally, in sub-committee Bruce sided with Soule, then the plan was submitted to the fourteen and agreed upon; and in that form came before the Conference. It is generally admitted that Soule was the master mind of the Conference, and that the report as framed was his work, save unimportant amendments.

Despite the space required, Methodist Episcopacy cannot be understood by the reader unless the whole report, consisting of "Section III. of the General Conference," is given: —

1. The General Conference shall be composed of delegates from the Annual Conferences.

2. The delegates shall be chosen by ballot, without debate in the Annual Conferences respectively, in the last meeting of Conference previous to the meeting of the General Conference.

3. Each Annual Conference respectively, shall have a right to send seven elders, members of their Conference, as delegates to the General Conference.

4. Each Annual Conference shall have a right to send one delegate in addition to the seven, for every ten members belonging to such Conference over and above fifty — so that if there be sixty members, they shall send eight, if seventy, they shall send nine; and so on in proportion.

5. The General Conference shall meet on the first day of May, in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and twelve, and thenceforward on the first day of May, once in four years perpetually, at such place or places as shall be fixed by the General Conference from time to time.

6. At all times, when the General Conference is met, it shall take two-thirds of the whole number of delegates to form a quorum.

7. One of the general superintendents shall preside in the

General Conference, but in case no general superintendent is present, the General Conference shall choose a president, *pro tem*.

8. The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations, and canons for our Church, under the following limitations and restrictions, viz.:—

The General Conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our Articles of Religion, nor establish any new standards of doctrine.

They shall not lessen the number of seven delegates from each Annual Conference, nor allow of a greater number from any Annual Conference than is provided in the fourth paragraph of this section.

They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away episcopacy, or to destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency.

They shall not revoke or change the General Rules of the United Societies.

They shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers of trial by committee, and an appeal; neither shall they do away the privileges of our members of trial before the society, or by a committee, and of an appeal.

They shall not apply the produce of the Book Concern or of the Chartered Fund to any purpose other than for the benefit of the travelling, superannuated, supernumerary, and worn-out preachers, their wives, widows, and children.

Provided, nevertheless, that upon the joint recommendation of all the Annual Conferences, then a majority of two-thirds of the General Conference shall suffice to alter any of the above restrictions.

Look at the paper. So far as human skill can conceive and frame a plan for the perpetuation of the Methodist Union under an inviolable Episcopacy, and an exclusion forever of any lay participation in the government, and a delegated reduction of the number of preachers who shall constitute the supreme and only authority of the Church, it seems secure beyond legal flaw or exception. Yet it will be seen in the sequel of this History, that it brought about the destruction of the Union, and was pronounced a rope of sand by the highest judicial authority of the United States government when it was appealed to by one of the parties to the disunion against the other as a last resort for an equal distribution of the property—the essence of empire—owned by the General Conference which, in the exercise of the

independent sovereignty residing in every General Conference agreed to a separation of the South from the North. In the shape just given it came before the Conference after being in committee for ten days. It was discussed all day — it was a tussle of the giants, Lee setting himself against it with all his massive and rugged force. Tigert and Dr. L. M. Lee, who enter into the details more fully than others, fail to make perspicuous the reasons of Lee's trenchant opposition. He was certainly not opposed to a Delegated General Conference, and he was as certainly for an Episcopal General Superintendency, yet he tackled the report, and the informants lead to the inference that his dissent clustered around a preference for selection of the delegates by seniority rather than choice by election. Ezekiel Cooper, seconded by Joshua Wells, made a diversion by securing the postponement of the question to make "room for the consideration of a new resolution." It carried, and when his resolution was sprung upon the Conference, it was in these words, "By whom shall the presiding elders be chosen? *A.* Each Annual Conference, respectively, without debate, shall annually choose by ballot its own presiding elders." He was a master of strategy in debate also. His motion for seven bishops had been defeated. He had sought to withdraw it when he saw the tide against it, but Pickering and Soule were too alert, and forced a vote and killed it. He then endeavored to secure the next best thing, an elective eldership. It laid under contribution all the debating strength of the Conference, which was continued through the greater part of two days, Soule making repeated efforts to call the previous question on it, and finally succeeded. Garrettson and Sparks, knowing how good men were intimidated by the open voting on questions, secured a vote by ballot, and when the tickets were counted, it stood 52 for and 73 against out of a full vote of 128, or a slim majority of one-sixth. Despite all the influence of the Episcopal party to defeat it by a finality it would not down, and came thus perilously near for its opponents to adoption.

On the first Sabbath morning of Conference, M'Kendree, who was looked upon as a backwoodsman, was appointed to preach. Lee and Cooper were the favorite candidates for the bishopric, but now occurred one of those crises in human affairs impossible of anticipation. M'Kendree had been steadily growing in power and influence, and was known as a rigid disciplinarian, and the staunchest supporter of Asbury's extremest measures. He had faced about since 1792, and displayed a bigoted zeal in building

the things which once he destroyed. Six feet in stature, finely proportioned, with kindling blue eyes and an intellectual face, clothed in homespun, he stood before his congregation all alive to the issues of the hour. Bangs, who was present, gives an extravagant description of the sermon. Boehm, who was also present, says: "This was the eloquent sermon that made him bishop. Slow in his commencement, he rose with his subject till his audience was melted like wax before the fire." Four days afterward he was elected Bishop by 95 votes out of 128. Immediately after the ballot on the elective eldership, another diversion was made by a call for the ordination of M'Kendree, the first native American Bishop. Garrettson, Lee, Bruce, and Ware, assisted Bishop Asbury in the "consecration" as the sobered General Conference of 1884, just one hundred years from the so-called "ordination" of Asbury by Coke, determined by a rubric it should be denominated, having settled by a previous large vote that it was an "office," and not an "order." It will be seen, however, that the Church South, adopting Soule's construction of the bishopric and its powers, never so qualified it.

The smoke of the argumentative battle on the report of the committee having risen under this dispersing interposition, it again came up as the main question. It was carried that the vote be by ballot on the first resolution, defining a Delegated General Conference. Did the defeat of Lee and Cooper have anything to do with their opposition to the report? They were no doubt so adjudged freely, the defeated parties, as human nature verdicts, always have questionable motives, the successful ones are the pure fellows. The interval was long enough without much opportunity of concert to combine all the disappointed and dissatisfied elements of the body, so that, to the chagrin and amazement of Asbury and other chief advocates of the Soule instrument, the first item was defeated by a vote of nays 64, to 58 yeas. Stevens says the favoring party "were profoundly afflicted." The New England delegates asked leave to withdraw from the body. The Western men were in no better mood, and many of the delegates from the remoter Conferences made preparations to go home—the body was in a panic. The defeat was due largely to the votes of the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conferences. Asbury, M'Kendree, and Elijah Hedding from New England threw themselves into the breach, and by entreaty and every other persuasion induced the stampeding brethren to remain in hope of a reconsideration.

The subject was allowed to rest from Wednesday until the following Monday morning. The interval was effectively employed to change the result by the Asbury-Soule party. As hinted once before, such a postponement in a deliberative body as a rule proves fatal to the majority. It is due in most cases to the persuasive arguments of power and patronage. A striking and notable instance will be chronicled in 1820, prompted by this very Soule, involving substantially the same issues. What made the vote so pregnant? It was like striking out the enacting clause of a legislative bill—it carried the whole with it. May 23, by adroit advances, a reconsideration in effect was secured, if not in form, and a resolution that covered the first paragraph of the report was carried by a large majority without naming the paragraph at all. It is not meant as a reflection, rather otherwise; but given a body of Methodist preachers and any measure on which a persistent and able leadership have fixed their purpose can be carried, even if methods that come dangerously near to indirection are employed. Lee's hitch now appeared again—shall the Delegated Conference be selected by choice or seniority? During a pause Soule moved that the selection should be either by seniority or choice. Lee's biographer says it discomfited him; "his point was gained but he felt that he had lost a victory," and, "walking up to his friend, poked him in the side with his finger, and whispered, 'Brother Soule, you have played me a Yankee trick!'" Shrewd and able, and of sterling goodness, he was capable of tricks, as shall be exhibited later. In these elements he was the precise prototype of another man who fills a large space in Methodist controversial literature, Rev. Dr. T. E. Bond, Sr. The other paragraphs of the report were carried on distinct motions, and on the 26th of May the Conference adjourned. Liberalism in every form once more received a decided backset, and absolutism was crowned. The Episcopacy tied a knot as it believed hard and fast. The anaconda once more tightened its coils. Did not the genius of a hierarchy make it a necessity of action, wonder might arise that the Asbury-Soule party did not pause. It is seen that they prevailed and how they prevailed, but the true sentiment of the body on the restrictive articles was expressed in the only unbiassed vote, 58 in favor and 64 against: 122, six being absent or not voting. Such a victory must needs have its retributions, and so it shall be proven later.

What they embodied as law is called by Stevens, "a species of constitution." It is well phrased, though he afterwards says that

the "Restrictive Rules, the Articles of Religion, and the General Rules compose the organic or constitutional law of the denomination." Bangs is more dubious — "Call these rules, therefore, restrictive regulations, or a constitution of the church — for we contend not about names merely — they have ever since been regarded as sacredly binding." Stevens's phrase is apt, "a species." The genus Constitution is well defined by that keen and analytical mind, Nicholas Snethen, and what he delivered needs citation as in part prophetic of the legal construction of Judge Nelson in 1850. "What is a constitution? According to the opinion of the most approved writers on the subject, it is an instrument of relation that cannot be made, altered, or abrogated by a legislative power; but by the united consent and authority of a whole community. The United States and each individual state of the Union have a written constitution from which the legislative authority is derived. In other countries, where the form of government cannot be traced to any common act, or choice of the people, much pains have been taken, and great learning displayed to prove that a constitution may exist without such choice or consent. Americans, however, think otherwise and act accordingly. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, no instrument was ever dignified with the name of a constitution; but in that year 1808, six articles were framed under the denomination of limitations and restrictions, . . . but the word Constitution is not found in the book of discipline. And if we may be permitted to think and speak as Americans, neither the General Conference, nor any body among us, was ever organized, or endowed with prerogatives, to make a constitution. The General Conference of 1808 might signify its opinion or wish to its successors, but the most that can be said of its limiting and restricting enactments is that they are laws having no more binding authority upon its successors than legislative enactments. It is to be hoped that every preacher will admit that the General Conference of 1808 had none of the attributes or powers of Constitution makers, as all are infinitely interested in disavowing such a precedent, and in having the origin and nature of a Constitution clearly and distinctly defined."

This was written in August, 1822, while he was yet in the Church of his early choice and love, and with no thought other than to live and die in it. This definition cannot be invalidated. Lexicographers in an accommodational sense have allowed the species Constitution to be the established form of government in a country. It is incontrovertible that the General Conference

of 1808 had no more sovereign authority to dictate enactments to be forever binding upon its successors, than the General Conference of 1804 had to bind that of 1808, and by parity of reasoning could assert no sovereignty that would debar the General Conference of 1812 from disannulling what it did as a law-making body. The reason for it is obvious: the parties to it, under the anomalous system of the Methodist Episcopal Church, are coördinate in power. But, its authority never having been questioned, its precedent crystallized as a dominating sovereignty. This settler from an imaginary interlocutor needs qualification in two respects. It is true only of the law-making class — the ministers, many exceptions being allowed — and the reason for it is given when Snethen's aphoristic utterance is again cited: "Men who have the same interests will be prone to act alike; and as long as they perceive that their interests are mutual, they will act together." It has been largely questioned by the laity as an excluded class, and the highest judicial authority in this country has adjudged that with every assembly of a General Conference an independent sovereignty is embodied.

Moreover, the source of authority has never been satisfied that the enactments of 1808 were in any legal sense a Constitution. Individual opinions have been given to this effect, and the course of legislation has assumed it, but the abstract doubt took concrete form, when, just eighty years after, the General Conference of 1888 appointed a Constitutional Commission of its ablest opponents to find its Constitution, if any there be. It wrestled with the problem through the quadrennium, and when it reported to the Conference of 1892, it was refused concurrence, after long and lively debating in which a contrariety of opinions was expressed. The finality was, until some future "Commission" to find out the same thing shall dissent, it may be that the section under "General Conference" in the Discipline of 1808, with modifications as made since that date, is the Constitution. Whence all this incertitude? It is retributive, as already intimated, of the assumption of powers by a class taking advantage of the accident of position. The concrete position of the Church can never be made abstractly right until a Convention is called, of both classes, to such a compact, the ministers to select their representatives, and the laity to select theirs, through primary assembly of the membership, as has been recently suggested, through the *New York Christian Advocate*, by

an intelligent member of the last class. It was deemed best to dispose of this question in this connection, as it stands vitally associated with Methodist Reform in 1827-30.

Ezekiel Cooper resigned the Book Agency, having served eight years, and thereupon it was moved that eight years be the limit of such occupancy, but this was in later years abrogated. History gives no reasons for his act, but his subsequent career makes it evident that he did not surrender his liberal sentiments as declared at this Conference of 1808, and while he remained loyal to the Church, in 1821 and onward he is found closely connected with Reform movements, and in 1827 drafted a scheme for lay-representation, but was discouraged from its ultimate prosecution with the Reformers of that period by reason of the local preacher feature, which was pressed as an integer, of which more in its proper place.

Lee had finished his "History of the Methodists" and submitted it to a committee of the Conference, and through it that body disapproved of the manuscript. As no reason is known at this day for the action, it can be surmised only that either it was thought inadequate in literary execution and fulness of detail, or its honest bluntness and disclosures in a few places, not in line with servile toadyism; and his probable refusal to expurgate brought it under ban. Is there ground for the truth of this surmise? It is found in the list of "Subscribers' Names" at the close, as published, which is conspicuous for the absence of nearly every preacher of the Asbury-Soule-M'Kendree class, and the presence of many who were active Reformers from 1820, both in the local ranks and of the laity. This could not be an accident. Debarred from its official publication under the Conference rule, he rebelled, carried down the manuscript to the close of 1809, and issued it by the help of his subscribing friends who loved the liberty of the press, denied to Lee and others in that early day. The imprint is, "Baltimore, Printed by Magill and Clime, booksellers, 224 Baltimore st., 1810." As an appendix he gives an invaluable roster of all the preachers who ever travelled from 1769 to 1806, classified, with notes of much historical value on many of them. But one edition was ever issued, and to-day it is exceedingly scarce, the writer's copy having been secured after long search and considerable expense. Properly to group the pertinent facts, it needs to be stated that the ensuing General Conference of 1812 voted that "the Annual Conferences should collect by committees, historical materials, and the New York

Conference employ a historian to prepare them for publication — a proceeding which seems to have been soon forgotten," says Stevens.

The first Delegated General Conference was ordered for New York City, May 1, 1812. When the Book Concern was moved from Philadelphia, Baltimore, the cradle of Methodism and the centre of its membership, territorially, competed with New York, but failed. It was the first index of a northward trend, and the General Conference now followed, all the previous ones having been held in Baltimore. New York was growing as a great commercial centre, but there were other reasons between the lines of debate. It was a drift in the direction of a division which a few years more than thirty brought about. Had the Book Concern been brought to Baltimore, with its traditional claims, it is fairly safe to say that the disruption of 1844 would not have occurred — the plum would have been on the wrong side of the ecclesiastical pie. The Solomonic sword of the civil law had to be invoked for its equitable division, much to the religious discredit of all concerned. It seems like poetic retribution that the General Conference of 1844, that agreed to the Plan of Separation, reassuming the sovereignty of such a body, met in New York City.

The General Conference of 1812 met at John Street church, New York City, May 1. Asbury's references are few and epigrammatical. "Our General Conference began. . . . Local deacons, after four years of probation, should be elected to the eldership, having no slaves, or having them, to manumit them, where the law allowed it — it passed by a majority. . . . A motion was made to strengthen the episcopacy by adding another bishop. . . . After a serious struggle of two days in General Conference to change the mode of appointing presiding elders, it remains as it was. Means had been used to keep back every presiding elder who was known to be favorable to appointments by the bishops; and long and earnest speeches have been made to influence the minds of the members. Lee, Shinn, and Snethen were of a side; and these are great men. . . . Mr. Shaw of London called to see me, and I had seventeen of the preachers to dine with me; there was vinegar, mustard, and a still greater portion of oil, but the disappointed parties sat down in peace, and we enjoyed our sober meal." That is all. Bangs furnishes a full list of the members. The notable men were Garrettson, Ostrander, Phoebus, Bangs, Truman Bishop, Stead, and Billy Hibbard from New York.

Pickering, Hedding, Soule, Stevens and Kent, from New England. Genesee, Lacy and Owen. Western, Learner Blackman, Stier, Quinn—James and Isaac—Axley, Young, and Thomas Stillwell. South Carolina, Myers, Lovick Pierce, Daniel Asbury, and Hilliard Judge. Virginia, Jesse Lee, Bruce, Douglass, Lattimore, and John Early. Baltimore, Reed, Wells, Snethen, Enoch George, Shinn, Gruber, Robert R. Roberts, Ryland, Christopher Frye, James and Henry Smith. Philadelphia, Cooper, McClaskey, Thos. F. Sargent, S. G. Roszel, Ware, Sneath, Bartine, and Michael Coate. The whole number was ninety. Asbury and M'Kendree presided. The former had a letter, which he received from Dr. Coke, read, and Bangs reports from memory, as it was not officially recognized so as to be among the Conference papers, that he advised the brethren he was about to visit the East Indies and sent his unabated love to them. It was his last communication to friends in America, and his last ocean trip with his missionary preachers.

M'Kendree, without having consulted his colleague, read an address or message to the Conference in the nature of an Episcopal report which Bangs gives in full. No sooner had he finished than Asbury arose and said to M'Kendree, "This is a new thing. I never did business in this way, and why is this new thing introduced?" M'Kendree replied, "You are our *father*, we are your sons; you never have had need of it. I am only a *brother* and have need of it." Asbury said no more, but sat down with a smile on his face.¹ The good Bishop in this gave a characteristic exhibition of an old man inflexibly settled in his opinions and habits. And in this also M'Kendree by his independence even of Asbury, though thoroughly under his influence now for twenty years, shows how inconsequent is the reasoning that his views of the unbearable nature of Episcopal prerogatives, rung out by him with a clarion voice in the Conference of 1792, could have been a mere echo of O'Kelly's views. Such apologies for his after tergiversation are a reflection upon his whole character. It would be more to the credit of all concerned if Methodist historians were to pass this episode in his career in silence. This very address gives proof of the even balance of his sinewy mind: "I consider myself justly accountable, not for the system of government, but for my administration, and ought, therefore, to be ready to answer in General Conference for my past conduct, and be willing to receive information and advice to perfect future operations. I

¹ Tigert's "History," p. 329.

wish this body to exercise their rights in these respects."¹ No wonder Asbury was amazed at his junior Bishop.

For the last time Asbury intimated his desire to be relieved, as "he had thoughts of going to Europe." It was rather an amiable weakness and quite excusable as such. It was referred to a committee with the usual result: complimentary resolutions, and then Asbury graciously yields. The presiding elder question, as Asbury informs, occupied two whole days. In addition to Lee,² Snethen, and Shinn, Stevens adds, Cooper, Garrettson, Ware, Phoebus and Hunt as in the affirmative, "the bishops being known as profoundly opposed to it." When it came to vote it was defeated but by three. The brains of the Conference evidently did not regard the question as settled by the constitutional (?) provisions of 1808. Asbury, however, planted himself upon this ground, but whether he took the cue from Soule, or Soule in 1820 from Asbury's Journal, July, 1811, cannot be determined. He had just met the New York Conference and says: "It is said the

¹ Tigert's "History," p. 328.

² Wakeley, in his "Heroes of Methodism," cites a well-known incident, though not found in any of the regular church histories, strikingly illustrative of the domineering passion of the saintliest hierarchs, and notably of Asbury. Worried by the persistence and ability of the advocates of an elective presiding eldership, while Lee was leading in a speech on this side, Asbury, as presiding officer, deliberately turned in the chair, with his back to Lee and the Conference. It would have disconcerted a less heroic man, and withered into silence a weaker one, but Lee met it with a simple uninterrupted continuation of the trenchant and vehement speech he set himself to deliver. One of the preachers on the Asbury side interrupted him with the remark that "no man of common sense would have adduced such arguments as Lee." Lee replied, "Our brother has said no one of common sense would use such arguments. I am, therefore, Mr. President (addressing the back of Asbury), compelled to believe the brother thinks me a man of *uncommon* sense." "Yes! yes!" said Asbury, turning half round in his chair, "Yes! yes! Brother Lee, you are a man of uncommon sense." "Then, sir," said Lee quickly, and without the slightest loss of temper, "then I beg that *uncommon attention* may be paid to what I say." The Bishop again turned his face to the wall, Wakeley adding, "the Conference smiling as Mr. Lee proceeded to finish his argument." At what they could have smiled it is difficult at this day at least to divine; the marvel is they did not weep. There was occasion for it. Never did Asbury exhibit himself at such disadvantage, both as a professed gentleman and a Christian. It was the last General Conference he ever attended. It was a case of deliberate insult to the Conference as a deliberative body, and a sign of contempt for Lee. Deliberate, it is said, for after the genteel but stinging rebuke of Lee's rejoinder, any one but a veritable bull of Bashan would have been shamed into decent observance of the conventional proprieties; not so Bishop Asbury. Was it among the reasons the measure was defeated by but three votes? But you make too much of it. Granted, there is danger of an extreme in that direction, and the writer may have fallen into it. But what of the danger of making too little of it, and recording it among practical jokes? Is it not a clear case of the philosophy of the Absolutist teaching by example?

wise men of York Conference have discovered that it will be far better to elect the presiding elder in conference and give them the power of stationing the preachers. I suppose we shall hear more of this." He did hear more of it then, and six months later. He adds in connection with the New York Conference this pronounced opinion, "If the preachers take any specific power, right, or privilege from the bishops which the General Conference may have given them, it is clear that they dissolve the whole contract." Put this in juxtaposition with the section of 1808, "They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away episcopacy, or to destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency," and you have his meaning. Soule as found was the author of it, and in 1820 he claimed to be the interpreter of it, and overthrew the General Conference, on that issue.

Daniel Hitt, the Book Agent, and not a member of the Conference, was elected secretary, thereby establishing a precedent in that regard. Two years before Asbury had organized the Genesee Conference. His authority was questioned, but this General Conference approved and its delegates were admitted. The liberalizing trend of this Conference had one result: "It was ordered that the stewards should no longer be appointed by the preacher in charge, but be nominated by him and appointed by the quarterly Conference." The docile laymen of the Church caught eagerly even at straws—this was nothing but a straw. The temperance question was at a low ebb officially. Axley made repeated attempts to have passed a rule: "No stationed or local preacher shall retail spirituous or malt liquors without forfeiting his ministerial character among us." At the third effort he was defeated. David Young moved that "the Conference inquire into the nature and moral tendency of slavery." It was laid on the table. Zealots of to-day and forty years past may denounce this as cowardice, but three years before even Asbury, travelling in and holding the Virginia Conference, puts these moralizings into his Journal: "We are defrauded of great numbers by the pains that are taken to keep the blacks from us; the masters are afraid of the influence of our principles. Would not an *amelioration* in the condition and treatment of slaves have produced more practical good to the poor Africans than an attempt at their *emancipation*? The state of society unhappily does not admit of this: besides, the blacks are deprived of the means of instruction. . . . What is the personal liberty of the African, which

he may abuse, to the salvation of his soul; how may it be compared?" It was not God's time, whatever cavillers may adjudge. The fearful retributive justice did not come until fifty years later, and then He punished both North and South for the mutual sin of our forefathers.

The committee on the Episcopacy reported against electing any more bishops at the session. Asbury held out just four years more, and it gave M'Kendree scope for the display of his cast-iron administration, heartily seconded by Asbury, whose physical infirmities compelled him to defer largely to M'Kendree. The *Methodist Magazine*, which had been issued for 1789-90, was discontinued, and an order was now made to reissue it, and Thomas Ware was made assistant Book Agent looking to this end. But the mandate was not obeyed, perhaps for pecuniary reasons, and the Church had no magazine down to 1818, and this accounts for the dearth of historical materials for this period. The literature of the Church was at a low ebb. The church property question revived on discovery that local laws in some of the states were in conflict with the Deed of the Church, and action was taken to cover it, but "so as to secure the premises firmly, by deed and permanently to the Methodist Episcopal Church," etc. The right of self-preservation inheres in every organization, but it shall be shown that, wise as was this provision, it was not open to abuse only, but was abused, and was never a necessity, inasmuch as the courts of equity in numerous decisions have established the principle that church property cannot be alienated so long as any of the original contributors or loyal members contend for it. The Episcopacy felt that more must be secured — empire by property as its potent lever and controlling force. There were other enactments of minor importance, and the Conference adjourned May 22, after issuing an Address to the members of the Church, which Bangs gives in full.

CHAPTER XXXIX

Effect of the War of 1812-13 on the Canada Methodists — Organization of the Reformed Methodist Church in Vermont, 1814; minified by historians; true account with comments — The General Conference of 1816 — Asbury's Valedictory — Elective Eldership revived, but again defeated — Election of George and Roberts as bishops — Action on slavery; wise and otherwise — Salient event of this Conference the funeral of Bishop Asbury; large excerpts from his Journal on various subjects with comments; Snethen and Asbury — Camp-meetings of the day depicted — Last days of Asbury; full account of his demise, and the most elaborate statement of his funeral in Baltimore ever given, with new details; Black's estimate of Asbury; the author's analysis of his character and work; philosophizings on him; his Episcopal views as set forth by others, and shown untenable — The Episcopal system can never be made a factor of Union among Methodists; the trend against it as such; proofs.

BEFORE considering the Second Delegated Conference of 1816, the culminating point of this volume, some salient events must be noticed to preserve chronological order. Shortly after the rise of the last General Conference, war was declared against Great Britain. This brought on a collision of sentiment with the Canadian Methodists. William Black was the Wesleyan General Superintendent in that province, appointed as such by Wesley, and continued by the Conference, just as Mather had been appointed to Scotland by Wesley. And the Methodist Episcopal Church also had an organization of a missionary character, and ministers were sent to the work by the American bishops. Such was the alienation now, that Nathan Bangs, who was appointed presiding elder for the lower province with the charge of Montreal, was released from his engagement. After much subsequent negotiation, at the close of the war, in which both parties seem to have made efforts to outdo the other in ecclesiastical finesse,¹ Dr. John Emory was sent by the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1820, to the British Conference, and a final adjustment was made.

¹ November 6, 1820, Kingston, Canada, the Wesleyan Society petition the British Conference to restore them their British missionary, remonstrating against his withdrawal under the plan of adjustment. The action had, and published in the Canada newspapers was based upon the "presumption that *misrepresentations had been made to the committee by the American Delegate.*" See McCaine's "Defence of the Truth," p. 102.

Pliny Britt, one of the New England preachers, located in 1813, and shortly after withdrew from the Church. He, with Elijah Bailey and others, called a Convention of Methodists to meet at Readsborough, Vt., on the 16th of January, 1814, and organized the Reformed Methodist Church. Bangs, but no other historian, gives a paragraph to this defection and secession. He says of it. "They succeeded in raising a considerable party, which, for a short season, made some inroads upon our Church, but for want of unity of action and that amount of piety and talent necessary to command public confidence, they gradually declined in influence. . . . They finally sank into obscurity, and have long since ceased to exist as a distinct denomination." He wrote this in 1838-39. It is another illustration — the first being his account of the failure of the O'Kelly movement — in proof of the adage, "We easily believe what we wish to be true." How much his statement at that time needed large qualification to make it truthful, the following facts will show. There is now before me a booklet, 36mo, 32 pp., paper cover, printed at "Fayetteville, Methodist Reform Press, 1841," with the title, "Doctrines and Discipline of the Reformed Methodist Church of the United States and Upper Canada."¹ An examination shows that the principles of the organization were substantially those of the Methodist Protestant Church. A few extracts only can be given, "They felt straitened in their religious rights and privileges, under the Episcopal mode of Church government." At a subsequent Convention on the 5th of February, they adopted a Constitution and Articles of Religion and a Discipline. The Articles and the means of grace are those practically of the Old Church; the Constitution gives a "Declaration of Rights," "All power for the government and regulation of the Church, under God, belongs to, and of right is at the control of, the Church; therefore the right of priests to rule, as well as of kings to reign, we view as contrary to the gospel of Christ, and inconsistent with the natural, original, and inherent rights of man." It provided for quarterly, annual, and general conferences on a basis of equal representation in the last two, of ministers and laymen. Visiting elders are provided for to attend quarterly and other meetings. The other machinery is Methodistic. Actual statistics of its after growth through thirty years are not at command, but is estimated at from three to five thousand. Ultimately their

¹ Indebted to Rev. Dr. G. B. McElroy of Adrian College, Michigan, for this copy.

societies in large part were merged into the Methodist Protestant Church. That it seriously affected the Old Church is evident when the statistics are consulted. The gain in that Church for 1812 was 8017, and for 1813, 14,596, while the decrease in 1814, was 2750. Bangs puts it down to the war. It had much to do with it, undoubtedly, as well as the Canada defection as a part of it, but the Reform movement most accounts for the decline, though not acknowledged by any of her historians.

Why did not this movement more fully succeed? Its principles were scriptural and amenable to reason, but, as in the O'Kelly schism, the personal equation was too conspicuous. The hard soil of New England, always unfriendly to Methodism, was against the liberal tentation. If the social and business and organized opposition of the Methodist Episcopal Church was as strenuously and unrelentingly put forth as it was against the Methodist Protestant Church of 1830-40, the marvel is that it was not incontinently strangled in its birth-throes. The proscription and ostracism were fearfully intimidating. It was circumscribed in its source, and hedged about more and more in its attempts to enlarge its area. This, as well as the settled determination of its leaders not to secede or to sympathize with secession, made it impossible for the Reformers of the Snethen, Shinn, Jennings, McCaine, Brown, Dorsey, French, and Hill type of 1820-30 to affiliate with it. The pride of personal leadership made it impossible that the Britt-Bailey Reformers should consent to absorption by the latter Reform until necessity made it a virtue to coalesce. The same remarks are applicable to the secession of William M. Stillwell, one of the ablest of the itinerant preachers of his day, who organized in New York, 1819-20, and gathered some societies on liberal principles, but there was lacking the cohesive power of a common sympathy. Such schisms cannot long survive the personal life and posthumous influence of the projectors, and, as schisms, are, for the most part, intrinsically ill-advised. A number of his adherents were absorbed by the Methodist Protestants and found thereby a congenial Church home. Both these movements, however, trace their inspiration and execution to the Episcopal system as embodied and administered in the Asburyan Church.

The General Conference of 1816 had been appointed for Baltimore on the 1st of May. Boehm says it assembled at Light Street church. Bangs furnishes a full list of the members, 106 in number. Asbury was dead, and M'Kendree, though present, was in feeble health. His episcopal address was presented by

Douglass, and referred with Asbury's valedictory, previously prepared, to appropriate committees. On the 7th, the presiding elder question was brought forward, the strong minority in favor of an elective method maintaining heart and hope. It was put in various forms in accommodation to the moods of those who were interested in it. The Conference resolved itself into a committee of the whole, an unusual proceeding, and M'Kendree retired from the chair, selecting Garrettson to preside, and so he did from day to day through the week it was under consideration. It was working against wind and tide to carry a measure which the Episcopacy had openly denounced. What convincing arguments were used to thwart it receives some intimation by the vote from day to day, on differing phases but substantially the same issue: 42 in favor, 60 against—38 in favor, 63 against; finally defeated by "an overwhelming majority," Tigert says, speaking from the Journal. How this overwhelming majority was coached is presumptive in the face of the fact that four years later it is again the vexed question, and is carried by a two-thirds majority.

The Committee on the Episcopacy reported in favor of the election of two Bishops. On the 14th of May, the election took place, and Enoch George, known to be in favor of an elective eldership, received 57 out of 106 votes on the first ballot, and Robert Richford Roberts 55 out of 106 on the second ballot. None of the historians tells who were the opposing candidates that made the majority of the successful names so narrow. Roberts frequently occupied the chair during the closing sessions, but George never assumed it during this Conference. The committee on slavery reported that "the evil appears to be past remedy," and that "they are constrained to admit that to bring about such a change in the civil code as would favor the cause of liberty is not in the power of the General Conference." It was a wise conclusion, though unsatisfactory to the conscientious opponents of the institution. The most that an ecclesiastical body can do with moral questions is to bear testimony against the evils, and then in their civic capacity work to the end of their destruction. Disregard of this rational course led indirectly to the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1844, and of the "suspension of official relations" of the West and North from the East and South in the Methodist Protestant Church, in 1858. Obedience to it preserved the Protestant Episcopal Church of all the Protestant denominations in the country from a like division.

The local preachers presented memorials to this Conference asking: (1) for representation in the councils of the Church; (2) a share in the administration; (3) a stipulation that their services might be compensated where the people desired their services. Some amendatory provisions were made to the law, but the specific things asked were not granted. Provision was made for the support of the wives of the newly elected bishops, M'Kendree being the last of the bachelor order, and this was the beginning of their support out of the Book Concern in violation of its charter. Joshua Soule and Thomas Mason were elected Book Agents, and the *Methodist Magazine* again ordered, but it was not republished until 1818. These are the material items of business. The Conference adjourned on the 24th of May, to meet again in Baltimore, May 1, 1820.

Standing inseparably connected with this General Conference was the death of Bishop Francis Asbury, which cast a pall over it and the whole Church, and was heralded throughout the country as a public calamity. Before touching it let his Journal be consulted for records bearing upon his history and pertinent to the special object of this work, and in line with the fact that no previous History has fortified its possessions so fully from his Journal. They shall be rapidly sketched from 1804. November, — "The Superintendent Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America being reduced to two dollars, he was obliged to make his wants known." He received not unfrequent legacies from partial friends, which he kept at interest, and when he died about two thousand dollars was found to his credit, which he willed to the Book Concern. He was utterly unselfish and devoid of money love. December, — "We came away twenty miles to see Alexander McCaine." He was to his death a bosom friend and counsellor. March, 1805, — "We had a meeting in Doctor Jennings's house," New London, Va. It is the first mention of this afterward distinguished man in Methodism. October — "Saw Moses Black and his wife — he about forty and she fifteen: such are the wise contracts Methodist preachers sometimes make." He had been reading Haweis's "Church History" and says: "It is the author's opinion that the evangelists were chief, superintending, episcopal men: aye, so say I: and they prescribed forms of discipline, and systematized codes of doctrine." He eagerly caught at everything to fortify his own authority. Haweis was chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon, Whitefield's friend, and a stanch clergyman of the Church of England. Asbury believed

in himself and his methods, and his Journals are punctuated with readings to confirm him in them. He yielded his deepest convictions to them, and hence, at the close of his eventful career, could with a good conscience appeal to the "purity of his intentions." No sober historian would think of questioning them. He believed he found in Scripture and reason and his own experience abundant testimony that he was right. This History will be written in vain if it does not show that his main premise is unsupported by Scripture and reason, and that his experience should have taught him that posterity in his own Church would cut the very sinews of his episcopal prerogatives and anomalous polity, though it has taken one hundred years of struggle without fully accomplishing it.

In February, 1806, this pithy sentence, "Religion will do great things; but it does not make Solomons." Georgia, November, 1806—"Behold, here is a bell over the gallery, and cracked, too; may it break! It is the first I ever saw in America in a house of ours; I hope it will be the last." March, 1807, Chester, Del.—"I find that unpleasant prejudices have been excited by the publication of a pamphlet on *succession in the church*; the author is one Kewley, who went from us." June—"And must I walk through the seven conferences, and travel seven thousand miles in ten months?" Pennsylvania, July—"It is but too manifest that the success of our labors, more especially at Camp-meetings, has roused a spirit of persecution against us; riots, fines, stripes, perhaps prisons and death, if we do not give up our camp-meetings: we shall never abandon them," etc. July, 1808, western Pennsylvania—"I had a conversation with Asa Shinn respecting his removal to Baltimore." Shinn was admitted on trial in 1801, a young man of promise, but not of robust physique. Snethen knew him well. He was a native of New Jersey. Judge his surprise and that of his friend when he was read out for his first appointment to Redstone, western Pennsylvania, as a junior preacher to Jesse Stoneman, with Thornton Fleming as presiding elder, in the wild, mountainous country beyond the Alleghanies. Snethen says that he pitied him. It was one of Asbury's methods of testing young men, and sometimes rather an evidence of his regard than otherwise. He had no horse and no money to provide one, so before the brethren dispersed Snethen took up a collection and procured one for him, for it was the only method of reaching his distant appointment. He proved in after years to be one of the greatest theologians,



NICHOLAS SNETHEN.

Ministerial Father of Lay Representation.

metaphysicians, and logicians of early Methodism, and as a Methodist Reformer of 1827-30, his arguments of pen and tongue were feared and respected, while his integrity of purpose no one dared question. Asbury now consults him before transferring him to Baltimore, perhaps in amends for his previous rough handling. The next year he is in Baltimore, as associate with Robert R. Roberts, afterward, as found, Bishop, and S. Bunn for the city stations, and Nicholas Snethen at Fell's Point, whither he was sent by Asbury, Snethen having just married, an almost reprehensible thing in a preacher with the Bishop, while Fell's Point in the far east of the city was unable to support a married man. It led not long after to Snethen's enforced retirement from the active work. The year following, or in 1810, Roberts is named first, with Snethen and Burch at City Station, composed of Light and Eutaw Street churches.

Snethen located upon his farm on the Linganore, Frederick County, Md., 1814. He preserved his confidence in and his social intimacy with Asbury, which he fully reciprocated. No two men perhaps of the early period talked with such freedom to each other, and none more closely on the questions of unlimited episcopal prerogatives, Snethen admonishing him as to "his English prejudices," and he bears witness that Asbury always heard him patiently, for he soon discovered that Snethen's convictions could not be controlled. It won Asbury's respect, but he took care that he should not be placed in positions of influence for their propagation. The following from Snethen's pen in 1822 showed his liberal views, and gave him occasion in a kind of parable to disclose a pertinent fact in his own history. "The bishops will make the presiding elders and the elders the bishops. Mutual interests will give rise to mutual fears. No sensibilities are more instinctive than those which belong to ambition. All this commerce for places may be carried on by dumb signals or indirect hints. A bishop [Asbury] once said to a preacher [Snethen] that his colleague [Whatcoat] proposed him for a certain district [Eldership] but I said you were too much of a republican. The preacher was indeed too much of an independent man to be won by such artifice, but he was a young man, and was more intent upon the improvement of his mind than desirous of office. The time was not yet come to try him to the uttermost, nor is it yet come to try other men so; but come it surely will, if the present unbounded prerogative remain."

"I rejoice to think," Asbury says in September, 1808, "that

there will be, perhaps, four or five hundred camp-meetings this year; may this year outdo all former years in the conversion of precious souls to God!" Snethen introduced them in Maryland, and his own preaching at some of them was a marvel of spiritual power and overwhelming eloquence then and in later years.¹ In Georgia he writes, January, 1809—"We (M'Kendree, companion) are riding in a poor thirty-dollar chaise, in partnership, two bishops of us, but it must be confessed it tallies well with the weight of our purses: what bishops! well: but we hear great news, and we have great times," etc. It must be confessed that the secret springs of a godly ambition are a poor compensation to

¹ "Extracts from Letters containing some account of the work of God, since the year 1800, written by the preachers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church to their Bishops, New York." Published by Ezekiel Cooper and John Wilson, 1805. 16mo. 120 pp. Paper binding.

A copy of this now exceedingly rare book—the only other known to the writer was in the possession of the late Rev. Isaac P. Cook of Baltimore, Md.—was presented to me by the late Rev. Thomas McCormick in 1879, when he was in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He lived to his ninety-second year. It contains three letters on this first camp in Maryland, one by Snethen, one by Fanny Lewis, and one by Samuel Coate. Snethen says that after spending three days preparing the ground, the camp began September 24, 1803. It began on Saturday morning, and ended "three o'clock Monday morning," so that they were more in the nature of what afterward were known as woods' meetings than the subsequent camps of from one to two full weeks. Snethen exults over it—"O! happy day! O day of mercy and salvation, never to be forgotten! Twice I fell prostrate upon the stand, beneath the overwhelming power of saving grace. The day is canonized; it is memorable in the church, to numbers, as the happy Monday, the blessed 26th of September, 1803. The number converted cannot be ascertained; but all will agree that there were a hundred, or upward, who were subjects of an extraordinary work, either of conviction, conversion, or sanctification." Fanny Lewis says, after describing the location of the tents and wagons: "There was scarce any intermission day or night. . . . No sound was heard except Glory to God in the highest! Mercy! mercy! . . . On Monday morning there was such a gust of the power of God, that it appeared to me the very gates of hell would give way. All the people were filled with wonder, love, and praise. Mr. S— (Snethen) came and threw himself in our tent, crying Glory! glory! this is the happiest day I ever saw! . . . The time between services was not taken up with 'what shall we eat, and what shall we drink?' . . . The preachers all seemed as men filled with new wine. Some standing crying, others prostrate on the ground." Samuel Coate says: "There were twenty or more travelling and local preachers. Our number of people on the week days were from one thousand to fifteen hundred, and about five thousand, or upward, on the Sabbath. . . . Two or three hundred camped on the ground. . . . Tents, wagons, carts, coaches, stages, and the like, were ranged in a circular form. The stand was in the centre, and at night pine knot fires, lanterns, and candles in the trees, gave a spectral light, though it was the time of the full moon. . . . I was informed that there was not three minutes for one whole night but what they were in the exercises of singing or prayer." It was held fifteen miles from Baltimore, a little to the east of Reisterstown road.

offset such material disadvantages. February 1 — “Opened the Virginia Conference. We had eighty-four preachers present, sixty of them the most pleasing, promising young men; seventeen preachers were admitted; in all the conference there are but three married men.” Boehm refers to this fact. It was a Conference after his own heart—he saw military efficiency and obedience in a ministry of celibates. Other citations will show his irrepressible sarcasm over the married men. June, 1809 — “I have as much as I can bear in body and mind. I see what has been doing for nine years past to make Presbyterian Methodists.” He was a rabid episcopo-phile. July — “Such roads, such rains, and such lodgings! Why should I wish to stay in this land? I have no possessions or babes to bind me to the soil; what are called the comforts of life I rarely enjoy; the wish to live an hour such a life as this would be strange to so suffering, so toil-worn a wretch. But God is with me and souls are my reward: I may yet rejoice, yea, and will rejoice.” October, 1809 — “I am continually at prayer; but a certain fiend assaults me without ceasing—this is for my humiliation.” Like Paul, he had his thorn in the flesh, unknown to any other mortal. So he is constantly throwing open the windows of his heart. In this and his prayer seasons he differed widely from Wesley, whose Journal is barren of these introspections of soul-service and struggle. He too had an experience, but he did not tell it for the inspection of future generations except in the Band meetings. Asbury’s “experience” is known almost from day to day. He is up in Massachusetts, June, 1810 — “At Warren my audience gave me a little of their attention. Our preachers get wives and a home, and run to their *dears* almost every night.” June, 1811, he reads Adam Clarke, “and am amused as well as instructed. He indirectly unchristianizes all old bachelors. Woe is me!” Also same date — “We have ridden two hundred miles since we left New York, and have preached every day, and the preachers there are hardly starting to their stations, *but they have wives.*” And now a touch of nature of which the whole world is kin: “We stopped at Dickson’s, where I gave ninety dollars for a mare to supply the place of poor Spark, which I sold for twenty dollars; when about to start he whickered after us; it went to my heart—poor slave, how much toil he has patiently endured for us!” November, 1811 — “Hilliard Judge is chosen chaplain to the legislature of South Carolina; and O, great Snethen is chaplain to Congress; so we begin to partake of the honor that cometh

from men; now is our time of danger." Jesse Lee had also been chaplain to Congress. In Virginia, March, 1812 — "Doctor Jennings was at Conference, and preached often for us, and was much followed." May, 1813 — "Bishop M'Kendree preached. It appeared to me as if a ray of divine glory rested on him." June 6, 1813 — "Knowing the uncertainty of the tenure of human life, I have made my will, appointing Bishop M'Kendree, Daniel Hitt, and Henry Boehm my executors. If I do not in the meantime spend it, I shall leave when I die, an estate of two thousand dollars, I believe: I give it all to the Book Concern. This money and somewhat more I have inherited from dear departed Methodist friends, in the state of Maryland, who died childless, besides some legacies which I have never taken. Let it all return and continue to aid the cause of piety." And here is a specimen of his Christian nobility of soul which it would have been well if his successors in the ministry of 1827-30 and since then, both at home and in Japan,¹ had imitated as to the building of altar against altar to circumvent Reform Methodists. June, 1813 — "I never knew the state of the Methodist chapel in New Durham [New York] until now. It was bought of the Presbyterians, carried five miles, and rebuilt or replaced within hearing of the Independents' Church [the Britt-Bailey Reformers' movement?]; there is surely little of the mind of Christ in all this, and I will preach no more in it, if I can avoid it. Should the Methodists have imitated the Low Dutch, who treated them exactly thus in Albany?" Bravo, for the good Bishop. And now an item not so commendatory. Wm. B. Lacy in 1812 was an active advocate of an elective Eldership, and after the General Conference of 1812, in despair of Reform, he withdrew from his circuit (Herkimer) in New York, in an unofficial manner, and subsequently united with the Protestant Episcopal Church. At the New York Conference

¹ This case in substance is that Rev. C. F. Klein, missionary at Yokohama, Japan, prospecting for a place to work nearer the interior, selected Nagoya, then unoccupied by the M. E. Church in any form. He made his purpose known to Rev. Mr. Soper and to McClay, superintendent of their mission work, informing them that he thought of occupying Nagoya, and if they did not purpose so doing under the invitation to "coöperate in foreign fields by churches of the same theology"; and his approaches were met with a friendly intimation that the territory was open to him, as they could not then occupy. He occupied accordingly, and built a house. This was in 1887. In 1888 Bishop Fowler made a visit to the place, and though he must have known of the occupation, selected a site hard by, and commenced operations for the M. E. Church, thus ignoring the irenical plan of non-interference of the Methodisms abroad with each other's work. The full particulars are voluminous, but can be furnished to any one doubting the substantial truth of these allegations.



SAMUEL K. JENNINGS.

of 1813 his case was adjudicated, and a messenger sent, Asbury says, "To demand his parchments; the culprit refused to deliver up his credentials in a very peremptory manner," etc. And now what did the Conference do, both the bishops being present? Instead of simply recording his name in the minutes as "Withdrawn," the usual practice, they pilloried him and shot him through with a Parthian arrow in a review of his case, the conclusion of which is: "he had attempted to sow discord among the people of our charge, and left the connection in an improper manner. If this conduct entitles him to the wisdom of the *Serpent*, does it not deprive him of the harmlessness of the *Dove*?" Lacy's conduct was naughty as a Methodist Reformer, but does it merit to be stigmatized as of the *Serpent*? How easy it seems to ascribe the work of our opponents to Satan; much easier than even the silence of charity. Asbury has made record that O'Kelly's secession was instigated by "Satan," and the Reformers of 1827-30 were gazetted by their quondam friends as in league with the Devil, and as to Alexander McCaine, he had clearly sold himself to the nether powers, and so was by name excluded from the conditional amnesty offered his associates by the General Conference of 1828.

August, 1813 — "I addressed a valedictory statement of my opinion to Bishop M'Kendree on the primitive church government and ordinations; I shall leave it with my papers." And so he did. October he says, "On the peaceful banks of the Saluda I wrote my valedictory address to the presiding elders." It will call for notice later. His premonitions of approaching end grew upon him, and he put his house in order. A cold he had taken in South Carolina, early in 1815, settled upon his lungs, and tubercular consumption set in, which, with his other diseases, ended his life. January 8, 1815, he writes, "This place calls for great labor, and I am not fit for it; I must go hence." March, 1815, at Lynchburg, Va., he says, "Doctor Jennings preached us a great sermon on 'I am the vine,'" etc. July, 1815, he is with Hollingsworth, who edited his *Journal*, and with him revised it down to 1807, and says, "I have buried in shades all that will be proper to forget, in which I am personally concerned; if truth and I have been wronged, we have both witnessed our day of triumph." It was well that these things were expunged from the record, and it would have been better if his censorious judgment of Strawbridge, O'Kelly, and others had been also expurgated, though in that case posterity would not have known that with

not a few graces of the angel he had the serious infirmities of man. In August, 1815, he writes, "O, joyful consideration to those who have put on the Lord Jesus, and shall love his appearing—this time of suffering is short!" September in Cincinnati, he has a long talk with M'Kendree about the work, and his inability to keep up with his part of the labor. Yet he travels on with his colleague until November. "My eyes fail. I will resign the stations to Bishop M'Kendree; I will take away my feet; my mind enjoys great peace and consolation; glory! glory! glory!" He parts with M'Kendree, but his devoted John Wesley Bond is with him nursing him like a child. He travels into Virginia, and thence to South Carolina, Bond preaching when he could not. They return northward, and the record is, November, 1815—"I die daily, am made perfect by suffering and labor, and fill up what is still behind. . . . I am wasting away with a constant dysentery and cough." "Thursday, December 7—We met a storm and stopped at William Baker's, Granby." It is the last note in his Journal. His resolute mind stayed him in the hope of reaching the General Conference set for May 2, 1816, in Baltimore. He reached Richmond, Va., and March 24, preached his last sermon in the old Methodist church. He was seated on a table, being unable either to walk or stand. The text was Rom. ix. 28, and was an hour in length through frequent pauses to recover his breath. Carried from the pulpit to his carriage, he rode to his lodgings. The next day he resumed his journey, and reached the house of his old friend, George Arnold, in Spottsylvania.

He took to his dying bed. Hearing Bond speaking with the family respecting an appointment to preach, Asbury observed that they need not be in haste. It was so unusual a remark that it gave Bond much concern. His indisposition greatly increased, and at three o'clock in the morning Asbury said that he had passed a night of great bodily affliction. It was proposed to send for a physician, but he intimated that it would be useless, as he could only pronounce him dead. Being asked if he had anything to communicate, he replied that he had fully expressed his mind, and had nothing more to add. Eleven o'clock Sabbath morning, the family was called together, and Bond sang, prayed, and expounded the twenty-first chapter of Revelation, during which time he was calm and much engaged in devotion. He grew so weak that he was unable to swallow a little barley-water, and his speech began to fail. Observing the distress of his faithful Bond, he raised his right hand

and at the same time looked joyfully at him. On being asked by Bond if he felt Jesus to be precious, exerting all his strength, he raised both hands in token of victory. A few minutes after, as he sat in his chair with his head reclining upon the hand of Bond, without a struggle he breathed his last in the seventy-first year of his age.

It was Sabbath, four o'clock P.M., March 31, 1816. His remains were deposited in the family burying-ground of Mr. Arnold. Five weeks after, by order of the General Conference, they were disinterred and brought to Baltimore, where a crypt was prepared for them under the recess of the Eutaw Street church pulpit. On the tenth day of May, the public burial took place, the double coffin borne by twelve pall-bearers, was carried from the Light Street church, where the General Conference had assembled, to Eutaw church, a distance of over one mile, the bearers alternating, in a procession composed of all the members, and a vast concourse estimated by William Black at "about 20,000 or, as some suppose, 25,000 persons were present in the procession, and out of it, as spectators on the solemn occasion. Previous to the interment Bishop M'Kendree delivered a short discourse, in a very faint and feeble voice, to as many as could crowd into the chapel, embracing some of the leading traits of his history and character. It was about twelve minutes long, but I fear was not heard distinctly by one-third of the people. On the following Sabbath, a funeral sermon was delivered in each of the eight or nine chapels occupied by the Methodists. It was my lot to preach in the Light Street chapel on that solemn occasion. The congregation was very large, and almost silent as death. The chapel contained about three thousand, but hundreds were obliged to go away for want of room."¹

¹ The writer is indebted for these facts and others to be stated to J. W. Bond's letter to Bishop M'Kendree, from which all other historians have likewise gleaned, and recollections given him by Rev. Thomas McCormick, of Baltimore, who was the last survivor of the twelve pall-bearers, having lived until February 20, 1883. He was one of the eleven ministers and preachers who were expelled the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1827, for their advocacy of Reform through the Wesleyan Repository and the Union Societies. Some ten years ago a person appeared in the office of the writer, then editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, and exhibited the original class book of the Light Street Station containing the names of the eleven, and after each name in a round, bold hand the word "Expelled" written. The writer failed to secure the book under promise from the holder that he would return it to the officary of the Light Street church, but subsequent inquiry showed that he never did it, and the book is probably irrevocably lost. The General Methodist Episcopal Conference of 1880, in Baltimore City, honored itself and the man by introducing McCormick to it in his proper character, and as the last sur-

Asbury's remains, after reposing in this place until June 16, 1854, were again disinterred and finally deposited in Mt. Olivet cemetery, on the suburbs of Baltimore, west end, where are also deposited, some by direct burial and others by removal to this place, the following of the earlier ministers:—Robert Strawbridge, died 1781; Reuben Ellis, 1796; Wilson Lee, 1805; Francis Asbury, 1816; Nathan Richardson, 1816; Jesse Lee, 1816; Hamilton Jefferson, 1822; John Hagerty, 1823; Abner Neal, 1824; James Smith, 1827; Enoch George, 1829; John Emory, 1836; Beverly Waugh, 1858; Henry Smith, 1863, and sixty-nine other ministers up to 1888. For eulogies on Asbury, those of Boehm, Bangs, and Stevens are exhaustive, but none of them excels Snethen's oration, delivered soon after Asbury's demise. It was published, but no extant copy is known; the original manuscript, however, is preserved among his literary remains in possession of the Pittsburgh Book Concern of the Methodist Protestant Church. The Baltimore Conference through its com-

vivor of the Asbury funeral. The writer recently made a careful examination of the files of *The American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, of Baltimore, for May, 1816, with the remarkable result that on the 9th of May, a brief notice is given of the Asbury funeral, and all clergymen invited. On the 10th, it publishes the Bond letter to M'Kendree of more than a column in length, giving all the particulars of his last illness and death minutely. But on the 11th, and thereafter, not a single line is given as to the funeral. It can be accounted for only on the theory that, as Black affirms, the whole of Baltimore town of that day, either attended the funeral or heard of it, so that reportorially the paper deemed it unnecessary to publish what everybody knew, so universal was the interest it excited. Bond's letter is under date, "Spottsylvania, April 1, 1816." Rev. McCormick, before referred to, in 1882, then in his ninety-first year, presented the writer with a book heretofore noticed, "The Conference, or Sketches of Wesleyan Methodism," published in 1824, at Bridgeton, N. J. It is in verse, and as appendices, there is an account of Asbury with a pen-portrait of great merit, and also a Letter to the unknown author* from Rev. William Black, General Superintendent of the Canada work of the Wesleyan Conference, and who was a visitor at the General Conference of 1816. He gives an extended account of Asbury's funeral, from which citations have been made in the running text. He also informs that with Bishop M'Kendree they headed the procession before the coffin, borne by the pall-bearers, as in that day carriages and hearses were unknown at funerals, and that in the procession were the Protestant Episcopal Bishop, and the governor of the state, and "several other ministers of different communions." Black made the concluding prayer after M'Kendree's address. This letter is found nowhere else, and the book itself so rare that the writer has never heard of but one other copy. Around the margins of this printed letter McCormick has written in a legible hand in blue pencil his recollection of Black, and other facts in connection with the book and the funeral.

* Wakeley, in his "Heroes of Methodism," says it was Rev. Joshua Marsden, a Wesleyan missionary, who was in this country in 1812-14, and that it was first published in London in 1815. This is an error, as the book refers to Asbury as dead, which was not until 1816. The true date was 1820. Asbury refers to Marsden, see "Journal," 1813.

mittee in 1817-18, appointed Rev. Dr. Samuel K. Jennings to write a "Life of Asbury," and he was making good progress with the work up to 1824, when the bitterness and prejudice against him as an ardent and uncompromising Reformer of that time hampered him, of which more will be given in its connection. The Conference of 1824 appointed Rev. Henry Beauchamp to do the work, but his death soon after forestalled it, and no "Life" was written until years after, when Strickland's appeared, and is an admirable production. He was aged seventy years, seven months, and eleven days. The writer's pen-portrait of him, given earlier in this volume, is believed to be the fullest and most accurate so far given, as it was compiled from sources some of which were not at the command of his predecessors in historical labors. The author of "The Conference, etc.," in his masterly summation of his character as an appendix to the work, may be cited a little further. "As a preacher, although not an orator, he was dignified, eloquent, and impressive: his sermons were the result of good sense and sound wisdom, delivered with great authority, and gravity, and often attended with a divine unction which made them refreshing as the dews of heaven. . . . His talents as a preacher were respectable, but his chief excellency lay in governing; for this, perhaps, no man was better qualified; he presided with dignity, moderation, and firmness over a large body of men. . . . A man of less energy would have given up the reins; and one of less wisdom, prudence, and moderation would have committed the same error as Phaeton; and the whole system would have been confused and distracted; but Mr. Asbury managed the vast economy with singular ability. . . . His prudence was equal to his integrity; he never committed himself; hence he had few things to undo. . . . Many deviated from the work, but his step was firm; though opposed, he was unmoved; neither friends nor foes could shake his resolution. . . . I have seen him sit in Conference with the greatest calmness; when many things were canvassed which must have greatly pained and wounded his mind. . . . If he could not carry a point, he did not force it against wind and tide, but calmly sat down till the blast was gone by, and with a placid dignity made a virtue of necessity, or, with discriminating wisdom, brought the measure forward in a less exceptional shape, and at a more convenient time. . . . I should not omit his temperance, having frequently dined with him. I have been astonished how a man who ate so sparingly could perform such vast labors; an egg, a little salad

or bread, and a small piece of meat was his usual dinner; sometimes he dined only upon tea or coffee; wine, spirits, or cordials he seldom tasted; at dinner his meals were seasoned with some weighty and profitable discourse, chiefly upon vital and practical godliness; he rose early from table and always concluded with prayer."

As a copy of a primitive Evangelist, and an apostolical Bishop, remembering that this word is the preferred translation of an Evangelist's office because suited to the third-order hierarchy of the Episcopal translators of the King James's version of our English Scriptures, it may be said, perhaps without exaggeration, that he has had no equal in labors since the apostle Paul. Conscientious in his Episcopal convictions, as all his reading was to the end of fortifying himself in these convictions, the error of his system—an anomaly in ecclesiastical polity—was in rigidly holding to the logical conclusion of his early education and after reading, that a religious organization is best held together by a supreme leader buttressed by force. It was his beau-ideal for Methodist Union—the peripheral tire binding felloes and spokes to the hub of centralized authority. This History will fail in one of its fundamental purposes if it does not prove that instead it has been the disintegrating force and element of disunion.

Is further evidence needed that this is a fair interpretation of Asbury's views? Let a few citations from his Valedictory Address to Bishop M'Kendree penned at Lancaster, Penn., August 5, 1813, speak, "It is a serious thing for a Bishop to be stripped of any constitutional rights chartered to him at his ordination, without which he could not, and would not have entered into that sacred office, he being conscious at the same time he had never violated those sacred rights. . . . Thus I have traced regular order and succession in John Wesley, Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury, Richard Whatcoat, and William M'Kendree. Let any other church trace its succession as direct and as pure if it can. . . . My dear Bishop, it is the travelling apostolic order and ministry that is found in our very constitution." Could confirmation stronger be given of the views expressed in earlier portions of this History as to Asbury's meaning of "regular order and succession," over which Dr. John Emory so puerilely blunders? It was a Methodist order and succession, and he meant by order, a third order—why equivocate over it? And how remarkable this deliverance is in that, contrary to the tracery of his "authority," given in May, 1805, when he disowned Wesley as the first

link in it! Was it an accident? It could not be: the difference was in 1805 and 1813 and the environments of each. And yet, how utterly invalid it is by any test that makes the terms "Bishop," and "Episcopal," anything but sham appellations! It was the very gist of the McCaine-Emory controversy over it in 1827, and what sheer logical folly was the latter in elaborating the position that a Church may adopt the likeness of a thing — its semblance — if it choose, or as Dr. Buckley has put it as late as 1894, "The members of the Methodist Episcopal Church believe that no particular system of government — meaning by that exception, no system of government in details of construction — is enjoined in the New Testament, and, therefore, that Christian believers are entitled to form such a government as the Methodist Episcopal Church has adopted."¹ This position would be logically relevant if it had ever been disputed. It never has been called in question. He misses the point, shall it be said adroitly? No system is "enjoined" in the New Testament, but will he be bold enough to affirm that no system is *exemplified* by the ministry and Church of that day, or that the Methodist Episcopal system can be found in what is thus exemplified? That is the point, Messrs. Emory, Buckley, and the ilk! It is not so wonderful that Dr. Tigert should be carried away with this infatuation and fallacy, for his Church is the exponent, since 1844, of the Asbury-M'Kendree-Soule theory. Hear him define terms, "'Episcopal' is the chief word in the title of the two Methodist Episcopal Churches, and 'Methodist' is a qualifying term to point out the kind of Episcopalians we are. The grammar and the logic as well as the history of our name make Episcopal the *genus* and Methodist the *species*;" and much more to the same purpose. The definition is not at fault, and it serves to remind the brethren of their press and histories that in the title of The Methodist Protestant Church, Protestant is the genus, and Methodist the species or qualifying term, and that the "grammar and the logic and the history of our name" forbid the transposing of the terms into Protestant Methodists, and to remind such that whether in every

¹ In one of the debates of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1888, Rev. Dr. A. B. Leonard, one of the missionary secretaries, said, "I know, and you know, that if the Methodist Episcopal Church were to be organized to-day, it could not be on its present basis." It was a truth that every one must have felt. Not that any body of Christians would not have the right to select it with all its anomalies, but because plainly not in accord with the Primitive Church system as exemplified by that Church, and out of analogy with the equality of Christian brotherhood.

case it is intended so or not, that the grammar and the logic and the history as the terms are thus transposed, implicate at least covertly that instead of Methodists who protest against Episcopacy, they protest against Methodism. Let it be disavowed once for all, and let there be no more of this ecclesiastical slur: "We be brethren."

While upon this subject it is opportune to notice that Tigert suavely delivers the opinion and wish — in these days of non-episcopal successes in Methodism — that lies so near the heart of the dominating bodies of the Episcopal *régime*, that, "If the English Wesleyans, and all other bodies of Methodists throughout the world, could be brought to adopt the Episcopal form of church government, we should have universal Methodism conforming to Mr. Wesley's ideal and plan, in respect of both doctrine and polity. It is not likely to be misunderstood if we venture to add that there can be little doubt that the Methodist Episcopal Churches are truer exponents and examples of Mr. Wesley's views and intentions respecting the constitution of the Church and the government of his followers than the non-episcopal bodies."

Here is expressed a fallacy and a misunderstanding. The fallacy is, as exposed in these pages already, and to be demonstrated by further cumulation of evidence, that the Episcopacy of the type of Wesley and Asbury can ever be made a unifying force in Methodism. The marvellous fact of its doctrinal unity is here admitted for the thousandth time, and it is as marvellous that it is not seen that there must be something radically wrong and inexpedient in a polity which has so utterly destroyed the unity of governmental Methodism. It is equally marvellous that such writers do not further see that the trend of all the Methodisms — mark, it is said of the Wesley-Asbury type of polity — is away from that system. Observe the equal lay-delegation system of the Wesleyan Conference so far as the unfortunate Deed of Declaration makes it possible without a disarrangement of its legal property holdings and other features tied up with it; as well as the sturdy resistance of the laity and the less ambitious section of the ministry against all attempts open or covert to make it Episcopal. Observe that the "Methodist" Church of Canada under the consolidation of its various branches is a Methodist Protestant, and not a Methodist Episcopal, polity — it is a non-episcopal Methodism in every essential of it. Before the union could be accomplished the Episcopal branch of its Methodism

consented to the obliteration of the term from the new Church title, and while it has a "General Superintendency," of a four-year elective type, and of as limited powers as a Methodist Protestant Annual Conference President, the very latest attempt to call that Superintendent a "Bishop," was overwhelmingly defeated. Observe that the Methodist Episcopal Church under a pressure from within — for nothing has ever been voluntarily conceded — has a form of lay-delegation, mark it is delegation only, and its Episcopacy is so shorn of its Wesley-Asbury features that these sainted men could they revisit earth would not recognize it as their own. Observe that the Methodist Episcopal Church South, under the prompting of a high expediency, and ulterior purpose to be exposed farther in its proper connection, has since 1866 a parity of lay-delegates in its General Conference, and a pressure also from within for recognition in the Annual Conferences which cannot long be delayed. And while it yet holds to the Asbury-M'Kendree-Soule theory of its Episcopacy, a logical necessity since 1844, and it must be confessed with the "constitutional" and argumentative advantage of the Northern branch as shown by Dr. Tigert, with much skill and abundant evidence, it will be compelled in the near future to abandon its three-order theory of the Episcopacy. So everywhere the inevitable tide in the affairs of world-Methodism is against the "Episcopal form of Church government," as understood by Dr. Tigert and his Church. His hope is forlorn and desperate.

It is not a fallacy only, it is a misunderstanding as to non-Episcopal bodies and "Wesley's views and intentions." He loses his civility even when he states it elsewhere. Speaking of those — a strong majority in English and a strong minority in American Methodism, who insist that the Coke organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Asbury coöperating so far as Coke was brought to organize it in accordance with his plan, — and matured long before Wesley sent Coke over, were not "Mr. Wesley's views and intentions"; he sums up in these disparaging and misrepresenting words, "But fortunately the ancient performances of this general type sufficiently reveal their origin in pique and disappointment, and the modern imitators usually betray their design to establish or defend some newly devised theory of Methodism, and its government, which would fain root itself in the past, even if false to the fathers and the facts." Speaking for the Methodist Protestant Church — and this is the impelling motive of this controverting argument — as the most

salient and successful of the non-episcopal Methodisms; it must be affirmed that the whole issue raised by the McCaine-Emory discussion of 1827-30 was a mere accident of the movement growing out of the discovery of a whole class of facts until then suppressed or overlooked as to the esoteric organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church; a class of facts unnoted by Dr. Tigert and all the historians of his school and order; while lay representation was its true objective, and this form of government never sought to "root itself in the past," and therefore could not have been "false to the fathers and the facts." It never essayed any "newly devised theory of Methodism and its government" as countenanced by Wesley or Asbury. It was a mere accident of the Reform movement of 1820-30 that drew Wesley's intentions into it. It is true a remarkable and discreditable class of facts were unearthed, which, when published, raised a storm of persecution against the discoverer, and being so persistently denied, or explained away, or silently waived, that disproportionate space has unavoidably been given in this History as well as in the Reform literature of the past, to the restatement and establishment of this class of facts. This is enough as an answer to Dr. Tigert, as the specific things must come under review at a later period.

CHAPTER XL

Episcopacy as administered by Wesley, Asbury, and M'Kendree; examples and incidents; aping of it by the Elders then and the Bishops now — Heroes of the period of 1800 onward; a roster of them with anecdotes of these grand pioneers in the North, South, East, and West — Incidental mention of Methodist Episcopacy in its origin — "Expulsion" as a generic term in the early Minutes, and its significance — Dr. John Emory and Dr. Nathan Bangs and Wilbur Fiske, etc. — Harriet Stubbs, the heroine — Jesse Lee outlined — Church literature in that day — Numerical success as an argument for the hierarchic form of the Methodist government; its fallacy shown maugre Drs. Stevens and Tigert, and their arguments analyzed; puerility of the precedence claimed as the first American Episcopacy — A quasi claim as the National Church — End of the first volume.

THE closing chapter of this volume must be devoted to some features of the administration of the Episcopacy under Asbury and M'Kendree, the great revival under the camp-meeting impulse, and to brief outlines of some of the conspicuous characters not heretofore named in this heroic period of early Methodism.

After the enactments of 1808 in the Restrictive Articles and the Rules and Regulations, which being accepted by the succeeding delegated General Conferences of 1812, 1816, the precedents thus established passed under the guise of a Constitution, and have ever since been so respected, until the General Conference of 1844 resumed its sovereignty in agreeing to a separation of the South from the North, thus destroying the unity those iron-clad enactments were intended to render indissoluble, while the administration of the Episcopacy in its several grades became more rigid and imperative. From the young preacher on trial up to the presiding elder there was a natural aping of the higher authority. For the whole policy the example of Wesley was cited and effectively, no allowance being made for his unique position and original power. The secret spring of this clerical arrogance was the security felt in the property sovereignty; the deeds making the investiture of all the churches and other material wealth in the itinerant class of ministers secure. As to Wesley, Snethen, in 1825, records an illustrative instance: "Having lodged with a certain preacher on a Saturday night, the two went into the pulpit together on Sunday

morning. Mr. Wesley, at the close of the service, without consulting the preacher, announced an appointment for him in the evening. The preacher, repeating his words, said he would not preach there in the evening; to which Mr. Wesley immediately subjoined that the preacher was no longer a member of the connection. Without any apparent heat or agitation, they returned to the house, and parted forever. Could any man who felt poor and dependent venture on such a proceeding? Here we see the spontaneous motion of feelings, the origin and nature of which we cannot mistake or confound with others. High-minded preachers of independent spirits, undrilled and unbroken by power, will seldom fail to test the genuine feelings which belong to those who have entire control of church property. Mr. Wesley in this case did not in reality partake of the hospitality of the preacher. The house, the table, were all Mr. Wesley's as well as the chapel; and the preacher was employed only on the condition of passive obedience." In 1827, this incident as published in the *Wesleyan Repository* was used as one of the charges preferred against Reformers as a scandal upon Mr. Wesley, though it bore every mark of verisimilitude. It was pronounced a fabrication, which compelled Snethen, who was much surprised at the turn given to it, to aver that he received the incident from the lips of an English Wesleyan preacher, and had no doubt of its truth, nor will any one else have in this day. Numerous illustrations of the exercise of authority and its arrant abuse in those days of Episcopacy might be given. Any system may be abused. Yes, but here is one that makes provision in its very nature, not only for abuse, but the cultivation of it as human nature goes. One case in point amply verified. During the camp-meeting successes of the days of 1804-28, down in North Carolina, in 1828,¹ a young preacher, zealous for the Lord and innocent of wrong-doing, under the prompting of the brethren, announced a camp-meeting and pushed the preparations to completion; when the presiding elder appeared upon the scene, took the young preacher to task, rebuked the brethren, and ordered peremptorily that they recall the camp. Entreaty and apology were in vain; he would teach them a lesson, was he not my Lord of Canterbury in that region? The abashed young preacher recalled the meeting, and the brethren slunk away to their homes. Such examples might be multiplied.²

¹ See *Mutual Rights*, of November 22, 1828, reported by Rev. W. W. Hill.

² Numerous examples might be given of every degree and in various localities. A few are here given as late as 1894, in both cases simply because fresh in mind.

M'Kendree rode through the connection, Asbury keeping up with him, and often in company, so far as his physical infirmities would permit, a master in the pulpit and an autocrat in the Conference. The last of the bachelor Bishops, he was untrammelled in his movements, and displayed an ability to govern only second to Asbury himself. True, he introduced some innovations on the senior's plans. His addresses to the General Conferences, in which he deferred to their opinion and advice; his consultation at the Annual Conferences with the Elders before reading the plan of appointments, a practice which since, by tradition and precedent only, has passed into the "Bishop's Cabinet." He kept himself at the head of the strict constructionists of the law, and enforced it unsparingly. All this did not prevent the

They indicate not only the truth of these allegations, but prove conclusively that though the Episcopal administration has been of late years, indeed since 1830, materially modified and softened, yet the law is unchanged, and when opportunity serves or necessity suggests, it is seen that this ecclesiastical leopard has not and cannot change its spots. The facts are rigidly condensed. Case first occurred at the Baltimore Annual Conference of March, 1894. Bishop Hurst, resident Bishop in Washington, D. C., thought it would be best, for special reasons bearing upon the University, of which he is the President, that a presiding elder, Dr. Naylor, of the District, should be removed, and so advised the Presiding Bishop of the Conference, Dr. Fowler. Without consultation with him, when the appointments were read he was removed and sent to a station in Baltimore, after serving but two years of his allowable term of six. It produced great excitement, not to say indignation, in the Elder's district. In a majority of the churches public meetings were held of the laity, and resolutions asking for the recall of the action of Bishop Fowler, passed after speeches from laymen, such as in 1827-30 would have indited and expelled groups of them. After long and fruitless negotiation, a committee of the whole waited on Bishop Hurst against his wish, and urged their suit. He met them with the dignified repellence of a true successor of Asbury and M'Kendree, the upshot of the interview being in these words of the Bishop: "Attend your prayer-meetings, and leave the important responsibilities of the Annual Conference in the hands of the bishop presiding," etc. Abashed and defeated they retired. For full particulars see Washington papers of this date. An iron hand was drawn out of a velvet glove. The other case is certified by the *Methodist Recorder*, November 17, 1894, citing from an Indianapolis, Ind., paper, as it occurred in one of the M. E. churches of that city. The congregation expressed at the Conference a desire for a change of pastor. It was disregarded. On his return the official board declined coöperation with him. Whereupon, with the presiding elder abetting him, he called a meeting of the official board, and in violation of the order of business, the elder in the chair, the pastor announced the names of eighteen laymen as class leaders, though the size of the congregation never before called for more than two, and by these eighteen new votes he usurped a majority in the quarterly conference, changed its character, and asserted his will over both the legitimate officary and the congregation. This official board were in error according to the law of that church, but what about the usurpation of power by the pastor and the elder in the appointment of eighteen class leaders for no other reason than to overmaster it? An iron hand was drawn from a velvet glove.

submerged liberal minority from working to their end, so that it has been found that in 1816 they prevailed to the extent of electing their choice to the Bishopric, in George and Roberts, the former, if not the latter, differing from M'Kendree as to administration so widely that for a long period there was a state of actual estrangement between them. He declined to be under the eye of M'Kendree by travelling with him, and both attending the same Conference, as he had done with Asbury, and this led to a distribution of Episcopal labors, which soon ripened into a custom. Soule had been held in check by this liberal element, and kept by his friends in abeyance, though he was immeasurably the superior of either George or Roberts; but he found his opportunity in 1820, and his election, as will be found, precipitated the last struggle between an unlimited Episcopacy and the liberal party, ending in the overthrow of the latter, but by such measures as finally defeated its own end.

The camp-meeting era, when fully inaugurated, spread into all the Conferences, and the successes of Methodist doctrine and zeal were unprecedented. From 1800, the first net increase is noted after the O'Kelly defection, and the shock the agitation gave the whole connection, of about 3500. After this, the camps, with their converts by the hundreds, multiplied the membership at a rapid ratio, five, ten, and fifteen thousand increase, growing with the growing years, until at the death of Asbury, he left 700 preachers and 218,307 members in the societies. In the accomplishment of this mighty work space fails even to sketch the long line of heroes, who toiled, suffered, and died for the salvation of souls. Some effort must be made to embalm their memories, even in this concise History of the old Methodism. George Dougharty is a name never to be forgotten in the early annals of Southern Methodism. He was ungainly, tall, slight, with but one eye, and slovenly in his dress, yet such was the power of his piety and the originality of his mind, that his preaching was overwhelming at times. He applied himself to his own cultivation even to exhaustion, reading Hebrew fluently, and was a strong friend of education. Though six feet tall, he was of frail structure, and yet won for himself the distinction of being without equal in his day among his brethren. In 1801 he was attacked, in Charleston, S. C., by a mob, for his anti-slavery deliverances, dragged from the church and held under a pump until he would have died but for the interposition of a Mrs. Martha Kugley, who rescued him from their infuriated

hands. As the result, he fell into a consumption, and died at the home of Joshua Wells, in 1807, and his rescuer also died from the abuse she received, and the wetting at the same pump. William Watters has often been mentioned, and deserves further notice as the first American Methodist preacher. He lived in Fairfax County, Va., and spent most of his time about the cities of Alexandria, Georgetown, and Washington. He entered and retired from the active ranks several times, and was of conservative opinions, though sometimes inclining to liberal views, and then again swinging back to the old moorings. He survived until 1833, in the eighty-second year of his age. Some of his brother's descendants in Harford County, Md., were stanch Reformers in 1827-30. Philip Gatch has also been associated with stirring times and events, and was a close friend of Watters's, and one of the most useful and notable men of Methodism, but had the misfortune to be but little noticed in the average eulogies, though Hon. John M'Lean wrote a biography of him. William Gassaway also fills a niche in the temple of heroic preachers of the Southland. William Ryland and James Smith may be coupled together. The former was six times elected chaplain to Congress, and William Pinckney pronounced him the greatest pulpit orator he had ever heard. James Smith began to preach at sixteen years of age. He was a man of high intellect, but as a preacher in marked contrast with Ryland, fervor and pathos being his characteristics. He was remarkable for the physical difference in his eyes, one being a soft blue and the other a dark hazel. He was an able debater. He died in Baltimore in 1827, after taking an earnest and able part for Reform, in 1822-25, as his contributions to the *Wesleyan Repository* and *The Mutual Rights* attest.

In the Middle States, Dr. Chandler and Solomon Sharpe and Thomas Smith and Sylvester Hutchinson and Henry Boehm deserve mention conspicuously did space permit. The latter published his "Reminiscences," covering a period of more than eighty years. He survived to be a centenarian. Jacob Gruber for his piety and eccentricities is remembered, and a fund of stories is told of his preaching and methods in revivals. Peter Vannest, Thomas Burch, William Thatcher, and Billy Hibbard, the last notable all over the East and North for his humor and independence and rapturous religion. He labored for fifty years and died in 1844. Samuel Mervinis, another name never to be forgotten from Canada all along the Atlantic coast,

while the annals of Methodism live. Valentine Cook and William Colbert, both heroes in the strife, the former a tempestuous preacher, and the latter singularly acute and successful in his itinerant work. Lorenzo Dow was a beacon light, but he burned strange fire, and could never be brought under the severe discipline of the Episcopacy. Now he is in the Conference, and now he is out. As an independent evangelist he had no equal, and thousands date their conversion to his preaching. His biography and literary remains make a large quarto volume. He has been previously noticed. James Paynter, a strange name to modern Methodist ears, yet he labored for forty-eight years, and was as successful as he was indefatigable. And Alward White, thirty-nine years in the work, and James Moore and James Polhamus and James Smith, called the Irish Jimmy to distinguish him from the other James Smith, known for the same purpose as "Baltimore James Smith," and Morris Howe, and Jonathan Newman of stentorian voice who "rolled out peal after peal like the roar of distant thunder," and Timothy Dewy, the profound thinker, a great and good man, and a bead-roll of others equally worthy, made up the primitive corps. Hezekiah Calvin Wooster was a shining light, and of him it is mentioned that Asbury, when he saw him, was "filled with admiration," and at his ordination used the words "From the ends of the earth we call upon thee, O Lord our God, to pour upon this thy servant the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a deacon in the Church of God," substituting these for the prescribed formula, so it is seen that the stickler for forms, as a Bishop he felt bound by nothing but his own will and whim. Robert Yellalee and John Broadhead, as well as Timothy Merrett, must be embalmed with this host.

William Beauchamp, says Stevens, "was a man of genuine greatness, one of nature's noblemen and God's elect," born in Delaware in 1772. He was well educated, and after teaching school for some time entered the itinerancy in 1793. In 1815 he took the editorial charge of the *Western Christian Monitor*, published at Chillicothe, Ohio, and the only periodical at that time in the Church. He was called the Demosthenes of the West, and exhibited the ability of a rare genius with much versatility. He was a delegate to the General Conference of 1824, and was among the competitors of Joshua Soule for the bishopric, failing of election by but two votes. It was an indispensable qualification for the honors of that day that a man should have travelled with

saddle-pockets all his career. It operated against Beauchamp, who had spent much of his time in other positions, or he would have been elected. He died in October of the same year in the fifty-third year of his age. Daniel Webb in New England Methodism is well and deservedly known. Epaphras Kibby is also a monumental name. Joshua Soule was born in Maine in 1781, was converted and entered the ranks in 1798, being about seventeen years of age. Though uneducated, such were his native abilities and industrious habits of study that he made himself famous both as a preacher and as a great church leader in after life. He was the editor of the *Methodist Magazine* after the resumption of publication in 1818, and the thought and style of his contributions attracted attention as well as his Book Agency. While stationed in Baltimore in 1824 he was elected Bishop, as will be seen later. He was then forty-three years of age, and in the twenty-sixth of his ministry. He occupied the bishopric for forty-three years, and died at Nashville, Tenn., March 6, 1867, in full assurance of faith. He was tall and erect and of dignified bearing, voice strong and commanding, and a pulpit figure of imposing solemnity, but in other relations he impressed many as pompous and repulsive. He was a born leader and an autocrat by nature. During the General Conference of 1844 he joined his fortunes with the Southern side, and was esteemed in the North afterwards as a specimen of that class known as a "Northern man with Southern principles," just as Bond, as an example, was a Southern man with Northern principles. Soule, however, was consistent with his own principles in adhering to the South, and became the exponent of its ideas as to the constitutional powers of a Bishop. Elijah Hedding was born in New York in 1780, and afterward rose to eminence in the Episcopacy of the Church. Thomas Branch is worthy to be named with the martyrs of Methodism. An able preacher, he went into the wilderness of southern New York, and after many hardships fell into a consumption. It was with difficulty he found a home with a poor family, where he died after great suffering, but losing no opportunity to preach and exhort upon his dying bed. His body was conveyed to the grave on a sled drawn by oxen, after the corpse was refused admittance to a log meeting-house, so that the services were performed out of doors, and he was laid to rest in a clearing of the forest, his grave being marked with a decent stone.

Western Methodism had its long line of heroes — the country was new and the hardships unendurable except to men called of the

Holy Ghost to preach and who counted not their lives dear unto themselves. What a procession of them there is: McCormick, Cook, Hitt, Quinn, Moriarty, Fidler, Coleman, Lasley Matthews and Chieuverant, the last two papists, but, converted with power, they stood like lions for their Lord. Thornton Fleming and Asa Shinn, a volume would not suffice for each. Robert R. Roberts, Stoneman, Hunter, Shane, Daughday, Budd, and Bostwick, the first afterwards a Bishop of respectable parts and careful administration. Francis Poythress was a leader in the West, and one of the most distinguished characters of Methodism. His career was one long triumph of preaching and toil. He was held in highest estimation by Asbury, and was selected as a probable successor. But, worn out by excessive labors, his mind broke down and he died under a cloud of insanity, but honored by all who knew him. William M'Kendree won fame and souls as a Western preacher and presiding elder until his memorable sermon before the General Conference of 1808 made him a Bishop. The biography of this extraordinary man by Paine is another instance of a Johnson finding a Boswell. A single sentence from Stevens's photographs the man — "If he appeared on a camp-ground, every eye was upon him, and his word was law." Jacob Young makes a history in himself, a perfect romance of adventure and success. Tobias Gibson, and Learner Blackman, Kobler, and Sale, are among worthies too numerous even for mention. Asbury made five expeditions into the wilds of the West, crossing the Alleghanies during the eight years of 1796–1804. The sufferings of himself, M'Kendree, and Snethen as companion almost exceed belief. Asbury, from sleeping in filthy houses and filthy beds, took the itch, and thus moralizes: "I do not see that there is any security against it, but by sleeping in a brimstone shirt — poor bishop! But we must bear it for the elect's sake. My soul is tranquil, the air is pure, and the house of God near, and Jehovah is nearer."

In the South again and extending the period from 1808 to 1816, another group of pioneers and leaders demand enrolment. "Methodism," says Stevens, "took ecclesiastical possession of the South," and it is no exaggeration. In Charleston, Savannah, Richmond, and other centres of growing population, it became intrenched. Hope Hull, Daugharty, William Capers, Thomas Lyell, and Jesse Lee as a commanding figure, as well as the pioneer of New England Methodism. The Southwest was invaded, hundreds of miles of virgin forest were traversed by these fearless and intrepid men, mention being made of one such expedition;

the parties to it, Ford and Kennon, slept under the trees for thirteen nights, carrying their own provisions except as Indian supplies could be secured. Thus Mississippi and Alabama were evangelized. Lewis Myers, William Kenneday, and James Russell were also of the class, most of them stalwart men, six feet in stature, brawny and enduring as the exactions of their labor demanded. A converted heart makes a clear head even in those moderately endowed, while not a few won honors for living thoughts in burning words. Lovick and also Reddick Pierce — the first long-lived and splendidly equipped for the work of a Methodist preacher, fills a wide space in Southern history, not only for his intrinsic excellencies, but as the father of George R. Pierce, afterward Bishop, — were of this travelling host, while his brother last named "was one of the purest of men," says Stevens, "and his word was with prevailing power." Richmond Nolly and Samuel Dunwody must close up the long line of these Southland men, the latter the founder of Methodism in the Mississippi Conference and farther south.

Coming back to the Middle States, Job Guest and his friend Alfred Griffith entered the itinerancy together in 1806, and did yoeman service in their appointed fields through Virginia and Maryland. Both of them, but conspicuously the latter, were pronounced Reformers from 1820, until the violence of the storm of persecution led them to withdraw active support without open repudiation of their liberal principles. To this Griffith never descended, though afterward honored by his Church in her legislative assemblies. Both of them long survived. And now an extraordinary character is noted, John Early, who joined the Virginia Conference in 1807. Blessed with an iron constitution, ardent mind, and powerful will which made him a dreaded disciplinarian, he was of such stuff as a Bishop of the Asbury type could have been made. Honest, unflinching, and unpurchasable, he declined profitable positions from the United States government, saying that he "could not come down" to them. He was the counsellor of Asbury, Bruce, M'Kendree, and Jesse Lee, a great revivalist, and at the same time chief founder of Randolph-Macon College, and a candidate for the Episcopacy in 1832, but the sectional feeling, already rife, defeated him. He was a leader in the measures that led to a division of the Church in 1844, and was president *pro tempore* of its first General Conference. In 1854 he was elected a Bishop of the Church South, resigned the position on account of his age in 1866, and lived long after — one of the

lingering representatives of the old *régime*. William Capers has been named, but needs mention as one of the most gifted in person and mind of all the Southern preachers; a friend of the black race, though uncompromisingly for his section and its issues, elected Bishop, he survived until 1855. Beverly Waugh joined the Baltimore Conference in 1809, rose rapidly in fame as a preacher of well-balanced faculties and amiable disposition. In 1820-24 he was one of the most active of the Reform itinerants, disseminating their views on his fields of labor by an effective still hunt, of which the evidence was abundant in Frederick County, Md., and elsewhere. His brother, Major Alexander Waugh, often attributed his conversion to Reform to the arguments of Beverly, but, unlike him, once having espoused them he consistently adhered to them, and lived and died a member of the Methodist Protestant Church in Cumberland, Md. Beverly silently sunk his opinions and convictions, from what motives others may explain, but the facts of his subsequent history are that in 1832 he was elected by the General Conference Book Agent in New York; in 1836 he was elected a Bishop, which position he laboriously filled, exhibiting conservative views through the controversy of 1844, until he was removed by death in 1858. Not a few of his old Reform friends maintained friendly relations with him. Linked with him was John Davis, who with Griffith made a notable trio, having shared each other's views favorable to Reform. He was esteemed a "Prince in Israel," of deep piety and good intellect, he commanded the suffrages of his brethren, and the confidence of the Bishops, being appointed presiding elder for a series of years, and elected to every General Conference, save two, after 1816. He died in 1853, on his farm in Harford County, Md., leaving the testimony: "Happy! happy! peaceful! Tell the Conference all is peace." Robert R. Roberts was from the ultramontane woods of Pennsylvania; found his way to the Baltimore Conference; made a deep impression; was sent to Light Street church immediately after Conference; filled all the prominent stations, and rose to the bishopric as already found in 1816; lived usefully, and died respected by the whole Church. These are but a moiety of the class of men nurtured by Methodism and prominent in her councils and work. The obituary rolls of the minutes for this period remind of other names: Benjamin Jones, Nicholas Watters, John Durbin, Henry Willis, Edmund Henley, the last, anticipating his death, returned home, erected a stand in the family graveyard, preached to the neighbors his own funeral sermon, and was

soon thereafter released. Leonard Cassell, of astonishing genius, eloquence, and piety, Joseph Everett, Moses Black, Samuel Mills, Nathan Weedon, Jesse Pinnell, Jacob Rump, Jesse Brown, Leroy Merrett, Joel Arrington, Nathan Lodge, Zecharia Witten, Ewen Johnson, James Quail, Samuel Waggoner, Peter Wyatt, William Patridge, Anthony Senter, Henry Padgett, Fletcher Harris, Joseph Stone, Thomas Lucas, John Wesley Bond, John T. Brame, George Burnett, Charles Dickinson, and Archibald Robinson, all have a better record on high than this transitory mention.

A few concluding paragraphs are for details of a random but material character in line with the objective of this History. The Minutes of 1815 contain the obituary of Dr. Coke. Among the statements is this: "November 3, he landed in New York, and communicated to the preachers a new plan of government for the Methodist societies on the continent of America, drawn up by Mr. Wesley and himself, which was afterward published." The first paragraph of this obituary hints that it was the work of the Book Agents, Hitt and Ware. In common with the preachers from 1784, down to 1827, it expresses their received belief as to the origin of Methodist Episcopacy. How variant it is from the facts in the case has been already shown and to be further exposed in its proper connection. The statements are in accord with the traditions of those times, as the controverting facts were locked up in the bosoms of two men, Asbury and Coke, and possibly John Dickins.¹ Even Nicholas Snethen was thoroughly

¹ What was "afterward published," the Circular Letter or "the plan of government"? It is now known that the Circular Letter was published in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* on Jan. 3, 1785, and later in the *English Arminian Magazine*, but the "plan of government" was never published, as the writer has exhaustively shown in an elaborate foot-note toward the close of Chap. X. of Vol. II. of this History. Ware, at least, was a member of the Christmas Conference of 1784, but, as elsewhere shown, he was not in the confidence of Coke and Asbury as to the "plan of government." Nor can these Book Agents, Hitt and Ware, who prepared this obituary be correct as to the joint authorship of the Circular Letter by "Mr. Wesley and himself," as all the evidence shows that it was Wesley's work alone.

An examination of the *Maryland Journal* for January 3, 1785, the very day the Conference adjourned, shows that the Circular Letter of Wesley to Coke, Asbury, and the American societies, including the expurgated paragraph beginning "and I have prepared a liturgy," etc., which was not in the Letter as made known to the Christmas Conference, and given by Lee in his "History," in its garbled condition, evidently because he had probably never seen the Letter in its full text, was published by some one signing himself "Christianus." Who this was cannot even be guessed at this day. He was caustically attacked in February, by "Americus Patrie," for publishing it, and "A Protestant," from "Baltimore County, February 8,"

imbued with it. How could it be otherwise? Writing in 1822, he says, "But though we obtained the consent of Mr. Wesley to become an Episcopal Church, it does not appear, on the face of the communications and transactions, that he anticipated all the events which actually took place." Thus he dimly foresaw what McCaine, five years afterwards, by circumstances purely accidental, proved, but whose revelations and coördination of the facts so widely departed from the received traditional opinion, that even McCaine's fellow Reformers hesitated to accept them, realizing how damaging they were to the candor and fairness of Dr. Coke, if not directly of Asbury.

It was the custom of the early minutes to note "expulsion" before the names of any of the preachers who were deprived of Conference membership for any cause, making no discrimination as to the moral character of the offence for which expulsion was meted out. Two notable exceptions, however, to this rule occur

appears in the paper of February 15, 1785, in rejoinder, and he says, among other equally caustic remarks, "Comments and remarks on a little sketch directed to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and the Methodist Brethren in North America, signed by that reverend gentleman (Mr. Wesley)." This is a clear instance of one near the times identifying the Circular Letter and "the little sketch," apparently as one and the same, but he gives no more reason for so doing than does Dr. Collins Denny and Dr. Kerley, as exposed in the extended notes on the question near the close of Chap. X. Vol. II. of this History. "A Protestant" further says: "It is certain Mr. Wesley never conceived this piece would have found its way into a newspaper, and the gentlemen to whom it was directed and the society had no intention in that manner to lay it before the public."* It cannot even be guessed who "A Protestant" was, but his last statement adds to the inexplicable things of this Letter and the "little sketch." Lee says, page 9, of his "History," that this Letter was intended "to be printed and circulated among us." There is no evidence that it was ever done, except in ways this writer says were surreptitious. But more curious still, and adding to the complexity of the situation, under date of February 23, 1785, and published in the *Maryland Journal* for March 11, 1785, "A Marylander" enters this controversial bout, and asserts of this Circular, whether it was "the little sketch" or not, that "Mr. Wesley never knew of, much less penned, this 'little sketch.'" It cannot even be guessed who "A Marylander" was, but he seems to fortify the dubitation entertained by some that Dr.

* It is impossible to conjecture why this writer, evidently one of the Conference preachers, or a close friend of the Methodists, so seriously objects to the publication of this Circular Letter in a daily newspaper, unless it be the fact that it contains, as published, the expurgated paragraph, anent the ritual, etc., which Coke and Asbury, for politic reasons, thought best not to give to the Christmas Conference. And it adds to the muddle and puzzle of this whole business that O'Kelly, who was a member of the '84 Conference, says of this Circular Letter: "Wesley sent printed circular letters to the preachers in America," and then immediately gives it in its unexpurgated condition. See his "Apology," p. 5. And as Jesse Lee did not write his "History" until some ten years after, and must have been acquainted with O'Kelly's "Apology," it is inexplicable that when he cites the Circular Letter he gives it in its expurgated form, unless he simply preferred to follow the official minute form of it from 1785 to 1795, when Asbury directed Dickens to republish these minutes in book form. And it confirms McCaine's allegation that, as it came to the Christmas Conference it was expurgated, unless some one can show from the manuscript or printed minutes of 1785 in the original form that they contain the Letter unexpurgated.

in the minutes of the period under consideration, and a little later. Minutes of 1816, under, "Who have been expelled from our connection this year?" In the Philadelphia Conference, "Joseph Sampson, for refusing to subscribe to the second article of the doctrines of our Church." Again, in 1826, "Jesse Chesney is deprived of his official standing in the Methodist Episcopal Church." The pertinence of these differentiating cases will be exhibited when the expulsion of Reformers in 1827-30 is under consideration.¹

John Emory was born in 1789 in Queen Anne County, Md., of good Methodist stock, and in his seventeenth year united with the Church, a consecrated youth. He was classically educated and devoted himself to the profession of the law. All his worldly prospects he surrendered after a great struggle, and entered the itinerancy in 1810. He rose rapidly, and in 1813 was appointed to the Academy (Union) church, Philadelphia, the Eastern Shore of Maryland then being in the Philadelphia Conference. It was a leading church of the denomination. In 1816 he was elected to the General Conference, being but twenty-seven years of age. He was below the ordinary size and weighed not over 125 pounds, of slight constitution, but was one of the most scholarly and highly educated men of the ministry. He was pre-eminent as a debater, his legal skill furnishing him with all the arts of argumentative fence. Such a man was laudably ambitious,

Coke and not Mr. Wesley was the author of the Circular Letter. But "A Protestant" rejoins to "A Marylander," March 18, 1785, and two excerpts are given: "Wesley's little sketch as genuine or no," and his query, "Is it likely that a whole society of Christians could easily believe so gross an imposition to be practised upon them?" Calling the Circular Letter the "little sketch" seems to be a mere echo one of the other of these anonymous writers, and this confusion is in evidence that though these controvertists wrote immediately after the adjournment of the Christmas Conference, they were as much in the dark as the Conference itself as to the suppressed "plan of government" in "the little sketch," as differed from the "Circular Letter." In fairness, however, to those who believe the contrary, this newly discovered evidence is given for all it is worth, but the discriminating reader will remember that even could it be indubitably established, an impossibility as the case stands, it does not invalidate in the least the mass of collateral evidence that Wesley was not the author or instigator of American Episcopacy in its Methodism. The writer, in conclusion, requests only that the reader who is disposed to weigh the whole matter shall carefully read these notes in conjunction with those near the close of Chap. X. of Vol. II. on the same subject, and exhaustive of all that can be said on either side of the question.

¹ The early Discipline also made provision for such a distinction. See "Discipline of 1790," sixth edition, in my possession, under Section VIII., on Class-Meetings, p. 13, speaking of those who wilfully neglect these meetings: "If they do not amend, let the Elder exclude them in the society; showing that they are laid aside for a breach of our rules of discipline, and not for immoral conduct."

and, loving his Church, his aims were high. His mental structure was independent, so that it is not surprising that he early imbibed Reform principles, and became a leader from 1816 of the liberal element in the ministry, who after the decease of Asbury took new heart and hope for the circumscription of Episcopal powers. His coadjutors in this endeavor were not a few, many of the leading delegates from all the conferences to the General Conference of 1820 espousing his cause of an elective presiding eldership. It will be seen that this measure, so strenuously resisted by Asbury, M'Kendree, Soule, and many others, and uniformly defeated from 1796 to 1820, in that year was carried by a two-thirds majority. How its final overthrow was accomplished, though it had one of the Bishops as its friend in George, with Roberts largely neutral, will furnish material for the opening chapter of a new volume of this History, as it was the crux and crisis of the Church. Emory failed of an election to the General Conference of 1824, Stevens evasively observing, "except that of 1824, when, being in a minority in his Conference on a disputed question, he was not elected." It was kind to his memory thus to gloss over the facts, but lacking in historical candor. The disputed question, it is well known by all Reform Methodists then and now, was this very elective presiding eldership, and other advances in the direction of a more liberal system which he countenanced. So pronounced were his views that he was the author of an Address which, like the utterances of M'Kendree in 1792, contained epigrammatical sentences which have never ceased to be slogans in the literature and rallies of Reformers. His opinions were shared by an influential relationship in Maryland, two of whom at least were eminent men, Dr. Sellers, his brother-in-law, and the late Judge Philemon B. Hopper, who stood all his life like a rock for the principles of Methodist Reform. Emory's participation in the controversy of 1827-30 will occupy a large space in its proper place, so that for the time his church politics are relegated to that period. As a controvertist he was distinguished, having answered Bishop White on a doctrinal question, and issued other polemical pamphlets, this being the natural attitude of his splendidly equipped mind. In 1824 the General Conference elected him Book Agent, as associate with Nathan Bangs. It marked a radical change in his ecclesiastical views, so marked that by the General Conference of 1832 he was elected one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. His administration was mild but masterful. Driving to Baltimore from his country

residence near Reisterstown, he was thrown, it is supposed, from his buggy and was found bleeding and insensible on the roadside, in 1835. He died from concussion of the brain, having never recovered consciousness, and was buried at Mt. Olivet cemetery, already referred to as the resting-place of so many notable Methodists. With the brethren of his Church his name has been as "ointment poured forth"; churches were called after him, and he has numerous namesakes in the citizenship of his native State. His eldest son, Robert, a classical teacher in Methodism, has written a biography of his venerated father, which is largely an effort to vindicate his memory from the dreadful (?) aspersion of being a "Radical" in 1820-24. How far he succeeds will come under review later.

Nathan Bangs was received in 1812, rose rapidly, became eminent in most of the leading Church centres, developed a high intellect, unflagging industry, unflinching loyalty, piety, and zeal. He served in the Eldership, was Book Agent with Emory and Soule, a member of most of the General Conferences, in which he was known for his staunch adherence to old methods and Asburyan principles. For a number of years he was in the mind of his friends for the bishopric, had a large following, but finally missed it by a narrow vote. While Book Agent he took a prominent part in opposition to all Reform measures, and in the controversy of 1820-24, wrote against it in his "Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy," which took the three-order, high-church view of the episcopacy, and, strange to say, its publication was opposed by his associate Soule, at the expense of the Book Concern. It was finally done, and he was compensated with one hundred dollars for the pamphlet. It has not been quoted since 1844 by his contemporaries, for obvious reasons, and it made no impression at the time of its issue upon such Reformers as Snethen, Shinn, and others, though scathingly reviewed and riddled with counter arguments. He was made editor of the *Christian Advocate*, and his last great work was his "History of the Church," in four volumes, able but partisan, and overloaded with documents. In his last years he exhibited petulance and discontent with Church leaders, and went so far as to prefer charges against Dr. T. E. Bond, Sr., for his management of the *Advocate* during his last term, but they were dismissed. He lived to old age, and died like a faithful Methodist, peacefully. He was tall and commanding in physique, carrying a very large head on stalwart shoulders, with a pose to one side. It led to the singu-

lar proof of the imitative tendency of the young preachers that some of them who came under his eldership arrived at Conference carrying their heads on one side *à la* Bangs.

Jacob Gruber, Freeborn Garrettson, and Thomas Ware have left biographies which do ample justice to their memories. Marvin Richardson was a strong man in his day, of fine personal appearance, gentlemanly manners, and unblemished reputation. He lived to old age. Scanning the minutes, the careful reader is struck with familiar names of heroic men who filled conspicuous places in the Methodism of these days. Some of them by reason of close association with Reform movements will be brought forward in the second volume, but it would thwart the direct purpose of this work to enter at present more fully into these sketches. Wilbur Fiske must be noticed, as he looms above his contemporaries. Entering the ministry in 1818, Stevens says: "It may be said to have dated a new epoch in New England Methodism." Collegiately educated, of attractive presence, brilliant intellect, and steady piety, he linked himself with the educational work of the Church, and was too great in his sublime elevation to accept the election of Bishop of the Canada Church in 1828, and afterward Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1836, declining each time and remaining in his chosen vocation of a teacher. Called to the Presidency of Wesleyan University, of which he was one of the founders, he closed a career of rare usefulness and undying reputation in its employ February 22, 1839, when only forty-eight years of age. Edward T. Taylor is another whose career was so wonderful that, as Stevens has nervously said, "It forces upon the historian the suspicion, not to say the discredit, of writing 'romance' rather than fact." As a preacher he disputed the palm with the ablest divines of any denomination in the city of Boston. Pickering also shared largely the honors of his day. In the West James B. Finley, William Swayze, and Charles Elliot, as also Truman Bishop, were foremost in the itinerant ranks. Jane Trimble had a career in the West as a mother in Israel unexcelled for heroism in the annals of the world, not as a preacher, but as a pathfinder and an undaunted Methodist. She with her husband pushed the work into the very heart of the Indian country. Dying as late as 1839, in her eighty-fourth year, she deserves to live as one of the "elect ladies" of a form of Christian life which has done more than all other denominations to emancipate womanhood from all disabilities of tradition and prejudice. Mention is made of Jesse Walker

and his pioneer adventures, Samuel Parker, the Cicero of the West, James Axley and his crusades against slavery and whiskey, Peter Cartwright and his marvellous revivals and extraordinary character, David Young, and John Collins. To these must be added John Strange, Russell Biglow, and Henry B. Bascom, who entered the itineracy in his sixteenth year to be hereafter fully considered; Thomas A. Morris, afterward Bishop; John P. Durbin, who deserved this crowning honor if he did not reach it; William Winans, the sturdy oak of Southern Methodism, and a host of others; Richmond Nolly, Lewis Hobbs, Drury Powell, and Thomas Griffin, a quartet of as intrepid men as ever blazed the forest, swung the axe, and preached the gospel in the far southwest, or in the world, the peers of the self-immolating men known to song and story. This record is worthily closed with the name and deeds of Harriet Stubbs, sister-in-law to Judge M'Lean, one of the converts to Methodism in these days, who went to the Wyandotte Indians as a missionary, and soon won their confidence and love in such a degree that five of their leading chiefs were converted. Of nearly all these founders and pioneers it may be said that in their most arduous fields and distant exiles they were volunteers; the love of Christ was the constraining force, and though they were parts of the governmental system, and by many it is given all the credit of the work, the results would have been the same under a wiser and less autocratic one, with the same class of men to move forward. They were not "sent"; they went under a call from within by the Spirit of God, and nothing could keep them back.

Note has been made of the decease of Coke, Asbury, and Whatcoat, Bishops of the Church. It remains to note the departure of Jesse Lee, than whom no man has done more for American Methodism. Uncultured as the schools go, he was yet well read, and he had the faculty of utilizing all he did know for the effective preaching of the gospel. Six feet in stature, of sinewy build, rugged intellect, great will power, he was a loyal Methodist, though of independent mental structure, and Asbury handled him cautiously. He met and mastered the New England climate, the hard theology of Calvinism, and planted Methodism in its uncongenial soil. In the Middle States and the South, he was an acknowledged leader, and his many stanch adherents kept him forward as a prospective Episcopos, furthered by Asbury, who secretly loved manly independence, and so admired him as he did Alexander McCaine for the same reason; but his advocacy

at times of liberal measures, his bluff manners, and lack of the conciliatory temper kept the prize from him, though it is undeniable that he labored in laudable expectation of it. To this end, probably, he never married and never located; facts that in his day were strong recommendations. Those who would see him in the favorable light of partial biography will consult his "Life," by his nephew, Rev. L. M. Lee. He was a marked figure in the procession of Asbury's funeral. Thrift, who also wrote a biography of him, walked with him, and says, "Lee's countenance bespoke his emotions. A dignified sorrow, such as veterans feel, while following to the grave an old companion in arms, was evinced by his words and countenance." Only four months after, in August, he attended a camp-meeting near Hillsboro', Eastern Shore of Maryland, and after preaching was seized with an intractable fever,¹ and all remedies failed. Realizing the end, at first he was depressed, but soon rallied, and for several days before his death was filled with holy joy. He gave minute directions about his affairs, with rapturous assurance that he was "dying in the Lord," sent his love to Bishop M'Kendree and his fellow-laborers, and fell asleep on the evening of the 12th of September, 1816. His remains were brought to Baltimore, and after fitting services buried in Mt. Olivet cemetery. He was but fifty-eight years of age, with unabated vigor of mind and body. It is not altogether idle to speculate what would have been the result to himself and the momentous events of the succeeding fifteen years had he lived out the natural length of such a physical constitution. For years of pronounced opinions as to the elective eldership, he would have gone into the contest of 1820, with sledge-hammer blows such as he could wield, and would have enjoyed the signal, if short-lived, victory of the hour, as he did the overthrow of the Council Plan of Asbury and the call of a General Conference as its substitute. It would probably have carried him into the bishopric over Soule, and thus changed the current of history. In the subsequent controversy of 1824-30,

¹ Henry Boehm was present and waited upon Lee during his illness and death, and gives a full account of it in his "Reminiscences," pp. 461, 462. While in Annapolis, Lee knocked off a little skin from his leg. It began to inflame at the camp-meeting, and the fever set in. He grew worse till mortification took place, and death ensued in three weeks. At Lee's request, Boehm closed his eyes when dead, laid him out, and saw him buried in the family ground of Father Henry Downs; wrote to Lee's friends in Virginia, and to Bishop M'Kendree. A few days after the burial, in Boehm's absence, some brethren from Baltimore disinterred the remains and removed them to Mt. Olivet, as mentioned in the text.

whether mitred or not, his position would have been, to say the least, conservative, and thus have arrested the extreme measures inaugurated against the Reformers. As it was, it has taken fifty years to modify the intolerant policy that did ensue.

One object of this History is to provide incidentally for Reform Methodists, and others as well, a succinct view of general Methodism so that other histories need not be consulted to gain a necessary knowledge of its salient literature. To this end it may be emphasized that the Press as an auxiliary to religion was highly appreciated by Wesley, as the liberal use of it and the numerous publications he wrote or edited evince. Asbury and his successors were no less awake to its importance. Williams was the pioneer in America, and by his publication of Wesley's sermons, etc., at his own charges, which he scattered broadcast, reaping whatever profit it may have yielded to eke out his insufficient support. And though he was estopped by the Conference, and a ban put upon such publications in the future that did not appear under its authorization, he may be declared the originator of the book business. Subsequently, as found, John Dickins, after his location in Philadelphia with Asbury's concurrence, established a publishing house on his own capital of six hundred dollars which afterward grew into the New York Book Concern, a monumental institution of unparalleled size and wealth. Every preacher from 1784, and specially from 1787, was made an agent for the sale of its publications. The *Arminian Magazine* was the first periodical monthly, afterward named the *Methodist Magazine*, issued from 1818 after a suspension of some years. Then came Beauchamp's *Christian Monitor* in Ohio, in 1815, then the *New England Missionary Magazine* at Concord, N. H., in the same year, which in 1821 became *Zion's Herald*, still the organ of the New England Conferences. The first number of the *Herald* did not appear until January 9, 1823. Then the *New York Christian Advocate* was issued by the Book Concern in September, 1826, and has been the mother of a whole brood of such weekly papers. A new publishing house was built in 1833, and in 1836 the whole was destroyed by fire, and while there was no debt there seems to have been no insurance (institutions little known then), a loss of \$250,000. Another building was erected with enlarged facilities, and since then this was substituted by the present magnificent structure. The division of its value by judicial decision with the Methodist Church South will be noted. The conduct and morale of such an institution may be farther considered in the future.

The Sunday-school and Educational work have grown to enormous proportions, with a moral and social influence almost beyond estimate and too voluminous for full treatment in this work. It will be germane, however, to note the fact that Rev. Dr. Jennings, having removed to Baltimore early in 1818, under the patronage of several benevolent and public-spirited individuals of the Methodist Church, organized Asbury College, an institution of learning, the first of its kind since the second destruction by fire of Cokesbury College, in this city, and it entered upon its career with the most flattering prospects, Rev. Dr. Soule giving it and its President the highest commendation, through the *Methodist Magazine* of March, 1818. The Church, however, under its past discouragements, some regarding the losses by fire as frowns of Providence, was not responsive, and the college, much to the mortification and pecuniary loss of its patrons, ceased to be, adding another to the fatalities of such attempts. The Indian and Foreign missions, together with the Church Extension work, are marvels of completeness and success. Denominationally like a huge octopus, it has stretched out its lengthening tentacles, grasping and appropriating all within reach, and there is a side of this zeal highly to be commended, though fraught with the dangerous trend of all such powerful aggregations.

The statistics of the Church in 1820 were 273,856 members and between nine and ten hundred preachers. In the years from 1804 there had been a gain of 158,447 members, more than five hundred preachers, and the first native American preacher, William Watters, was still alive. Its ecclesiastical geography was well defined, with eleven immense Annual Conferences, sixty-four presiding elders' districts, five hundred circuits, some of them with a range of five hundred miles. Moreover, its episcopal polity, by which is meant not only its general superintendency, a feature unobjectionable if it could have been kept within amenable limits, had consolidated in such a manner that this very environment discouraged any attempts to modify its hierarchic form and was urged as a strong argument against innovation. Traditions had grown up around the Church which supplemented the written law, so that, as Snethen declared, "success was virtue." How fallacious it is, history is full of parallels both ecclesiastical and civil. Stevens, at the close of his "History," sums up an admirable argument in support of the unique system of Methodism, and no Reform Methodist would wish to invalidate it. It was and is their conviction, if the measures proposed by them had been

incorporated, despite the difficulties of such an undertaking in view of facts just adverted to in making inroads upon the marvelous machinery of ecclesiasticism of the Methodist type, it would have rendered still more efficient the general plan, with the exceptional and exclusive virtue of preserving that Methodist unity of polity which, as has so far it is believed been abundantly proven, was destroyed by the prevailing hierarchy. In the course of his masterful argument he does not seem to see the extreme weakness of one of its links — "For the first time in recorded history was about to be seen the spectacle of a great nation without a state religion. Mediæval dogmatism was to be more fully thrown into abeyance; ecclesiasticism and hierarchism to receive a shock under which they might reel for a while, but only to fall sooner or later, to their proper subordination, or desuetude."

The term hierarchism is unpalatable to Methodist Episcopalians as applicable to the system under which they live, yet when for other purposes it is found answering to the ecclesiastical fact, they do not hesitate to use it as a semi-stigma. So it is here employed by Stevens, and so it is employed by Wesley in his letter to the American societies in 1784 — "as our American brethren are now totally disentangled, both from the State and the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again, either with the one or with the other." To be oblivious of the tendency, if not the very form, of your own favorite system while condemning its features in one antagonized for any reason, is in accord with our knowledge of human nature. The excerpt from Wesley's letter does one of two things as a dilemma. Either his purpose, "not to entangle them again," means that his plan as detailed in "the little sketch" of church government he intrusted to Coke, but which he found expedient to suppress by reason in the main of Asbury's opposition to it, was not such a hierarchic system as he is charged with having formulated, and which the Christmas Conference only legislatively enacted into the Methodist Episcopal Church; or, he is open to the logical inconsistency of denouncing it in the Established Church of England and its congener in America, and at the same time of laying the foundations of a more absolute form of hierarchy through Dr. Coke — a new Methodist "succession" through himself to anticipate the reorganization of the Protestant Episcopal Church; thereby sustaining the allegation of George Bancroft in his "History of the United States," that "he resolved to get the start of the English hierarchy." It is upon just this dilemma that the whole of the voluminous controversy, begun in

1827 by McCaine's "History and Mystery," and which continues down to this day, hinges; and which will probably never be settled to the satisfaction of both contestants, though the ground is being so totally dug away from under the feet of the advocates of Mr. Wesley's fatherhood of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that recent writers of that Church are making concessions, wrung out of them by the "potency of a definite fact," to use the expressive phrase of an American statesman, that he could not have intended, and never gave countenance to the hierarchy born of the Christmas Conference, whatever may have been his personal preferences as to church polity, and whatever he might have done, or probably would have done, had he been present, or even consulted. The only question is: What did he do? and the answer gathers volume and sweep more and more that he did not dream of a Christmas Conference and never approved its enactments. This negative view established, Wesley's logical consistency is vindicated, and the argument lost for those who maintain the affirmative.

Returning to Dr. Stevens's historical felicitation, let the sentences be repeated — "ecclesiasticism and hierarchism to receive a shock under which they might reel for a while, but only to fall sooner or later, to their proper subordination or desuetude." To what does he refer? Manifestly to the English Church and its American branch, particularly in its national character. His exultation is over — "a great nation without a state religion." It would have been opportune, if he had been in rhythmic mood, to have cited the well-known couplet crystallizing the idea: —

"A Church without a Bishop,
And a State without a King."

Yet he labors more successfully than any other Methodist historian to prove that the Methodist Episcopal Church is the legitimate successor of the Church of England in America, and gloats over it as though it were an achievement of which to boast. And upon what is it based? Upon the trivial circumstance that Coke got to America, and the Conference of December 25, 1784, was organized about six weeks before Bishop White succeeded in securing "consecration" in England, though Seabury secured his as Bishop of Connecticut from the non-jurors of Scotland on the 14th of November, or about six weeks before Dr. Coke ordained Asbury a "General Superintendent." The veriest "mint and anise and cummin"! It is coveted eagerly,

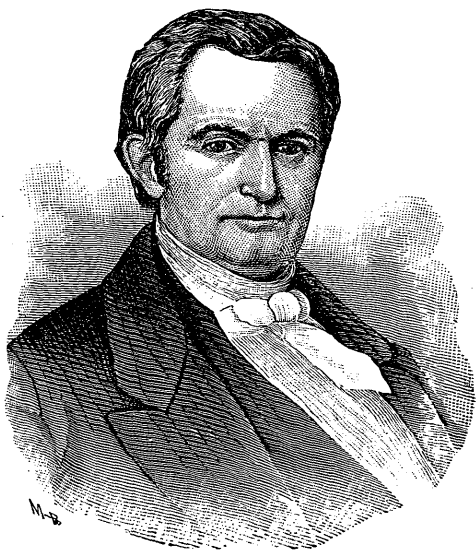
as a child covets its rattle. No disrespect is intended, and there is a reason for it; the *éclat* of Episcopacy must be secured, not as another example of it in church government, but as the first example of it — “Apostolical Succession,” laughed to scorn by them in their millenary brethren of the “historic Episcopate,” but seriously maintained for Wesley’s succession, as having priority in a Methodist line.

The latest of this class of writers, Dr. Tigert, joins hands with Dr. Stevens, and caps a chapter with the most unqualified deliverance of the kind yet recorded by these enthusiasts of Episcopacy; not surely “a moderate Episcopacy” such as Thomas Ware tells the fathers of 1784 thought they were inaugurating, but a true succession to the Church of England in America. And that it may be seen that the case has not been overdrawn, let space be given for the whole of this summation, so conclusive, the author thinks, that he cites the nervous words of Stevens: “The man who gainsays such evidence must be given up as incorrigible. There can be no reasoning with him.” Tigert says: “The one ground of the use of the term ‘Episcopal’ in the name of our churches [North and South he means] is generally overlooked. The word does not imply simply that the government is episcopal as distinguished from presbyterian or congregational. Asbury and his coadjutors, and our early English membership, were Episcopalians; and history will sustain the point that our name meant to indicate the organization on scriptural principles of the first (and therefore at that time the one) Episcopal Church on the American continent. Hitherto the American Methodists had received the sacraments from the English clergy resident in the colonies, and regarded themselves as members of that Church. In 1784, when the Methodist Episcopal Church in America was organized, neither the English nor the Protestant Episcopal Church existed here in legal or complete organic form. The American Methodists, by the help of Mr. Wesley, therefore organized themselves into an American Episcopal Church, taking the name and style already indicated. They regarded themselves as the successors of the old Church, then defunct, and entered upon their work accordingly. The Methodist Episcopalians still adhered ‘to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England,’ and this historical truth is fittingly embalmed in the parchment of their first bishop. American Methodism, according to the design of its founders, has for more than a century approved itself as the great popular

Episcopal Church of America." Quoting now from Stevens the argument is clinched: "The Methodist Bishops were the first Protestant Bishops, and Methodism was the first Protestant Episcopal Church of the New World; and as Mr. Wesley had given it the Anglican Articles of religion (omitting the seventeenth on predestination), and the liturgy wisely abridged, it became both by its precedent organization and its subsequent numerical importance the real successor to the Anglican Church in America."¹

This, as late as 1894, does not augur hopefully that a cure will ever be effected of such writers, but if these brethren ever hope to gain the respect of such historians as Bancroft, and others who may be called upon to wade through such ecclesiastical twaddle, they will abandon the puerile business and put the defence of Methodist Episcopacy upon other grounds. It also shows how much something like an exhaustive History of Methodist Reform is called for, that the whole class of facts which are studiously ignored shall not be lost by the simple dictum of such writers on the principle that constant reiteration finally secures belief. And it is apropos that this volume should close with the line of thought traversed as a preparation for final assault upon the errors of its presumptions in the controversy of 1827-30. It is also germane to observe that no religious denomination in the United States, the Romish Church excepted as a claim inherent in their system, has done so much tentative work looking to a quasi-recognition of it as a National Church as the Methodist Episcopal Church. The proofs will be incidentally discovered as advance is made in the second volume.

¹ Tigert's "History," pp. 206, 207.



ASA SHINN.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

AN Introduction to Whitehead's "Life of the Wesleys," *genuine* edition published by W. S. Stockton of Philadelphia in 1845 by his famous son, Rev. Thomas H. Stockton, furnishes the materials for a vindication of the reputation of Rev. John Whitehead, M.D., and which is freely borrowed in this synopsis of the facts and arguments, *pro* and *con*, in the case of Coke, Moore, and the Conference vs. Dr. Whitehead.

He entered the Methodist itinerancy in 1764 and retired in 1769. He then married and settled in Bristol, and from thence he removed to Wandsworth, in the vicinage of London, and opened a school. He studied physic under Dr. Lettson, and on the recommendation of Mr. Barclay, an eminent member of the Society of Friends, pursued his studies at Leyden, Holland, and was the guardian of his son. He completed his studies and returned to England with his diploma of Doctor of Medicine. He had joined the Friends, and by their influence mainly secured the reputable position of physician to the London Dispensary. After a few years he again joined the Methodists and was received kindly by Wesley. Moore, his unrelenting opponent, living and dead, mentions that Dr. Whitehead applied through him to Wesley to be ordained and made a superintendent, but that Wesley, though "he loved the man, knew his versatility, and would not trust him again with so important an office." A Methodist Episcopal journal, on the authority of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, stated that he was expelled the Connection for alleged unfaithfulness in the trusteeship of Wesley's manuscripts. The charges of Moore are not to Whitehead's discredit and are unsupported by other evidence. As to the expulsion, if true, and it is probable at the time of the bitter controversy over his "Life of the Wesleys," he was soon after received again and remained a member to his decease in 1804.

His literary character received the indorsement of the *British Critic* of 1793, when his first volume appeared, saying that he was sensible and his talents deserved great respect. His moral character was never impeached except in the matter of the controversy with Coke, Moore, and the Conference, to be considered on its merits later. Wesley loved him; and Myles, speaking of the committee appointing him biographer, says, "They had a high opinion of his integrity."

As a physician the positions he held are in proof of his ability, and Wesley said, "I am persuaded there is not such another physician in England."

As a preacher he must have been forceful and learned and eloquent, else he would not have been selected—a local preacher—to deliver the funeral sermon of Wesley. His popularity in London and elsewhere was great.

As a writer his work speaks for him. His reputation must have been very high, or he would not have been unanimously selected as the biographer of Wesley. Its accuracy is not denied; he is censured for the use he made of his trust, and in violation, as his opponents assert, of his obligations.

His trusts were numerous; physician to both the Wesleys and their families to the exclusion of all others; he was made by Wesley's Will, jointly with Dr. Coke and Henry Moore, trustee of all his books and all his manuscripts; the use of the private diary of Charles Wesley and the manuscripts of the Wesley family; the confidence of the preachers, executors, and friends in appointing him preacher at his funeral and writer of his biography.

As to the manner in which he discharged his duty as biographer, let him witness first for himself. "I determined to write not only the life of Mr. Wesley, but a 'History of Methodism,' with the utmost impartiality to describe the things as they have been, and as they are, without the false coloring the spirit of a party will always give a history." The *London Analytical Review* spoke in the highest terms of both the volumes: "The narrative bears the marks of accuracy and fidelity." The *London Critical Review* and the *British Critic* to the same effect. Dr. Adam Clarke says, "Of all these [other biographies] Dr. Whitehead's claims the preference." Watson, Jackson, and Southey all commend it, though it is quite probable that the latter never saw other than the spurious edition issued after Whitehead's decease, printed in Dublin, garbled and expurgated of all the matter objectionable to the Conference party—a proof, however, of its popularity as a biography and the demand for it. It was a great outrage, however, upon a deceased author's rights, not as to copyright only, but the misrepresentation it carried with it of the author's views.

The controversy with Coke, Moore, and the Conference may now be considered. The gist of it is that, by the Will of Wesley, Coke, Whitehead, and Moore were made his literary executors. Coke and Moore deferred to Whitehead in the preparation of the biography, and all the papers were placed in his custody for this purpose. There are three points: the compensation to Whitehead for the work; the right of judgment in the preparation of the work for the press; the right of the possession and use of the manuscripts, when it came out. The parties could not agree as to the second point. As to the first point, much has been asserted by Moore to impugn Whitehead, but it must all be set aside in the face of the fact that Whitehead offered "to give them the whole profits of the work, if they desired it in order to put an end to the difference," but it was declined. As to the second, the Conference party

insisted that they "required" that Whitehead should publish nothing but "what should be approved by a committee of the preachers." Whitehead affirms "that he offered to read the manuscripts to them as friends, and consult them on particular parts of Wesley's life, but insisted on the right to use his own judgment if on any point they could not agree." This difference was, however, irreconcilable. The third point is essentially involved in the second. Whitehead affirms that the manuscripts were "delivered to him unconditionally" for the purpose of the biography. Moore declares that they were delivered "under an express stipulation that they should be examined according to the Will of Wesley, previously to any of them being published." The parties here are at such variance that the veracity of one or the other seems involved. But need it be resorted to? Rather let it be assumed that there was an error for two reasons. First, Whitehead acknowledges that, after the papers were delivered to him unconditionally, Coke and Moore changed their minds on that subject. Did Moore forget this fact? Second, the probability of it. Whitehead's statement was made while the facts were fresh, in the constructive presence of his opponents and without contradiction apparently. Moore's denial was not published until thirty years afterward, when Whitehead had been twenty years in his grave. Deny such an error and the issue is indeterminable. The grave charge is made by Moore in his "Life of Wesley," wherein he resurrects the whole stale controversy with no living Whitehead to confront him, that "the doctor's indelible dishonor was his absolute refusal to suffer the manuscripts to be examined," etc. And yet this is not true. He proposed to the Conference party that the manuscripts should be fairly and impartially examined by Coke, Moore, and himself, and "such portions as they unanimously agreed to be unfit for publication should be burned and the residue left with Whitehead" to complete the biography. The proposals were rejected by the Conference, but, as long as they stand, Whitehead's refusal was conditional only and not absolute.

In looking at the causes of the controversy it will be found that not the Wesley family, nor the Methodist people as such, were aggrieved, but Coke and Moore and the Conference party. It was because after 128 pages of the biography of Charles Wesley had been published, they contained hints that Whitehead intended to tell all he knew and found about the Wesleys and Methodism. Finding that they could not control him for a partisan history, they left nothing undone to hinder him in the work. More than this, the Conference party at once appointed Coke and Moore to write a history. Hampson's had already appeared, and it was severely unfavorable to Wesley and his close friends. Whitehead's would appear and tell the truth between Hampson and the Coke party. Both must be countervailed. Within a year Coke and Moore's History was on the market and largely sold, but finally abandoned by even its friends as unreliable and deficient. Whitehead's "Life of the Wesleys" was considerably delayed, the last volume not appearing until 1796. He explains as reasons two causes: the bitterness of the persecution against him, which sometimes unfitted him for impartial writing, and when he

found his mind so affected he laid aside his pen; the bankruptcy of his printer, for he published the work at his own charges, delayed its appearance. Drew, in his "Life of Coke," repeats much of the story from the Conference view, but thirteen years after Whitehead's decease. But it remained for Moore, in 1823-24, to publish a "Life of Wesley," in which, while he stigmatizes and blackens the memory of Whitehead, he borrows nearly the whole work from his biography. Out of 600 pages making the two volumes of the Stockton edition of 1845, published in Philadelphia, there are but 133 pages of Moore's biography which are free from the pilfering from Whitehead. Large portions of it are appropriated without credit. Whitehead's work is mentioned only when it suits a purpose. It is a shameless plagiarism. Let any impartial reader examine the two page by page. The spurious edition of Whitehead's "Life" was issued in 1805, one year after his decease. The original work was suppressed wherever possible. Its republication in the interests of liberal Methodism in America in 1845, by an enterprising Methodist layman, W. S. Stockton, in two editions, many of which have found their way into public and private libraries, defeated forever the design of his opponents. Dr. Coke, the coadjutor of Moore, does not compare favorably with the man he would have buried in oblivion, as well as the story he tells. T. H. Stockton's Introduction to Whitehead's original work traverses his record in full, and it need not here be produced, as in other connections the same facts must be used. As a plagiarist, however, he out-herods Herod. His Bible Commentary is taken almost bodily from Dr. Dodd's, with Drew as his amanuensis. So with other writings bearing the imprint of Dr. Coke as author. The only apology for such conduct is in the fact that it was a period of loose ideas as to literary property; for, as it has been found, even Wesley's "Christian Library" is a mere compilation without credit, and other instances. All the annalists of Methodism to this day, save Tyerman, join in the old hue and cry against Whitehead. The apology for them is, they were mere echoes of the Coke, Moore, Conference party.

The Introduction to Whitehead, from which this Appendix is mostly quoted, sums up the case as follows: "It is plain that though there were three trustees, there were but two parties. Dr. Whitehead represented one, his associates the other. They wished to destroy; he to save. They to conceal; he to expose. They had given him the materials, without knowing his design and firmness, expecting, it would seem, to control the work; he, understanding their character and purposes, refused to surrender his advantage. His work tells the rest."

To the student of biography there are a number of remarkable coincidental parallels between the life of Rev. John Whitehead, M.D., and that of Rev. Samuel K. Jennings, M.D., the latter a prominent Reformer in American Methodism of 1820-35. Both of them were sound doctrinal Methodists; educated gentlemen; physicians in high standing; local ministers of wonderful popularity; advocates of popular rights in religion; persecuted for their opinions, and expelled for the same from church relations; appointed by unanimity biographers, the one of Wes-

ley, the other of Asbury, and both of them hindered and hampered for identical reasons in the prosecution of their work,—the latter successfully, as his opponents made it impossible for him to complete and publish his work. The memory of both has been amply vindicated from the aspersions of their enemies. These parallels will be farther developed when the life of Jennings is under review in this History.

Since the foregoing was written, Dr. Tigert's "History," 1894, comes under notice. It is altogether a strong work, but there is much information he seems to know nothing about. He has a copy of Whitehead's "Life," and he evidently thinks it relevant to give his readers in a foot-note the opinion of the Methodist preacher who first owned it, then young, but afterward eminent, of this phenomenal man, and it is this, "He was a bull-headed, self-conceited, prejudiced creature." Dr. Buckley, reviewing the work, is struck with the extravagance of these young men, and says: "Translate bull-headed, into firm to obstinacy; self-conceited, into a high opinion of his own abilities and influence; prejudiced, into having his mind made up on many things,—and you will have an excellent description of most men of force. A biography of Whitehead would undoubtedly exhibit many infirmities, but the lower he is placed, the lower Mr. Wesley, as a man of judgment, sinks." This is fair and just. Tigert, the "young man," taking his cue apparently from this other "young man," styles Whitehead, "this venomous physician." These things are in proof that too much space has not been given in this Appendix to a vindication of him. Tigert furnishes a fact, page 163, coupled with a kick he makes at the "dead lion," nowhere else mentioned by historians to the writer's knowledge, another evidence of the disposition to suppress any information redounding to Whitehead's credit—"Poor old Dr. Whitehead, buried though he is in the selfsame grave with Wesley, must be allowed his fling." Whitehead died in 1804, and Tigert does not pause to consider how great must have been the honor in which he was held by Wesleyan Methodists, thirteen years after Wesley's death, as to make this sepulchre deserving. He also furnishes the fact that an unexpurgated edition of Whitehead was published in Boston, 1844, or one year before that of Stockton, who purchased the plates, republished it, and from which these citations are made. One of Wesley's close friends, Rev. John Richardson, was also buried in the same tomb with him, showing that he was held in like honor as Whitehead in that day. Asbury records in his Journal, February 23, 1813, "I have looked into Whitehead's 'Life of Wesley'; he is vilified. O, shame!" No other opinion could be expected of him.

Rev. Dr. Collins Denny, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, furnishes the confirmatory information as to Whitehead's place of sepulchre. "Illustrated Hand-book to City Road Chapel," etc., by Ralph M. Spoor, London, etc., page 53, says, "In the same vault with Wesley are interred his sister, Martha Hall, Revs. Duncan Wright, Thomas Bradshaw, John Richardson, John Newlin, Walter Griffith, and Thomas Olivers; also Dr. Whitehead, physician to the old Bethlehem Hospital, who preached Wesley's funeral sermon to a vast crowd on the morning of the interment."

APPENDIX B

AT SAMUEL HAGUE'S, ESQ., LEEDS, April 14, 1813.

DEAR AND HIGHLY RESPECTED SIR, — A subject which appears to me of great moment lies upon my mind, and yet it is a subject of such a delicate nature, that I cannot venture to open my mind upon it to any one of whose candor, piety, delicacy, and honor I have not the highest opinion. Such a character I do indubitably esteem you, sir, and as such I will run the risk of opening my whole heart to you upon the point.

For at least twelve years, sir, the interests of our Indian empire have lain very near my heart. In several instances I have made attempts to open a way for missions to that country, and even for my going over there myself, but everything proved abortive.

The prominent desire of my soul, even from my infancy (I may almost say), has been to be useful. Even when I was a deist for part of my time at Oxford, (what a miracle of grace!) usefulness was my most darling object. The Lord has been pleased to fix me for about thirty-seven years on a point of great usefulness. My influence in the large Wesleyan connection, the introduction and superintendence of our missions in different parts of the globe, and the wide sphere opened to me for the preaching of the gospel to almost innumerable large and attentive congregations, have opened to me a very extensive field for usefulness. Could I but close my life in being the means of raising a spiritual church in India, it would satisfy the utmost ambition of my soul here below.

I am not so much wanted in our connection at home as I once was. Our "committee of privileges," as we term it, can watch over the interests of the body, in respect to laws and government, as well in my absence as if I was with them. Our missionary committee in London can do the same in respect to missions, and would only make them feel their duty more incumbent upon them. Auxiliary committees through the nation, (which we have now in contemplation,) will amply supply my place in respect to raising money. There is nothing to influence me much against going to India, but my extensive sphere for preaching the gospel. But this I do assure you, sir, sinks considerably in my calculation in comparison of the high honor, (if the Lord was to confer it upon me in his providence and grace,) of beginning or reviving a genuine work of religion in the immense regions of Asia.

Impressed with these views, I wrote a letter about a fortnight ago to the earl of Liverpool. I have either mislaid the copy of it or destroyed it at the time for fear of its falling into improper hands. After an introduction drawn up in the most delicate manner in my power, I took notice of the observations made by Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons, concerning a religious establishment in India connected with the established Church at home. I then simply opened my situation in the Wesleyan connection as I have stated to you, sir, above. I enlarged on the earnest desire I had of closing my life in India: observing that if his royal highness the prince regent and the government should think proper

to appoint me their bishop in India, I should most cheerfully and most gratefully accept the offer. I am sorry I have lost the copy of this letter. In my letter to Lord Liverpool I observed that I should, in case of my appointment to the Episcopacy of India, return most fully and faithfully into the bosom of the established Church, and do everything in my power to promote its interest, and would submit to all such restrictions in the fulfilment of my office as the government and bench of bishops at home should think necessary. That my prime motive was to be useful to the Europeans in India; and that my second (though not the least) was to introduce the Christian religion among the Hindoos by the preaching of the gospel and perhaps also by the establishment of schools.

I have not, sir, received an answer. Did I think that the answer was either withheld because Lord Liverpool considered me as acting very improperly by making the request, I should take no farther step in the business. This may be the case, but his lordship's silence may have arisen from other motives: on the one hand because he did not choose to send me an absolute refusal, and on the other hand because he did not see proper, at least just now, to give me any encouragement. When I was in doubt this morning whether I ought to take the liberty of writing to you, my mind became determined on my being informed about three hours ago, that in a letter received from you by Mr. Hey, you observed that the generality of the House of Commons were set against granting anything of an imperative kind to the Dissenters or Methodists in favor of sending missionaries to India. Probably I may err in respect to the exact words which you used.

I am not conscious, my dear respected sir, that the least degree of ambition influences me in this business. I possess a fortune of £1,200 a year, which is sufficient to bear my travelling expenses, and to enable me to make many charitable donations. I have lost two dear wives, and am now a widower. Our leading friends through the connection receive me and treat me with the utmost respect and hospitality. I am quite surrounded with friends who greatly love me: but India still cleaves to my heart. I sincerely believe that my strong inclinations to spend the remainder of my life in India originated in the divine will, whilst I am called upon to use the secondary means to obtain the end.

I have formed an intimate acquaintance with Dr. Buchanan, and have written to him to inform him that I shall make him a visit in a few days, if it be convenient. From his house I intend, *Deo volante*, to return to Leeds for a day, and then set off next week for London. The latter end of last November I visited him before at Moat Hall, his place of residence, and a most pleasant visit it was to me, and also to him I have reason to think. He has been, since I saw him, drinking of the same bitter cup of which I have been drinking, by the loss of a beloved wife.

I would just observe, sir, that a hot climate peculiarly agrees with me. I was never better in my life than when in the West Indies, during the four visits I made to that Archipelago, and should now prefer the torrid zone as a climate to any part of the world. I enjoy in this country, though sixty-five years of age, such an uninterrupted flow of health and strength

as astonishes all my acquaintances. They commonly observe that they have perceived no difference in me for these last twenty years.

I would observe, sir, as I did at the commencement, that I throw myself on your candor, piety, and honor. If I do not succeed in my views of India, and it were known among the preachers that I had been taking the steps I am now taking, (though from a persuasion that I am in the divine will in so doing,) it might more or less affect my usefulness in the vineyard of my Lord, and that would very much afflict me. And yet, notwithstanding this, I cannot satisfy myself without some advances in the business.

I consider, sir, your brother-in-law, Mr. Stephen, to be a man of eminent worth. I have a very high esteem for him. I know that his yea is yea, and what he promises he certainly will perform. Without some promise of confidence he might (if he were unacquainted with the present business) mention it to Mr. —, with whom I know Mr. Stephen is acquainted.

I have reason to believe that Lord Eldon had (indeed I am sure of it) and probably now has an esteem for me. Lord Sidmouth I do think loves me. Lord Castlereagh once expressed to Mr. Alexander Knox, then his private secretary in Ireland, his very high regard for me; since that time I have had one interview with his lordship in London. I have been favored on various occasions with private and public interviews with Lord Bathurst. I shall be glad to have your advice whether I should write letters to those noblemen, particularly to the two first, on the present subject, or whether I had not better suspend everything and have the pleasure of seeing you in London. I hope I shall have that honor. I shall be glad to receive three or four lines from you (don't write unless you think it may be of some immediate importance,) signifying that I may wait on you immediately on my arrival in London. If Mr. — were acquainted with the steps I am taking, he would I am nearly sure call immediately a meeting of our committee of privileges, and the consequences might be unfavorable to my influence and consequently to my usefulness among the Methodists. But my mind must be eased. I must venture this letter and leave the whole to God, and under him, sir, to you.

With very high respect, my dear sir, your very much obliged, very humble, and very faithful servant,

T. COKE.

APPENDIX C

THIS reference of Asbury in his Journal to the letter he wrote Wesley by "desire of the Virginia Conference" is deemed too important to be passed by the Book Agent at New York, who annotated in places the Journal when it was published about 1822. Dr. Bangs was Book Agent from 1816-24, and the foot-note is probably his work. It is so adroit as containing an implication of Episcopacy by regular succession that it must be cited in full with comments. It reads: "The answer to this

letter was made through Dr. Coke, Richard Whatcoat, and Thomas Vasey, in 1784,¹ who all came to America properly ordained. And here I will take occasion to correct a mistake into which Dr. Whitehead has fallen in his 'Life of Wesley.' It is in that work stated that, had Mr. Wesley obtained the consent of the American preachers and people, he might have sent ministers regularly ordained to the society in that part of the world; the truth is that the American Methodists, both preachers and people, wished to have such ministers among them, that they might partake, like other Christian societies, of the ordinances of the Church of God; and when ministers did thus come, they received them generally and joyfully. I will farther presume that Wesley received few letters from America in which that subject was not pressed upon him." Dr. Bangs correcting Dr. Whitehead, considering their respective opportunities of knowing, is a spectacle. Mr. Wesley himself tells that he besought the Bishop of London to ordain only a few of his preachers, that he might send them to America; but he refused, because as Methodist preachers he could not ordain them without violating the canons of the National Church. When Whitehead asserts that Wesley might have sent "regularly ordained" ministers, he meant clergy of the National Church, some one or more of those who were coöperating with Wesley at the time in England, the fact being that Whitehead always scouted the idea of Wesley ordaining any one as an Episcopalian. It was impossible for Dr. Bangs to know the contrary of Whitehead's assertion. "The truth is," that while the American preachers and people wished the ordinances and ordination, they wished them on a Presbyterian basis; witness the whole controversy now pending between Asbury and the large majority of preachers and people. They were impatient of the whole Episcopal business, and were as much out with it as they were with King George, who represented both the Church and the Crown, and they were repudiating both. Even Asbury did not want "regularly ordained clergy" of the National Church sent over; for, as firmly as he was wedded to the hierarchy as a system of government in the Church, he knew that such a proceeding would supersede him in authority, and thus destroy his primacy in America. What he really wanted was for Wesley to come over in person, ordain him, quell the Presbyterian element among the preachers and people, and leave him as head of the societies in America, as Wesley was head of the societies elsewhere in the world. And Wesley for a time, under the persuasions of

¹ It is true that just one year before Wesley wrote a letter to the Conference, instigated, Tigert thinks, by one Dromgoole who had written to Wesley May 24, 1783. Wesley's answer bore date October 3, 1783, in which this paragraph occurs: "I do not wish our American brethren to receive any who make a difficulty of receiving Francis Asbury as the General Assistant." Dromgoole's letter had plead for the restoration of Asbury. It remains, however, true that Asbury was not re-commissioned as such until 1784. Asbury construed it as a reappointment, and so claimed, as he sets forth in his Journal, Vol. I. p. 468. He was at Pettigrew's, one of the friendly Episcopal clergymen. "Here I received a letter from Mr. Wesley, in which he directs me to act as general assistant," etc. It was, however, addressed to the Conference, Stevens says. Tigert makes much of these points as answering the purpose of his argument. See his "History," pp. 134, 135.

Asbury's letters, entertained the idea of going to America; but he was now seventy-seven years of age, and was deterred from the voyage, as well as by the opposing opinions of the returned missionaries as to Asbury's aspirations. There are but two sentences in this remarkable footnote of Dr. Bangs's that are not false to fact and fallacious in argument: the opening and closing ones.

APPENDIX D

THE ensuing letter of Simon Sommers to Bishop Asbury will be given as literally as types can be made to convey it, noting that in the two copies now before the writer a slight difference of address is made, the one being "Dr. Sir" and the other "Dr. Br." The former is taken as our guide, as being slightly more legible.

August 6th, 1798.

Dr. Sir.

I received your book (containing the articles and rules of discipline of the Methodist Church in America with the Notes) as a mark of friendship. You request me to give you my opinion on the said rules, but as I find the book contains 187 pages, to answer each section and note would lead me beyond the limits of a letter, therefore shall confine myself to one or two sections. Our rules are like the invention of many other good men who have their perfection and imperfection and may be justly compared to a pile of good grain that has so much chaff among it, which renders it unfit for market, for I fear that so soon as the Notes are fully known our church will be in a worse situation than it is at present. There are several things in the rules which have been disputed, and some have been construed differently by the preachers: but now the veil is taken away, or is explained in such a manner as is no way pleasing to the greater part of our judicious members; for in almost every part where the clergy is mentioned from the highest order to the lowest, their authority is asserted in pointed terms.

The Note on the section for the trial of lay members contains about seven pages, which is to be the subject of the present letter. I shall consider it with candor both as to scripture and reason. Your explication on the texts of scripture, brought forward to prove that the clergy have power over the laity, I can in no wise believe to be their true meaning, because the greater part of them certainly condemns the very thing you wish to establish, and I find them explained in a different way by some of the most noted English divines that have wrote upon the subject. In the beginning of your Note on this section, you say, that as we live under the gospel dispensation, we must be confined to the New "Testament." It will be well if some of the preachers find the precepts of the old to be done away, as there are so many severe denunciations against the Priests under the old dispensation for usurping authority over the laity, as this fact is so well known to you, will come to the New Testament.

The first passage you bring forward is the 18th, chapter of Matthew, and believe it to be one of the most awful lessons to both preachers and laymen (but particularly the ministers) that we find in Holy writ, and does most surely secure the laity from the power of the clergy in pointed terms; but as it was then so it is now, who shall be greatest? But our Lord well knew this was Satan's work, and for the purpose of curing this lamentable disorder (the thirst for power) he takes a little child and set him in the midst and plainly told them, except ye be converted and become (as free from pride and ambition) as a little child, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven. He then told them the most humble is the greatest in the kingdom; and for the better securing of the little ones (new converts, the laity) from the power of them, and all succeeding preachers, he denounces a dreadful woe to all be they who they may that should offend one of these little ones; and that it might be the deeper rooted in the heart, he warns them again, and then the third time tells them the reason, for "their angels do behold the face of my father which is in heaven." O ye ministers of the gospel, who contend so strenuously for power over the laity, I wonder how you can read our Lord's words, without sinking into the deepest humiliation.

Now it is plain to me our Lord was so far from telling his disciples to cast members out of the church, without the consent of the church, as you tell the preachers now, he has pointed out a different and more pleasing work to every humble minister; forgiving injuries and seeking the lost sheep. "Even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish." Then follows the text you have first quoted, and so strenuously applied, "If thy brother shall trespass against thee go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone" etc. You then tell us these words were addressed to the apostles and through them to all the ministers of Christ to the end of the world; this is evident from the words immediately following the question, and which are a continuation of the same paragraph, and would not belong to the private members of the church. So then by the same rule private members are excluded from the promise, "where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," as it is a continuation of the same paragraph. Now from your doctrine lay members are not taught by this chapter to be humble, not to forbid one of these little ones, not to tell his brother his fault, though he may trespass against him, not a right to claim the promise of the Lord to be in the midst, though they may meet and pray in Christ's name, not to forgive injuries, all which I can no more believe, than I can that lay members may not receive the Lord's supper, because when first instituted by our Lord, it was first given to the twelve apostles; but contrary to even commentators which I have lately read on this passage, you have excluded laymen from telling his brother his fault, or the church, though he may be personally offended, and has given the power to the minister, and tell us of the first and second reproof given by the ministers, and then ask a question that I believe was never asked by any Christian before; shall these two or three witnesses proceed to exclude him, but why this ques-

tion is asked I know not, as I know of no such precedent in Christendom. Our Lord says tell it to the church, but the church you say has no authority to judge and determine the case, but how is he to hear the church, if the church has no such power? Or, how is the offender to be tried? there is no way if we follow your note on this passage, but the preacher who is the accuser to be both judge and executioner which is contrary to scripture and reason, to all law human and divine, and must be deemed by every humble Christian, an empty show for the most wise and prudent preacher (say nothing of the proud and haughty), to call the church together (as the Nabobs do their slaves) for no other purpose, than to show his authority; from the above it is clear when our Lord speaks of the church, he does not mean Peter, John, James, or Paul, and am sure much less of any single preacher of later times, but most certainly includes ministers and laymembers.

This is evident, the church is to judge and determine, the minister to execute. We find our Lord often reproved the disciples for their disputing and strife, who should be the greatest. He plainly told them the kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them, were called benefactors, but ye shall not be so etc. Peter well remembered his Lord's command, when he told the elders not to lord it over God's heritage. Paul appeared to have learned the same lesson, when he writes to Timothy, the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle to all men, apt to teach, patient. I therefore conclude the clergy has not that power you say they have.

Your recorded proof for establishing the power of the clergy is in 5th, chapter, 1st, Cor, but do not find one word to the ministers separate from the church in the whole chapter. The apostle determined what ought to be done himself, which was perfectly right. He an apostle of the Gentiles had planted a church in the idolatrous city of Corinth, the scripture was not compiled at that time as we have it now, and that part of the New Testament that was then wrote in loose sheets, and less known than the old, consequently no regular discipline in the church, it is natural to suppose they were at a loss to know how to proceed, but the apostle writes and gives them a form (but very different from yours) — "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ when ye are gathered together, and my spirit (concurring) with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ to deliver such a one to Satan etc." He then gives the reason, which was "to purge out the old leaven" etc., and also reminds them he had wrote to them before, not to company with fornicators, but now I have written unto you not to keep company; if any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such a one, no not to eat, for what have I to do to judge them also that are without? Do ye not judge them that are within? But them that are without God judgeth. Wherefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person."

This is the form our Lord gave his disciples, tell it to the church, worthy of imitation, put away from among yourselves that wicked person, this power the church has and are directed to exercise it both as to cen-

sure and readmission upon true repentance. To prove this point I refer you to 2d, Cor, 2d, chapter, 6th, verse. "Sufficient to such a man is this punishment which was inflicted of many" (not one), and so far was the good apostle from asserting his authority as too many do in our day, he beseeches the church to confirm their love toward him that had offended. The above facts are so plain, and are the opinion of so many ancient and modern divines, you will please to excuse me for not agreeing with you when you say, the minister at Corinth was unfaithful, he connived at the enormous crime, either because he did not love the cause of holiness, which is the cause of God, or because he gave way to the evil solicitations of the "people," that "Paul steps into the minister's place and cuts him off." As I cannot find this assertion in the word of God shall leave it as I find it, and proceed to your third proof for establishing the absolute authority of the clergy over the laity, and if there is one passage in the revelation that proves it, I am not the only one that is mistaken, but many able divines have been and are now in ignorance.

In the 1st, chapter of the Revelation, John dedicates his vision to the seven churches, which were under his immediate inspection, the ministry not mentioned which is certainly a warning to all the churches of the world: in the 2d, and 3d, chapter John as a prophet writes to the angel, or minister, say some, and through them to the churches, commending the good and condemning the evil that prevailed in each church, with suitable promises and threats, and their final end, if they did not repent of their evil deeds, both as to doctrine, and works; but contrary to Bishop Newton and several other learned commentators, you apply this epistle to the ministers, and say with what high approbation our Lord does here express himself concerning the determined opposition of the chief minister of the church of Ephesus." Surely you do not attend to the whole epistle, or you would have seen that the chief minister had left his first love, and was fallen, which is far from being a high commendation, but it is plain our Lord did not apply the commendation or reproof to the minister alone but to the church. "Remember then from whence thou art fallen, and repent and do thy first works, or else I will remove thy candlestick out of his place except thou repent, but this thou hast that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitanes which I also hate; he that hath an ear let him hear what the spirit saith unto the churches."

From the close of this and the other six epistles it is clear the power is in the church, and not in the ministers alone. The church is exhorted to hear what the spirit saith, the church is to be removed out of its place, if she will not hear and obey what the spirit saith, surely none but the ambitious will say that our dear Lord would remove a church out of its place for a negligent or wicked minister, unless it was for suffering such a minister to remain with them in the church. This is evident from what is said of the church at Smyrna (which you took care to pass over), after commending this church for her poverty (which is the way to become rich) and then to encourage them saith, for none of these things which thou shalt suffer: behold the devil will cast some of you into prison that ye may be tried and ye shall have tribulation ten days, "be

thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life." I think you will not say that this church had a plurality of ministers, that none was to suffer but themselves, or that Christ who is in the midst of his church did not care so much for the lay members as to give them the promise of a crown of life for their faithfulness, but the contrary is manifest from what is said to John in the first chapter of the book. John was directed to write in a book and send it to the seven churches of Asia, unto Ephesus, unto Smyrna, and Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea, and in the last chapter 16th, verse, "I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches," etc., the ministry not mentioned.

I therefore conclude the church has the power, including ministers and all the spiritual members. More might be said in answer to your 4th, proof, the epistle of the church of Pergamos and Thyatira, but an answer to one answers the whole with respect to the power, and am sure there is nothing more plain in the word of God than that all the spiritual members that meet together to worship constitute a church be they ministers or lay members; that the power is in the church, whose wisdom must be superior to any ambitious individual on earth.

I come now to your last proof for establishing power over the laity in the last chapter of Paul to the Hebrews, 7th, verse—"remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation—obey them that have the rule over you and submit yourselves for they watch for your souls etc." Here Paul exhorts the Hebrews, who were a stiff-necked and disobedient people and much attached to their old form of worship to submit to the godly conversation of their spiritual guides, but not as legislators to give laws to the church of Christ, not as lords to tyrannize over God's heritage, neither as circuit judges, but to submit to the doctrines of the gospel of Christ which they had heard from those that were among them, and whoever will read this epistle with attention will discover that the apostle had nothing in view with respect to power, but to convince the Hebrew converts not to think anything of their old forms of worship in meats and drinks and divers washings, but point them to Jesus the author and finisher of our faith. That Paul meant no other subjection is plain from what we read in his first epistle to the Corinthians, last chapter 15th, and 16th, verses. "I beseech you brethren, ye know the house of Stephanus that it is the first fruits of Achaia, and that they have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints, that ye submit yourselves unto such, and to every one that helpeth with and laboreth." That Stephanus was a layman no one will deny, yet the Christians are exhorted to submit themselves to all such, which can mean no more than the holy conversation of both preacher and laymen respecting the doctrines of the gospel of Christ which ought to be submitted to. I read in Paul's epistle to the Ephesians that the church is subject to Christ, but I cannot find in scripture the church is subject to any human head upon earth, I conclude that all who claim it are usurpers. We read of one in St. John's day, but there appear many in this our day (John

3d, epistle) "I wrote unto the church but Diotrephes who loveth to have the preëminence among them," in casting the brethren out of the church is severely reprovèd by the great apostle. That Diotrephes was a minister and was threatened by the apostle for his ambition, I think no one will deny — "He loveth to have the preëminence among them" (the church) but Christ by his apostle reprovèd, and Christ by his word reprovès all who love to have the preëminence to the end of time; it is clear from scripture neither of the apostles claimed any preëminence over each other, neither had the inferior clergy power over the laity, but the church was invested with the power having Christ for its head, and does by his spirit (when not opposed) guide her into all truth.

I will now consider the subject in the light of reason and as to what you have said under this head appears rather to darken counsel than to enlighten the mind and fly from one extreme to another, but I am of opinion the truth lies between the two extremes: "for the husband to judge in the church his wife, the wife the husband, the parent the child, the child his parent, the brother the sister, the sister her brother, the master the servant, the servant the master," are neither the language of scripture nor reason; but are all the preachers single men? Have they no parents? no children, no relations, no servants, no favorites in the church? Yes, and you have constituted the preachers the sole judge of them all. May I not cry out with the prophet Jeremiah and say "a wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land: the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by this means, and my people love to have it so, and what will ye do in the end thereof?" You have prudently constituted a court for the trial of the preachers, in the first instance the court of inquiry must consist of at least three ministers, and if a presiding elder there must be one of his own grade, and if the offender is found guilty he is only suspended until the ensuing district conference, when he is to be tried before the whole conference composed of ministers, and after this is allowed an appeal to the quarterly conference, but how different is it from the form of trial of a layman, who is brought before one of the circuit judges, he may be a prudent, good man, a proud ambitious tyrant, or one that drinks much spirituous liquors, an adulterer, etc.

It is well known all these characters have been in the travelling connexion (and although you abhor them as much as I do, they must be detected before they can be expelled), whose judgment alone is to determine the trial of a member without the consent of the church — to say the church is obliged to consent to what the preacher does is one of the highest degrees of tyranny; it is true the lay member has an appeal to the next quarterly conference which may be so far distant or poor members cannot attend with their witnesses — but admit they can, from your note, they are a body almost entirely composed of men who are more or less engaged in the ministry of the word, or you could not have allowed an appeal, so that a lay member has not the slightest chance from first to last to be tried by those of his own order. The lay members of the church of Christ, the Lamb's wife, who are thus degraded by a self

created body of legislators who have given the judicial and executive power to each travelling preacher, which are separate branches in the constitution of our country and ought not to exist in the church of Christ, however such proceedings might be received by those under regal authority I know not, but I am sure cannot exist and prosper long in this country being blessed with a constitution superior to any in the world.

Permit me then to give you my light on turning a member out of the church: when a personal offense is given, let the offender follow our Lord's direction, as in the 18th, of Matthew. If the offense is not of a personal nature, but is an offense against the church, let the minister if convenient, if not any other spiritual member, deal with him precisely as our Lord has above directed, but if this does not cure the offender tell it to the church, the society to which he belongs. If there be two or more male members born of God, and known to be spiritual members, in the said society, uncorrupted by blood, marriage or otherwise, as might render them unfit to judge in such a case, and where there are no such members in any of our societies, or where there are a great many in either case, let a select number of like disinterested spiritual members be called upon, let the minister and said members proceed to try the offender, as laid down in our form of discipline, and if equally divided the side, the minister is to determine the case. But if it should so happen that a member was kept in society contrary to the opinion of the minister (which would seldom happen) he cannot be compelled to administer the holy sacrament to such a member until proper humiliation appears (can any one object to this?).

It is plain none but the spiritual members have a right to judge in the church. Women (and all the unconverted members, the catechumens), have no right as appears from Paul's first letter to the Cor, 2d, chapter, 15th, verse, but he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man (that is not spiritual). David, in speaking on this subject 149 Psalm—"This honor have all his saints." See, Whitby's Notes on the 6th, verse, 2d, chapter of 2d, Cor. It is well known that the power claimed by too many of the clergy has been the cause of the greatest contentions and the greatest curse that ever was in the Christian church. It must be the offspring of Hell nourished and trained up in France, and Spain, etc, or we should find the purest religion in those churches where the highest degree of favor was exercised, if favor to the clergy was necessary to promote true religion; but the contrary is manifest, that power in the clergy makes hypocrites, but seldom makes converts to God. Who then is most like Satan? He that is most proud and haughty: who is most like the Son of God? He that is most humble, meek and lowly. Lord hear my earnest prayer and make me one of the most humble, that thou mayest hasten the time when this shall be the only strife in thy church, who shall be the most humble, then we shall see an earnest seeking after these poor, lost sheep that have wandered out of the way on account of the power, then shall we see them returning like the lambs of the flock to their mothers with tokens of the

greatest joy, then poor sinners would fear and tremble and Hell would shake to its centre, then would our church become the praise of all the earth to see all the ministers and laymen in sweet reunion again.

Much more might be said from scripture to prove the church has the power, and it cannot be denied that in all countries where the clergy have power that there were great and good men who cried against it, knowing that power in the clergy was the downfall of true religion. Lord inspire thy church with true wisdom to combine to alter and amend all things that may be most pleasing in thy sight.

I remain as ever yours in love.

S'M. SOMMERS.

Comment by the author. What if this lay-master of Scripture and reason had gone through the whole Discipline of 1796-97? Evidently the good Bishop did not farther seek his criticism. That Sommers should single out the rule for the trial of laymen, with its arbitrary addition, is in proof how offensive it was, so soon as published, to the Church, to all self-respecting laymen. The personal history of Sommers as a layman in the M. E. Church is not much known outside of this letter, except the items furnished by his granddaughter to the author. It is not to be wondered at that he withdrew shortly after; it may be under pressure brought to bear upon him by the Bishop's adherents for his bold and unanswerable objections to the existing law. Rev. W. C. Lipscomb, who knew him personally, says he did not formally unite with O'Kelly, though there was a flourishing society near his residence, but he became an active Reformer from 1820. As bearing perhaps upon the provocatives of this very letter of Sommers to Asbury, even before the stringent enactment of 1796, there is a significant note in Asbury's Journal, under date November 21, 1794, "We had a list of names from Fairfax, who required an explanation of a minute in our form of discipline, relative to the trial of members; inquiring whether the 'select members were as witnesses or judges, and had power to vote members in or out of society' (Sec. 8, p. 5). We answered them." Was Sommers at the head of this list? It would be interesting to know. And was it the inciting cause of a present of the Discipline of 1796, with Notes, as "a token of friendship" to him from the Bishop?

APPENDIX E

BOARD OF MINISTERIAL EDUCATION

THIS paper is furnished by Rev. C. J. Berrien, Corresponding Secretary. The first reference to any organized or systematic effort to give financial assistance to candidates for the ministry of the Methodist Protestant Church known to the writer of this sketch is found in the minutes of the General Conference of delegates from the northern and western confer-

ences held at Pittsburg, Pa., November 14-19, 1860. The following resolution was adopted, offered by Rev. W. H. Miller of the New York and Vermont Conferences: "Resolved, that we recommend the organization of Educational Societies in all our churches for the purpose of procuring means to assist poor but worthy young men in preparing for the work of the ministry." Also "Resolved, that Rev. John Scott, D.D., and Rev. William Collier, and Rev. William Reeves be appointed a committee to prepare a uniform plan for the organization and government of said societies."

There is nothing on record to show that this movement produced anything more than local interest and results until after the formation of the Board of Ministerial Education, when these auxiliary societies in the churches for some years rendered very efficient aid. January 19, 1866, a meeting was held in Springfield, O., of ministers and members of the Church of the city and its vicinity. The "Call" says, "Impressed with the inadequacy and inefficiency of our Annual Conference arrangements to sufficiently advise and assist young men who might desire to enter the ministry, and that there was no channel through which the whole Church could unite in assisting her sons in obtaining an education for the work of the ministry;" and, fully believing that it would meet the unqualified approbation both of the ministry and the laity, they proceeded to organize a Board of Ministerial Education at this and an adjourned meeting. They formed a Constitution and by-laws, and elected the following as members of the Board: Revs. George Brown, D.D., M. B. V. Euans, J. S. Thrap, S. Bartlett, G. H. Binkley, and Alexander Clark, A.M., and Messrs. J. G. Evans, T. J. Finch, T. Douglass, and J. J. Ware.

The Board organized by electing Rev. J. S. Thrap, President; Rev. M. B. V. Euans, Secretary; Rev. J. B. Walker, Corresponding Secretary; and T. J. Finch, Treasurer. It began at once raising funds and receiving applications of properly recommended candidates. Friends in Cincinnati, O., and Pittsburgh, Pa., contributed generously in forming a permanent fund, the interest of which to be used for the purposes of the Board. Of these first contributors James Hicks of Cincinnati gave \$2000, Daniel H. Horne of Cincinnati, \$500, and Dr. John Sargent of New Brighton, Pa., \$200. The Board continued under this management until the General Conference of November 14-20, 1866, in Alleghany, Pa., when its management and assets were tendered to it to become one of "the general interests" of the whole Church. It was accepted after a committee had carefully examined the whole matter. There was in the treasury available for the purposes of the Board at the time \$600, and also a permanent fund of \$2500 invested in United States bonds. The Constitution and by-laws of the Board were adopted, and they have continued substantially the same to the present time. The location of the Board was changed from Springfield, O., to Pittsburgh, Pa., where it has remained ever since. The following Board was elected to serve for the ensuing quadrennium: Revs. James Robison, Valentine Lucas, Alexander Clark, A.M., J. B. Walker (ex-officio), and Messrs. Wm. Rinehart, R. H. Marshall, and J. H. Claney. Rev. J. B. Walker was elected Corresponding Secretary. The new

Board organized by electing Rev. James Robison, President; Wm. Rinehart, Recording Secretary, and John H. Clane, Treasurer. For thirty years the faithful treasurer had been continued, until 1896, when the General Conference merged the office into that of the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer.

Its first report was issued January 1, 1867, and it showed that seven young men were pursuing their studies under its care, properly recommended by the following annual conferences: New Jersey, one; Onondaga, one; Genesee, one; Pittsburgh, three, and Ohio, one. Since its organization the Board has had upon its roll the names of 262 young men, who have received aid for various periods, from a single term at college to the entire course of six years, and in later years the course also in the theological department. To carry this work to the present, May, 1897, over \$109,000 have been expended. This has been contributed by churches, individuals, interest from invested funds, and return payments by the beneficiaries. The Permanent Fund, including original contributions and the amount already paid of the Rev. J. B. Walker Memorial Fund, now amounts to \$7592.56. Besides this the Board has the mortuary notes of Christopher Link of Paris, Ill., for \$1000, Rev. Tilghman and Clara Bailey of Colfax, Ind., for \$500, and an annuity note of Dr. H. G. S. Fink of Springdale, Pa., for \$500. In addition there are interest-bearing notes and pledges of the Walker Memorial Fund of over \$3000.

Any historical sketch of the work done for Ministerial Education would be imperfect without conspicuous mention of the services of the late Rev. J. B. Walker, who, from its origin, filled the office of Corresponding Secretary until his death, December 28, 1890. The report of his successor, Rev. J. C. Berrien, to the General Conference of 1892 says: "He died in the harness. For nearly twenty-five years he gave continuous and indefatigable labor to this interest. He was a man of thorough consecration to God and to the work. Possessed of boundless enthusiasm, unflinching tact, and unceasing in labor, there is hardly a church in the entire connection he has not visited, hardly a member in all the land who did not know him personally. Their names are legion who in his death sustained a personal loss, and who testify that it was his impassioned appeals to young people to seek that triple education of mind, body, and soul that first awakened in them the mental thirst for knowledge, and enkindled in them a holy ambition to do more in this life than simply live. The wise and successful labors of this servant of God make it possible for the Church to carry on the work he began and sustained so long; but the Church cannot fill his place. He is justly called the 'father of ministerial education in the Methodist Protestant Church.'"

The Board, at a special meeting, March, 1891, elected Rev. J. C. Berrien, then pastor of the church at Beaver Falls, Pa., to fill the unexpired term, and this choice has been indorsed at the General Conferences of 1892 and 1896. The General Conference of 1875 amended the Constitution so that from that time aid given to young men would be in the form of a loan without interest, to be refunded to the Board at the rate of ten per

cent of the salary received after the beneficiary entered the active work of the ministry. In case he leaves the Church, or engages in secular pursuits, he shall refund the whole amount with interest from the time it was received. Applicants for aid must be members of the Church for at least one year before they can receive aid, and must be recommended by the quarterly conference, of the charge of which they are members, to the annual conference, who, if satisfied with the character, attainments, fitness, and motives for entering the ministry, etc., of the applicant, his recommendation is indorsed, and he is commended to the examining committee at one of the official colleges of the Church who are elected by the General Conference. This committee, if satisfied as to the fitness of the candidate, take him under their care, report to the Board his college standing and the amounts of appropriation desired with their recommendation each term while he remains in college under their care.

The experience of those identified with this work in all the denominations demonstrates that, of all the men who believe God has called them to prepare for the work of the ministry, fully one-half must have financial aid to avail themselves of the privileges of the college and seminary. If the conditions of recommendation are faithfully observed by the quarterly and annual conferences, it is believed that the best material of the Church will be secured by these methods. While all the general interests of the Church are vitally important, none can surpass that of giving needed assistance to those carefully selected who are to furnish the working force of the Church, preaching the gospel, and to become wise and devoted leaders; for upon the personnel of the ministry of the Church depends more than any other human factor its success in realizing the end for which it exists.

The Board is constituted at present as follows: John F. Cooper, M.D., President; Rev. B. W. Anthony, Recording Secretary; John H. Claney, J. W. Knott, Rev. J. C. Berrien, Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer. Examining Committee at Adrian: D. C. Thomas, Ph.D., G. B. McElroy, D.D., J. S. Thrap, D.D., Geo. Shaffer, D.D., W. N. Swift. Examining Committee at Westminster: T. H. Lewis, D.D., H. L. Elderdice, A.M., B.D., Rev. W. R. Graham, D.D., J. W. Hering, M.D., Charles Billingslea.

APPENDIX F

THE WOMAN'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY

THE data and most of the language of this sketch were furnished by Mrs. Mary A. Miller, except the first and last paragraphs.

The initial, though tentative, work in the direction indicated by the women of the Methodist Protestant Church, so far as is known, was made in Baltimore, through the years 1872-78, under the leadership of Mrs. J. T. Murray and Miss Jane R. Roberts. The effort has been sufficiently noticed in the body of this History. For the lack of organization

of our own they contributed their funds to the Baltimore Society of the M. E. Church, as the women of Pittsburgh did, in 1879, through the Woman's Union Home Missionary Society of New York for the same reason.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Protestant Church was organized on the fourteenth day of February, 1879. The inspiration which led to the movement was given by Miss Elizabeth M. Guthrie, a missionary from Japan, who had been a teacher in the Woman's Union Home in Yokohama, which Home is under the care of the Woman's Union Home Missionary Society of New York. It was through this society that a few of the ladies of the Pittsburgh and Alleghany M. P. churches did their first foreign missionary work; and it was through it that Rev. Dr. William Collier, stationed then at Connellsville, Pa., sent the first money raised for a scholarship. Afterward the Board of Missions also contributed money, which was sent to sustain scholarships in the Homes of the society in India and Japan; and continued this until after the opening of its mission in Yokohama, in 1880.

It was while money was being sent in this way to the Union Society, that the particular help given by the Church was brought to the notice of Miss Guthrie. Money coming at an opportune time enabled her to receive into the Home two little girls who otherwise would have been sold by their parents. The circumstances so impressed Miss Guthrie that she determined, when she should return to America, to find some of our churches to tell the people of the good being done by their help. The opportunity came to her on this wise. While in attendance at the Woman's Christian Association in Pittsburgh, she lingered at the close of the meeting to talk with some of the members, and was introduced to Mrs. H. B. O'Neil by the President, who remarked, "This is one of our Methodist Protestant sisters." Miss Guthrie was rejoiced to thus providentially meet with a member of the Church which had been instrumental in aiding the Home in a time of great need; and she immediately informed Mrs. O'Neil of the circumstances referred to above.

Her words fell into a heart already warm with zeal for foreign missions, and it was through Mrs. O'Neil that Miss Guthrie was introduced to the preachers of Pittsburgh and vicinity at their Monday meeting. The result of that interview was a notice read from the pulpits for a meeting of women to consider the practicability of forming a woman's society. The outcome was the permanent organization, on February 14, 1879, with the following officers: Mrs. John Scott, President; Mrs. James F. Bennett, Mrs. F. H. Collier, and Mrs. William Wragg, Vice Presidents; Mrs. J. H. Claney, Recording Secretary; Mrs. H. B. O'Neil, Treasurer; and two ladies from each church in the vicinity elected to the Board of Managers. A constitution and by-laws were adopted, pledging the society to work in harmony with the Church's Board of Missions, at the same time reserving the privilege of controlling its own funds. On the treasurer's books the following four named persons have the honor of being the first contributors to the society: Mrs. M. A.

Miller, Mrs. Barnhil, Mrs. A. Aughenbaugh, and Mrs. W. K. Gillespie. The society was advertised through a column in the *Methodist Recorder*; and as the work advanced it was found that the local constitution and by-laws were not adapted to a wider reach so as to include the entire denomination, and amendments were made accordingly. The annual conferences were districted into branches, each branch to include auxiliaries. The administration of the affairs of the Society was committed to an executive committee, or board.

Miss Guthrie having expressed a wish to go to Japan as a missionary of the Society, her application was considered November 20, 1879, but as the Society was young and its funds within \$300 the undertaking seemed too great. Efforts were made to increase the interest, but it grew slowly; so that at the first annual meeting only one auxiliary outside of Pittsburgh had reported, and that was at Franklin, Mich. The Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, being in the city, was invited to attend the anniversary meeting. A conference was had as to the employment of Miss Guthrie, and, as a finality, it was agreed that the Foreign Board and the Woman's Society would undertake it; and soon she was on her way to Japan. Reaching San Francisco, en route, she was stricken with pneumonia and died. This dispensation of Providence fell like a pall on the Church. Soon, however, Miss Brittain, a friend of Miss Guthrie's and a missionary of twenty years' experience in India, offered her services. She was invited to Pittsburgh, at which place the Board of Missions and the General Conference were in session, May, 1888. She was employed, and went to Japan, and in October of the same year a school was opened in Yokohama with four children, which increased to fifty. Assistance was greatly needed, and ere long it came in the person of Gei Nedzer (Martha Collier), one of the first fruits of the seed-sowing of our Church in foreign lands.

At the General Conference of May, 1880, the Society was recognized as one of the permanent agencies of the Church. In the following year it was incorporated under the laws of the state of Pennsylvania. Miss Brittain sent encouraging accounts of her work from time to time, and branches were organized in the annual conferences; so that at the second annual meeting the Pittsburgh, Michigan, Ohio, Muskingum, Illinois, Iowa, and Genesee were represented. From Maryland and other conferences contributions of money were sent, and St. John's church of Baltimore became responsible for \$200 annually. The following year the Maryland Branch was organized, with eight auxiliaries.

The receipts of the Society gradually increased from \$318.16 the first year to \$1380.16 the second. At the third annual meeting, in Cambridge, O., the amount was \$1838.48. The "Brick" fund was set on foot with Mrs. John Scott as treasurer, the money to be appropriated for the purchase of property in Yokohama for a Woman's Home. In a little more than a year this fund amounted to \$1303.53. In about ten years it amounted to \$7930, in sums from ten cents to fifty dollars. In 1889-90 the whole amount was expended for the property on the Bluff in Yokohama, which is at present occupied by the missionaries

of the Society and the mission school. In 1882 the time for holding the annual meeting was changed from February to May, and the next meeting was held in Baltimore. At the General Conference of 1884 the Society was made amenable to the Board of Foreign Missions; but, this relation proving unsatisfactory, at the Conference of 1888 its relation as an independent organization was restored with amenability to the General Conference, like the other general Boards. In 1885 the *Methodist Protestant Missionary*, which Rev. C. H. Williams of the Foreign Board had been conducting in its interests and which he had concluded to discontinue, was offered the Woman's Board, and at the meeting held at Adrian, Mich., it was accepted; and thus originated the *Woman's Missionary Record*, Mrs. Mary A. Miller being elected editor. It was published in Pittsburgh, with varying success, for ten years. The editor received no compensation, and its receipts were consumed in publication. Its highest circulation was 1850. In 1895 Mrs. Miller resigned, and the paper was removed to Kansas City, Kan., with Mrs. M. B. M'Bride as editor, and it has since been issued with greatly improved appearance. At present, 1898, Mr. and Mrs. F. C. Huling publish and edit it.

In the years intervening between 1884 and 1890 thirteen more conferences entered branches, in all making twenty-two. But these branches were far from being thoroughly organized, having but few auxiliaries and fewer churches interested in the work. The mission bands, which at one time numbered eighty, have largely given place to the junior Societies of Christian Endeavor. During these years the work in Japan had assumed a more permanent form. The Board of Missions in 1883 sent out Rev. and Mrs. F. C. Klein. In 1884 the Society sent out Misses Brown and Crittenden. The General Conference having assigned the Girls' School to the Society, it was still continued in the Home until a building could be erected, Miss Brittain being assisted by the two ladies and the Society paying its proportion for the use of the building. Early in 1885 Miss Brittain resigned, and the two ladies took charge of the school. In a few months Mr. Klein opened a school for young men, and the Society rented a building in the native part of the city for the Girls' School, which was used until the Woman's Home was ready for use. In a short time Miss Crittenden resigned and Miss Brown continued the school, which numbered about fifty, with the assistance of native teachers, when failing health compelled her to return to America in February, 1887. Under efficient help provided by Mr. Klein the school was continued, and in May of the same year the Society sent out Misses Whetstone and Bonnett. In the meantime Mr. Klein having opened a mission in Nagoya, two hundred miles from Yokohama, early in the spring of 1888, Miss Whetstone was transferred to that point to take charge of a girls' school, which Mrs. Klein had started, and in October, 1889, Miss Forrest was sent to her assistance. Native girls from the school in Yokohama were also sent to Nagoya as helpers. Miss Forrest, besides assisting in the day-school, conducted a meeting in a village near by twice a day on the Sabbath, also on Wednesday evening. The day-school at one time numbered fifty boys and girls, but, owing to untoward

circumstances, the school was closed and the labor of the missionaries was directed chiefly to evangelistic work.

In Yokohama Miss Kimball, a resident missionary, had been employed to take the place of Miss Whetstone and assist Miss Bonnett. The success of the school was gratifying to the Society in the fact that a number of girls were being prepared as Bible readers and teachers in the Sabbath-schools. Mrs. T. H. Colhouer gave valuable assistance to the older girls in Bible study, and with them visited regularly many of the women in their homes. The Rev. T. H. Colhouer, superintendent of the Yokohama mission, gave personal supervision to the erection of the Woman's Home, and in September, 1889, the school was removed to the new building. By a gift of \$500 from Dr. and Mrs. Colhouer the Society was enabled to pay the last debt on the property.

Efforts were then made for the purchase of property in Nagoya for a Mission Home and School, and a building fund was commenced, Mrs. Fornsill of Baltimore being elected treasurer, and the fund at this time, 1896, amounts to nearly \$2000.

In 1892 Miss A. J. Rowe of the Iowa Branch was sent to Yokohama to take the place of some of the missionaries who had returned for rest. In September of the following year Miss Annette Lawrence was sent to Nagoya. In 1894 Miss Margaret Kuhns of the Pittsburgh Branch was sent to Yokohama to take the place of Miss Brown, who returned to America, and in September of the following year Miss Alice Coates was sent to her assistance.

By a resolution of the General Conference of 1892 the missionaries of the Society were granted membership in the Japan Mission Conference, and the reports of work were thereafter included in the statistical tables of the Conference. Whenever able to do so, the Society has furnished interpreters to the missionaries of the Church Board and teachers in the Sunday-schools. There are at present seventeen Sunday-schools connected with the Japan Mission Conference of our Church, nine in Yokohama, three in Nagoya, and five in Shizuoka, and in most of these the missionaries of the Society, with nine of the older girls, give their help. The total number of scholars enrolled is 706. The number of scholars in the boarding-school of the Society is forty, of which ten are day scholars. Seven of the girls do house to house visiting, distributing tracts, holding meetings, and inviting people to church and Sunday-school, and are proving a blessing by increasing the attendance, interest, and membership. A number of the girls educated in the Home have married native Christian ministers and are with their husbands still assisting in our mission work and have given to it years of faithful labor. From the report of Rev. C. H. Vandyke, secretary of the Japan Mission Conference for August 29, 1895, we take the following: "A very hopeful feature of our general work is the direct aggressive and efficient evangelical work now arranged for by the workers of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. If nothing occurs to thwart this work, wisely organized and now being energetically pushed forward, in a very few years we shall have a band of Bible readers or women evan-

gelist of which the whole mission can be proud and for which it has been working and praying. Besides those in connection with the school, seven women are now in training under the very efficient leadership of Miss Lawrence for direct Christian work, some of whom will soon be ready to be sent forth 'two by two.' The field for such workers is fully ripe and well nigh boundless." Christian Endeavor Societies are organized in the churches and Junior Societies in the Sabbath-schools; also a very prosperous circle of King's Daughters is in operation in the Girls' School at Yokohama.

The amount collected by the W. F. M. S., since its organization, sixteen years ago, not including that which will be reported at the close of the fiscal year of 1896, is \$46,923.14 for the general fund, and more than \$10,000 has been collected for building purposes. Also there is collected annually from two to three hundred dollars for current expenses, for it is a law of the Society to use no money for the conduct of the work at home which has been raised for the work abroad. The money is raised principally by small amounts, two cents a week being the requisition on each member. This amount it is understood does not release the giver from the duty of giving to the collections taken in all our churches for the General Board of Missions.

The report of the W. F. M. S. to the General Conference of 1896 says: "At Yokohama, Japan, our school numbers fifty pupils, with two missionaries. The property valuation is \$10,000, clear of any incumbrance. At Nagoya we have one mission, with four native Bible readers. We are engaged mainly at this point in evangelistic work, with the expectation of opening a kindergarten school. The call has come from the workers to build a home in this city, which we contemplate doing, as our building fund amounts at the present time to \$1737.30. The permanent fund from legacies in bank, at interest, amounts to \$2003.80. For the four years intervening between the meetings of this body, our gleanings from various sources amount to \$17,822.34. Our interests in the home field of our work are not as encouraging as we desire. This body has given us the privilege to expect the coöperation of its ministry, but we are sometimes embarrassed by its absence. Of the thirty-seven conferences constituting this body, our work is actively organized in but fourteen. We recommend the following persons as the Executive Committee: Mrs. F. A. Brown, Mrs. M. A. Miller, Mrs. D. S. Stephens, Mrs. J. D. Anderson, Mrs. J. E. Palmer, Mrs. W. K. Gillespie, Mrs. M. A. Colhouer, Mrs. J. J. Murray, Miss S. A. Lipscomb, Mrs. N. R. Seeman, Mrs. M. J. McCaslin, Mrs. A. J. Dotson, Miss Mary Moale."

APPENDIX G

THE BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS

THE data for this sketch have been furnished principally by the Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Benj. Stout. The General Conference of the Church in 1834 organized a Board of Foreign Missions, the outlying territories of the United States being then regarded as foreign fields. This general board was located in Baltimore, with Dr. S. K. Jennings as President. A few tentative efforts were made up to 1850, noticed in the body of the "History of Methodist Reform," but nothing practical came of them. At the General Conference of 1850 the Board of Missions was changed to Pittsburgh, Pa., and the following Board elected: Rev. William Collier, President, and W. J. Troth, Secretary; Rev. Charles Avery, George Brown, John Cowl, and John Scott; Laymen, John Macaskey, William Miller, John W. Philips, John L. Sands, Thomas Hanna, and M. W. Laughlin. Frederick Stier was employed as General Travelling Agent, and entered zealously upon his work, though well advanced in years, but in the midst he died at Fremont, O., October 17, 1851. J. W. Rutledge succeeded him. The Board selected two missionaries, Rev. Daniel Bagley for Oregon and Rev. David Wilson for China. The former made an overland journey to his field, and has remained there to this date, faithful in everything and successful as well. The mission to China failed by reason of the final declinature of the missionary. Brother Bagley labored indefatigably, and has lived to see an annual conference organized and a number of churches built principally since the great fire in Seattle, Wash., in 1889, in which the first church was destroyed. A new site was chosen and a fine building erected at a cost of about \$30,000. The second church cost about \$12,000, in which, on the first Sabbath in January, 1891, a church of twenty members was organized. Churches have also been erected at Renton, Elliot, Yesler, Duwamish, Columbia, South Seattle, and other points. The eight churches within the conference, including the first, are estimated to be worth \$43,200.

For the last three years it has been difficult to sustain the missions in Washington, owing to the general depression in business. The second church is closed. During the division of the denomination from 1858 to 1877, nothing was done by the East and South except to continue the Board organization, owing to the Civil War. Meanwhile the brethren West and North removed the Board to Springfield, O., in 1875, and the location continued to 1892. The second annual report for November 1, 1865, exhibits that from 1862-64 the amount collected was \$4146.65, and disbursed \$3323.40. From 1864-65 the following appropriations were paid: Oregon mission, \$1214.47; Nebraska, \$1339.73; Missouri, \$1334.65; Minnesota, \$110.50; Iowa, \$305.50; California, \$29.03; Kansas, \$684.58; Freedmen's, \$63.50. In 1872-75 the following: Lincoln City, Neb., \$1150; Nebraska, \$150; Peru, \$200; East Tennessee and Georgia, \$100;

North Carolina, \$150; Adrian, Mich., \$150. After the reunion of the denomination the foreign and home work being still under one board, the report of the General Conference of 1888 showed appropriations to Mississippi, \$200; Kansas, \$400; Alabama, \$100; Adrian, \$400; Abingdon, Va., \$200; Seattle, Wash., \$200; Atlanta, Ga., \$400. April 1, 1885 to May 1, 1888, \$29,388.46 had been received and expended for home missions.

The General Conference of 1888 divided the foreign from the home work, and established a Board of Home Missions under the following Board: S. A. Fisher, W. M. Strayer, M. L. Barnett, S. K. Spahr, J. W. Hawkins, F. M. Durbin, F. H. Pierpont. Rev. Benj. Stout was elected Corresponding Secretary. The new Board was located at Grafton, W. Va., where it met and organized July 24, 1888, with F. H. Pierpont, President, S. A. Fisher, Secretary, and F. M. Durbin, Treasurer. It was duly incorporated. The treasurer gave bond, though there were no funds on hand, and the new Board received from the old three missions still in need of support, Ottawa, Kan., appropriation \$100; Wichita, Kan., \$300; Adrian, Mich., \$400. Its report made to the General Conference of 1892 showed total receipts for the quadrennium of \$15,098.25; for permanent fund, \$1148.72; amount raised by mission churches, \$4432.09; grand total, \$20,679.06. The Board reported eleven mission churches with 575 members. Sunday-schools, fourteen, scholars, 1096. Value of church property, \$56,700. Debts on it, \$9510 Insurance, \$20,900. A new Board was elected by the General Conference of 1892, and Benj. Stout reelected Corresponding Secretary. The Board has six missions in and near Seattle, Wash.; one in Corsicana, Tex.; one in Des Moines City, Ia.; one in Marion, Ind.; one at Canton, Ill.; four in Kansas City, Kan.; one at Greensboro', N. C.; two in Chicago, Ill., among the Germans. It has also rendered aid to Trinity church, Brooklyn, Greater New York City; also to Dover, Del.; Ashboro', N. C.; High Point, N. C.; Magnolia, Ark.; Spencer, W. Va.; Grafton, W. Va.; Norway, Ind.; Eaton Rapids, Mich., and at other points. The Board owns a fine property on Stewart Avenue, in Kansas City, Kan., six lots in Cameron, Tex., and two lots in Elkins, W. Va.

The Board reported to the General Conference of 1896, that for the quadrennium there had been received, including \$4650 of borrowed money, \$26,242.25. Balance on hand, \$127.48. The sum of \$900 having been paid the Treasurer for his services for the four years, this led to a complete change in the matter, making the Corresponding Secretaries of all the general boards Treasurers as well, under bond, but without increase of compensation. See full report, pp. 94-99, General Conference Minutes. The following board was elected: W. M. Strayer, S. A. Fisher, S. Heininger, J. T. Howell, J. N. Pierpont, F. C. Chambers, and H. G. Reeves. Benj. Stout was reelected Corresponding Secretary. The organization of the Woman's Board of Home Missions promises to be very helpful to this work. It is a great need of the general Church to establish the cause in the centres of population, specially in the West, so that our migrating people shall not be lost in such large numbers for the want of a church of their own preference.

In August, 1897, Secretary Stout tendered his resignation, which was accepted, and F. C. Chambers, a member of the Board, elected the Secretary-Treasurer. He at once displayed unusual ability and industry, with much business invention, so that new life was thrown into the work. A debt of about \$10,664 was reduced to about \$3000, and it is hoped to pay out of debt, meet the new appropriations, and come out square by May 1, 1899. The extraordinary showing made for the past six months is an earnest that this will be done. Mr. Chambers received as compensation \$497.80 from the time of his election, August 19, 1897, to May 1, 1898. A first-class business man, he is filling the position with great acceptance.

APPENDIX H

THE BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

THE facts herewith submitted were compiled by the late Missionary Secretary, Rev. T. B. Coulburn, with supplementary matter furnished from other sources.

The Methodist Protestant Church has had in existence a Board of Missions almost from the beginning of its history. At the first General Conference, in May, 1834, a Board consisting of twelve members was formed, of which Rev. Dr. S. K. Jennings was chairman, and was located in Baltimore, Md. A few tentative efforts were not long after made to effect a location of foreign work, but they failed, as instanced in the body of the "History of Methodist Reform." In 1850 the location of the Board was changed to Pittsburgh, Pa., and finally to Springfield, O. Until about the year 1875, however, nearly all the funds raised were expended in home work, or in such outlying territory as Oregon. Individual churches, notably that of East Baltimore, Md., under the pastorate of Rev. J. T. Murray, D.D., and his devoted wife, had made efforts to assist in foreign missionary work, but the Church as such did not accomplish much or effect any thorough organization for this purpose until after the reunion of the divided Church in 1877. The ensuing General Conference at Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1880, found itself confronted with providential indications that it was time to arouse and enter the foreign field for Christ and the denomination. A new Board of Home and Foreign Missions was formed, consisting of L. W. Bates, C. S. Evans, A. H. Trumbo, R. Rose, S. K. Spahr, W. W. White, W. M. McConkey, J. M. Johnson, and N. A. Jones. Rev. C. H. Williams was elected Corresponding Secretary.

At the same quadrennial session the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, which had been organized in Pittsburgh the previous February, was recognized as one of the permanent agencies of the Church. See Appendix F for full history.

The Board of Home and Foreign Missions was continued under this name for the ensuing eight years, having the oversight of the double

work at home and abroad. In May, 1884, however, the General Conference, then in session in Baltimore, Md., elected nine members of the Board: T. B. Graham, G. B. McElroy, T. H. Colhouer, O. V. W. Chandler, Benjamin Stout, W. W. McCaslin, A. H. Widney, W. Porteus, and T. Douglass. Rev. F. T. Tagg was also chosen Corresponding Secretary. New life was thrown into the work by the diligence and energy of the Secretary, new lines of work were opened, and the interest of the Church in foreign missions so stimulated, that at the ensuing General Conference of May, 1888, at Adrian, Mich., it was found that the cause had gained sufficient prominence as to justify even more aggressive effort in its behalf. Accordingly a new board, designated as the Board of Foreign Missions, was formed, and empowered "to establish missions in foreign lands, employ missionaries, fix their salaries, and change or remove them as the interest of the Church may demand, and to control and apply all the funds in its treasury," etc. The members chosen to compose this Board were: T. B. Graham, L. W. Bates, G. B. McElroy, C. S. Evans, O. V. W. Chandler, T. J. Ogburn, W. W. White, W. W. McCaslin, and C. J. Yingling. F. T. Tagg was unanimously continued as Corresponding Secretary, and entered with renewed zeal upon his successful labors. The Board is regularly incorporated according to the laws of the state of Ohio, and its location continued at Springfield, O. Its nine members, five of whom are designated as the executive committee, are elected for a term of four years.

The receipts of the Board of Foreign Missions since 1888, the date of its organization, including the amounts reported by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society for the same period, are as follows:—

	B. F. M.	W. F. M. S.	TOTAL.
1888-89	\$10,091.89	\$3,483.71	\$13,575.60
1889-90	14,711.82	3,490.07	18,201.89
1890-91	13,322.73	3,897.15	17,219.88
1891-92	13,902.50	3,647.66	17,550.16
1892-93	13,922.21	3,720.42	17,642.63
1893-94	14,588.85	3,628.20	18,217.05

Sufficient progress having been made to justify an increase of its working force, and favorable openings for extending its work appearing, the Board, in the summer of 1882, engaged, for the term of five years, Rev. F. C. Klein, as its first ordained missionary for the foreign field. He remained at home, however, several months afterward, visiting various conferences and churches to solicit funds to purchase suitable property and provide better facilities for the conduct of the mission in Yokohama. In the meantime a commodious building and lot, costing about \$10,000, was secured at 120 A. Bluff by Miss Brittain, which, having been promptly accepted by the Board, he was ordered in July, 1883, to proceed to Japan. On arriving there on the 23d of the ensuing September, he found the school already occupying the new quarters, with an enrolment of forty-seven students.

From this time the work was pressed with new vigor and blessed with increased success. More boys were admitted to the school; the Sunday-school at the "Bluff" commenced to improve; a Sunday-school was organized outside of the "foreign concession," at which fourteen young men were present; preaching services soon followed; a night-school was opened for young men; new quarters were secured to accommodate the growing number of pupils in the Sunday and week-day schools; and so the seeds faithfully sown gradually sprang up and grew, until, having sufficiently ripened, a church—the First Methodist Protestant Church, Yokohama, Japan—was organized, July 11, 1886, with twelve members. A revival a few months later resulted in increasing the membership to forty-nine. Among other organizations, a Y. M. C. A. and a Temperance Society soon followed. In April, 1886, a boarding and day collegiate school for boys was instituted by Mr. Klein at 120 A. Bluff, which, in May, 1887, had an enrolment of 135 students.

The General Conference of 1884, having assigned the work for girls and women to the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, the girls in the "Bluff" school, composed hitherto of both sexes, were, in March, 1886, transferred to the control of that society, and new quarters were opened for the accommodation at Eighty-four Settlement, Yokohama. This school, by direction of the society, was placed in charge of Misses Crittenden and Brown, both of whom had arrived in Japan, October 29, 1884, and who, in the meantime, had been successfully engaged in school and other work. Miss Brittain retired from service at the mission early in 1885, going into the Presbyterian mission in Tokyo.

In May, 1885, operations were begun by Mr. Klein with the view of opening a mission in Nagoya, the fourth city of the empire. Several visits were made, school work was opened, and preaching services were held as often as opportunity was afforded. Rev. T. H. Colhouer, D.D., arriving in Japan May 31, 1887, and being made superintendent of the Yokohama mission, and pastor of the church, Mr. Klein removed to Nagoya, taking up his residence in a Japanese house, 101 Minami Buheicho, June 14, 1887. In less than a month thereafter a day-school, a night-school, and a Sunday-school were organized, and a little later a school for girls and a married ladies' class were formed by Mrs. Klein. In the meantime negotiations were entered into to secure land on which to erect a missionary's residence and other buildings, which, within a few months, resulted in the purchase of one of the best mission sites in the city. On this site there now stands the Nagoya Anglo-Japanese College, a high-grade school for young men and boys, with a theological department, completed and dedicated in 1890; the "Lafayette Cottage," occupied as a missionary's residence, the gift of Lafayette Avenue M. P. Church, Baltimore, Md.; and a College Boarding Hall, built in 1893. These buildings are all of modern design, and are estimated to be worth 20,000 dollars in Japanese money.

Soon after locating in Nagoya, Mr. Klein was requested by the governor of the province to teach in the city high school, which he did for nearly a year, his salary meanwhile going to swell the receipts of the

mission treasury. Owing to increasing duties, however, and the near approach of the expiration of his term, he was compelled to resign.

Three accessions to the missionary force arrived in 1887—Misses Whetstone and Bonnett, under appointment of the W. F. M. S., June 23, and Rev. L. L. Albright, of the Board of Foreign Missions, July 28. The ladies were located at Yokohama; Mr. Albright at Nagoya. On the 27th of November following these arrivals the First Methodist Protestant Church, in Nagoya, was organized with nineteen members. In the spring of 1888 Miss Whetstone was transferred to Nagoya and given charge of the girls' school organized by Mrs. Klein, and in July of the ensuing year Miss Forrest was sent by the Woman's Society as her assistant. The corps of workers at this point was again increased in January, 1890, by the arrival of Rev. E. H. Van Dyke.

The work thus founded in the city of Nagoya, notwithstanding many adverse circumstances, has steadily grown in importance and fruitfulness, and is now the centre of our missionary operations in the empire. Several out-stations have been established, three or four Sunday-schools organized, and five young men are now being educated in the college for the ministry. It may also be of interest to note that at this point was organized the first Junior Christian Endeavor Society in Japan, and the senior society was the first, and so far the only one, that has had a delegate to an international Christian Endeavor convention, Mr. Klein representing it at Montreal in 1893.

While the various enterprises already alluded to were being so successfully inaugurated at Nagoya, the work under the management of brother Colhouer and his associates at Yokohama was making steady progress. Among other evidences of permanent growth a new church, costing \$3000, was built, which still serves the purposes of the mission in that city.

Miss Margaret Brown, who had conducted the girls' school for the Woman's Society after the retirement of Miss Brittain, was compelled to return to America in February, 1887, on account of ill-health. The school, however, was carried on successfully by Miss Crittenden and Mr. Klein, until the departure of the latter to Nagoya, when it was placed in charge of a Mr. Elmer, pending the arrival of new missionaries.

In August, 1889, the missionary force was again recruited by the arrival of Rev. A. R. Morgan. He was stationed at Yokohama, and in the ensuing autumn placed at the head of the boys' school, Miss Crittenden, who for more than two years had served in this position, returning to America, her term having expired. Mr. Morgan's experience as an instructor, acquired during his professorship in Yadkin College, North Carolina, standing him to good purpose, it was not long before the school began to show signs of growth and increased usefulness.

The term of Mr. Klein having expired, and signs of failing health suggesting the need of a brief respite from toil, the work at Nagoya was given temporarily in charge of Mr. Albright and Mr. Maruyama, and he returned, in September, 1888, to his home in Baltimore, Md. He remained in the home land about fifteen months; his visit, however, was turned to good account in several ways for the work to which he had

given five years of faithful service. Early in March, 1890, he returned to Japan under a contract for eight years.

In the following July a meeting of all the missionaries, including native pastors, was called, and an organization, designated as the "Annual Missionaries' Meeting," was effected for the purpose of formulating plans for concerted effort in developing all departments of the work. Plans were made at this meeting for holding monthly business meetings at each of the mission stations, reports of which were to be regularly forwarded to the Board. A Ministerial Education Society was also formed and measures were adopted to raise funds to assist such worthy young men from among the native students as might feel called to the work of the ministry.

At the second annual meeting, in July, 1891, it appearing to all the missionaries that the work had advanced sufficiently to justify the formation of an organization with larger powers, a memorial was prepared and addressed to the General Conference, petitioning for authority to organize an annual conference and for the enactment of suitable regulations for its government. This petition was readily granted in May, 1892, by the General Conference, then in session at Westminster, Md., and on the 15th of the following September the Japan Annual Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church was duly organized, with F. C. Klein as President and A. R. Morgan, Secretary. Owing to the expiration of the terms of Dr. Colhouer and Mr. Albright, and their return to America in the early part of the year, the membership of the Conference at the start was quite small; but the admission and ordination of Rev. G. Maruyama and the accession of five Japanese preachers on probation placed at the disposal of the executive laborers enough before the close of the session to supply nine circuits and missions. The following statistics were reported: churches, 2; members, 225; probationers, 34; Sunday-school scholars, 407; day-schools, 2; scholars enrolled, 230.

A special feature in the proceedings of this session was the emphasis laid upon the need of aggressive evangelistic work and the enterprising measures adopted to open new missions. The territory between Yokohama and Nagoya, a distance of over two hundred miles, was divided into three sub-districts, each under the care of a chairman, with centres fixed at Yokohama, Nagoya, and Shizuoka, from which to broaden out into the regions round about. The Shizuoka district, however, had not been previously occupied; but being about equally distant from the other centres, and the opportunity for opening work seeming favorable, it was selected as a specially desirable point to locate a mission. Mr. Van Dyke was appointed as chairman of this new district. He promptly took up his residence in the city of Shizuoka, and with a hopeful and energetic spirit entered upon his duties. Connecting himself at first with a private school as teacher, he was soon enabled to secure a house for preaching services and a Sunday-school. The work thus begun was pressed with such vigor and success that in less than seven months a church was organized with eighteen members. Six preaching points have

since been opened and four Sunday-schools organized. A new church and parsonage for Japanese pastor, costing \$1000, was built in 1894.

In April, 1893, Mr. Klein's health having broken down, and the treatment of the best physicians available effecting no improvement in his condition, he was forced to return to America. He was succeeded as the executive of the conference, and as president of the Anglo-Japanese College, by Mr. Morgan, who as soon thereafter as the change could be made was transferred to Nagoya, where he still resides, and acceptably occupies the same official positions. In the month of August ensuing, Revs. I. F. Smith and U. G. Murphy were sent out by the Board, each for the term of ten years. They arrived in Yokohama about three weeks later, in time to meet and unite with the Japan Mission Conference, which was then holding its second annual session in that city. Mr. Murphy was, by direction of the Board, stationed at Nagoya, under instructions to devote as much of his time as possible to the study of the Japanese language, and Mr. Smith, under similar instructions, was located at Yokohama, and appointed treasurer of the Board in Japan, a position which had been held by Mr. Morgan prior to his removal to Nagoya.

The officers of the second annual conference were A. R. Morgan, President, and E. H. Van Dyke, Secretary. Two native preachers were admitted into the itinerancy and placed in the first year's course of study, and another, having completed his third year, was ordained elder. Three candidates for the ministry were placed under the care of the Ministerial Education Society. Statistical reports for the year showed: Probationers received, 72; admitted into full membership, 47; baptisms, 50, three of whom were children; new Sunday-schools organized, 4; total enrolment of Sunday-school scholars, 435; collections for current expenses and benevolent purposes, \$713.50.

The third session of the Japan Mission Annual Conference was held in Nagoya, July 16 to 20, 1894. Messrs. Morgan and Van Dyke were re-elected President and Secretary respectively. The following facts, taken from the statistical tables of the minutes of this session, may be regarded as a fair representation of the present condition of the work within the bounds of this district: Churches, 3; preaching places (rented houses used as chapels), 14; total full membership, 312; probationers, 19; Sunday-schools, 14; Sunday-school scholars, 648; day-school, 1; scholars, 34; night-school, 1; scholars, 63; ordained native preachers, 3; unordained native preachers, 4; other native teachers and helpers, 10; theological students, 5; missionaries, 4; contributions for self-support \$297.89; value of mission property, \$35,000. These statistics, however, do not include the missionaries, students in the several schools, and value of property under control of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. This society owns property in Yokohama valued at \$10,000 and has two or three missionaries engaged in teaching in Yokohama and Nagoya. Two more missionaries, Miss Lawrence and Miss Kuhns, have been sent out recently. The society is planning to erect a building for a girls' school in Nagoya, nearly enough money for which has been collected.

Including the wives of missionaries, the representatives of the Wo-

man's Society and a Japanese teacher (Miss Hirati), educated by the Board, there have been sent out by the Church twenty-six missionaries since the first mission was opened in Yokohama in October, 1880. For nearly four years, though, Mr. Klein was the only male missionary in the field. At no time has the number of workers been fully adequate to the demands of the work undertaken, much less to take advantage of favorable opportunities that have been frequently offered for entering new territory. For more than a year the Board has been making repeated and earnest efforts to enlist five more men, which now, from applications received recently, appear about to yield the desired result. Instructions have been sent to President Morgan to purchase a suitable site in Nagoya for a church, to cost about \$5000, most of which amount is already in hand. This church will probably be erected in a few months. As soon as suitable plans are secured, a building to be used for educational and evangelistic purposes, to cost at least \$10,000, will be erected in Yokohama. Sufficient funds for this object (the proceeds of the sale of certain property in Yokohama effected over a year ago) are now in bank to the credit of the Board.

It has doubtless been sufficiently indicated that the plan of work has been to centralize educational work, to train native Japanese workers, and through a conference broaden out by circuits and missions in evangelistic labors, and in all departments to be supplemented by the Bible readers, girls' school, etc., under the control of the Woman's Society. If the results of the operation of this plan have not fully satisfied the Church, it is not because the plan is faulty, or that the missionaries have been deficient in zeal or piety, but because there has never been a sufficient force in the field to properly man the work.

On the 11th of March, 1896, the corresponding secretary, in zealous pursuit of his duties, after a few days' illness, died at Pittston, Pa., leaving the legacy of a triumphant death to the Church and his family. Rev. A. D. Melvin of Maryland was chosen to fill out his unexpired term, and he at once entered upon his duties.

The committee of the General Conference of May, 1896, at Kansas City, Kan., on Foreign Missions reported, and the report was adopted for the new Board of Foreign Missions: T. B. Graham, G. B. McElroy, W. L. Wells, T. H. Lewis, F. T. Tagg, C. J. Yingling, U. S. Fleming, H. J. Heinz, F. F. Brierly. Bequests to the Board from Anna Stephenson of Maryland, and E. J. Hill of Washington, D. C., are acknowledged. Rev. T. J. Ogburn was elected Corresponding Secretary, and within a few months entered diligently upon his duties and has continued to acceptably fill the position to this date of June, 1897. The office of Treasurer of all the general boards having been abolished by the General Conference, and the Secretaries invested with it under bond of \$5000, the change was accordingly made by the Board of Missions. The report of the late Treasurer for the quadrennium shows: receipts, 1892-93, \$13,922.21; 1893-94, \$14,588.85; 1894-95, \$12,365.06; 1895-96, \$11,384.67. Total, \$52,260.79. Disbursed for all purposes, \$52,490.72. The financial depression of the times is apparent from the falling off of receipts, affecting

most of the religious denominations. Renewed efforts are being made to stimulate the Church to higher things for foreign missions.

At the annual meeting of the Board held at Westminster, Md., May 4-5, 1898, the following "Survey of the Work" by Secretary Ogburn and Dr. F. T. Tagg was submitted.

Committee on survey of the work report first the Japanese Conference is divided into three sub-districts, known as Yokohama, Nagoya, and Shizuoka. Yokohama reports 2 mission stations and 2 circuits, supplied by one foreign and 2 native pastors. There are 2 probationers and 258 members; 2 churches and 9 appointments; 12 Sunday-schools and 330 scholars; one Y. P. S. C. E. with 55 members; value of church property, \$4500. Paid on pastor's salary, 156 yen; for current expenses, 59,049 yen; Sunday-schools, 1395 yen; for all purposes, 420,929 yen. One circuit reports no members; two circuits report no churches. The Bluff building was sold and the money put into a night-school, of which brother Cairns is principal, but of which we have no other information.

Nagoya has one mission station and 4 circuits, served by 2 foreign and 3 native pastors. There are 3 probationers and 62 members; one church, 9 appointments; 7 Sunday-schools, 285 scholars; one Y. P. S. C. E., 15 members; value of church property, \$6600. Paid on pastor's salary, 33.18 yen; current expenses, 39.62 yen; for all purposes, 130,634 yen; 3 circuits report no members; 3 circuits report no churches. Nagoya college day-school, 44; average attendance, 28; night-school, 57; average attendance, 30; college residence. The dean of the seminary reports 4 students; value of college property is about 27,000 yen.

Shizuoka has one mission station and 4 circuits, supplied by one foreign and 2 native pastors. There are 48 probationers and 63 members; 2 churches, 9 appointments; 6 Sunday-schools, 243 scholars; one parsonage; value of church property, \$1330. Paid on current expenses, 21.35 yen; for all purposes, 36.92 yen; one circuit reports no members; 2 circuits report no churches.

The W. F. M. Society have schools at Yokohama, with Miss M. M. Kuhns in charge, and one Bible woman.

A school at Nagoya, with Miss A. L. Coates and Miss A. E. Lawrence in charge, and three Bible readers and one evangelist.

There are two Bible readers and three evangelists at Shizuoka.

RÉSUMÉ AND COMPARISON

	1896.	1897.	GAIN.	Loss.
Probationers	53	38	....	15
Members	290	323	33	....
Parsonages	1	1	....	....
Churches	4	5	1	....
Appointments	31	29	....	2
Sunday-schools	20	25	5	....
Scholars	932	916	....	16
Christian Endeavorers....	99	70	....	29
Paid on pastors' salaries..	\$79.85	\$94.59	\$14.74	....
Collected for all expenses.	\$255.85	\$294.23	\$38.38	....

APPENDIX I

SUMMARY

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

EXPLANATORY OF THE REASONS AND PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT

REV. HENRY B. BASCOM, AUTHOR. 1830

Article 1st. God, as the common Father of mankind, has created all men free and equal, and the proper equality and social freedom of the great brotherhood of the human race, in view of the gifts and grants of the Creator, are to be inferred from all his dispensations to men. Every man by the charter of his creation, is the equal of his contemporaries;—the essential rights of every generation are the same. Man as the child of God's creation, continues man immutably, under all circumstances;—and the rights of ancestry are those of posterity. Man has claims which it becomes his duty to assert, in right of his existence, such as the indefeasible right of thinking and acting for himself, when thought and action do not infringe the right of another, as they never will, when truth and justice are made the basis of human intercourse. These rights, common to the great family of man, cannot be abolished by concession, statute, precedent, or positive institution; and when wrested or withheld from the multitude of mankind, by their rulers, may be reclaimed by the people, whenever they see proper to do it.

Art. 2d. Man was created for society, his natural rights are adapted to the social state, and under every form of society, constitute properly, the foundation of his civil rights. When man becomes a member of civil society, he submits to a modification of some of his natural rights, but he never does, he never can, relinquish them. He concedes the exercise of these rights, for his own and the general good, but does not, cannot, cast them off. His rights receive a new direction, but do not terminate; and that government which deprives man of rights, justly claimed in virtue of his creation, and interwoven with the constitution of his nature, and the interests of society, denies to him the gifts of his Creator, and must be unjust. God can be the author of no government, contravening the wisdom of his arrangements in the creation of men.

Art. 3d. In every community there is a power, which receives the denomination of sovereignty, a power not subject to control, and that controls all subordinate powers in the government. Now whether this power be in the hands of the many, or a few, it is indubitably certain, that those members only of the community are free, in whom the sovereign power resides. The power of a community, is essential to its freedom, and if this power be confined to a few, freedom is necessarily confined to the same number. All just government must be founded upon the nature of man, and should consult alike the natural rights, civil wants, and moral interests of his being. All rightful authority is founded in power

and law; all just power is founded in right, and as one man's natural right to the character of lawgiver, is to all intents, as good as another's, it follows, that all legitimate law must have its origin in the expressed will of the many.

Art. 4th. As all men are essentially equal, in their rights, wants, and interests, it follows from these, that representative government, is the only legitimate human rule, to which any people can submit. It is the only kind of government that can possibly reconcile, in any consistent way, the claims of authority, with the advantages of liberty. A prescriptive legislative body, making laws without the knowledge or consent of the people to be governed by them, is a despotism. Legislators without constituents, or peers and fellows, deputing them, as their representatives and actors — thus constituting themselves a legislature beyond the control of the people, is an exhibition of tyranny in one of its most dangerous forms. In the momentous affairs of government, nothing should be made the exclusive property of a few, which by right, belongs to all, and may be safely and advantageously used by the rightful proprietors. The justice of every government, depends essentially upon the original consent of the people; — this privilege belongs to every community, in right of the law of nature; and no man or multitude of men, can alter, limit, or diminish it. Constitutional law is an expression of the will of the people, and their concurrence in its formation, either personally, or by representation, is essential to its legitimate authority.

Art. 5th. No community can be said, without mockery, to have a constitution, where there is a consolidation of the different powers of government in the hands of the same men, and the remaining portion are left of course, without any security for their rights. Such a case, presents an absolute government; a government of men not principles. A constitution is not the creature of government; the nature of things renders it impossible that it should be an act of government. In strict propriety, it exists anterior to government; — government is based upon, proceeds from, and is the creature of the constitution. A constitution contains the elements and principles of government, and fixes the nature and limits of its form and operations; but is an instrument distinct from government, and by which government is controlled. It is a preliminary act of the people, in the creation of government. It sustains to government the same relation that laws do to the judiciary; the latter is not the source of law, cannot make laws, or annul them, but is subject to, and governed by law. A constitution recognizes the rights of the people, and provides for their assertion and maintenance. It settles the principles and maxims of government. It fixes the landmarks of legislation. It is the sovereign voice of the people, giving law and limit, to themselves and their representatives.

Art. 6th. A government uniting the legislative, judicial, and executive powers in the hands of the same men, is an absurdity in theory, and in practice, tyranny. The executive power, in every government, should be subordinate to the legislative, and the judicial independent of both. Whenever, therefore, it happens, that these three departments of govern-

ment, are in the hands of the same body of men, and these men not the representatives of the people, first making the laws, then executing them, and finally the sole judges of their own acts, there is no liberty, the people are virtually enslaved, and liable to be ruined at any time. In a government, civil or ecclesiastical, where the same men are legislators, administrators, and judges, in relation to all the laws, and every possible application of them, the people, whether well or ill-treated, are in fact slaves; for the only remedy against such a despotism, is revolt. No constitution can be presumed a good one, embodying the principles of correct government, which does not sufficiently guard against the chances and possibility of mal-administration. All absolute governments owe their character to the manner in which they are administered, whereas, in a representative government, with proper checks and balances, it is the interest, even of the vicious, to promote the general welfare, by conforming to the laws. The greater the equality, established among men by governments, the more virtue and happiness will prevail; for where the voluntary consent of the governed is the basis of government, interest and duty combine to promote the common weal.

Art. 7th. Every community should be the asserter and guardian of its own rights. No government can be administered to the advantage of the governed, for any considerable length of time, unless the people retain sufficient power in their own hands to compel their rulers to act correctly. When a government is so constructed, that its acts are final, and preclude remedy, by appeal to the people, its principles are unjust, and its administration cannot fail to be injurious;—a virtuous administration can never change, or redeem the vicious principles of a government. And whenever the subjects of a government, whose legislative, executive, and judicial functions, pertain to a few, independent of the choice of the people, find themselves aggrieved and oppressed, by the conduct of their rulers, without any constitutional remedy for the redress of existing evils, it *then* becomes the duty, and is the imprescriptible right of that people, to control their rulers, by *extra-judicial* measures.

Art. 8th. Where all the power and forms of government are held and managed by a few, who act without delegated right by consent of the people, the authority of the rulers is absolute, and the people are disfranchised of all right, in the various relations, existing between them, as subjects, and those who hold the reins of government. Such a government must always lead to mental debility, will depress the moral vigour of a people, and necessarily abridge the liberty of reasoning and investigation. In all governments of this kind, right is the creature of fortune, and the slave of caprice. Those who live under a government, which denies to the people the right of representation, blindly engage to submit to the will of others, right or wrong, and must continue to do so, or else deprive themselves, of all the advantages of the community in which they live, in order to get rid of its evils. The enactment of all laws and rules, therefore, should be with and by the consent of the people, and their execution strictly under their control.

Art. 9th. The right to be represented, where law is made to govern, is

not only essential to civil freedom, but is equally the basis of religious liberty. Civil and religious liberty are intimately connected, they usually live and die together; and he who is the friend of the one, cannot consistently be the enemy of the other. If liberty, as is admitted on all hands, is the perfection of civil society, by what right can religious society become despoiled of this crowning excellence of the social state? The New Testament furnishes the principles, but not the forms of church government; and in the adaptation of forms to these principles, Christian bodies should be governed mainly by the few facts and precedents, furnished in the apostolic writings. The will and mind of the Great Head of the church, on this subject, so far as clearly revealed, whether by express statute, or fair implication, cannot be contravened without impiety; but in relation to a variety of topics, connected with the internal police, and external relations of the church, on which the Scriptures are silent, it is left to every Christian community, to adopt its own regulations, and the same is true of nations. Ministers and private Christians, according to the New Testament, are entitled to equal rights and privileges—an identity of interests implies an equality of rights. A monopoly of power, therefore, by the ministry, is a usurpation of the rights of the people. No power on the part of the ministry, can deprive the people legitimately of their elective and representative rights; as the ministry cannot think and act for the people, in matters of principle and conviction, so neither can they legislate for them, except as their authorized representatives.

Art. 10th. The government of every Christian church, should be strictly a government of principle, in relation to the governed; and every private Christian, is as deeply and reasonably interested as the ministry. Dominion over conscience, is the most absurd of all human pretensions. The assumption, that absolute power in the affairs of church government, is a sacred deposit in the hands of the ministry, libels the genius and charities of the New Testament. Whenever a Christian people place themselves under a ministry, who claim the right of thinking and deciding for them, in matters of faith and morality, they are guilty of impiety, however unintentional, to the Great Head of the church, inasmuch, as it is required of every Christian, to reflect and determine for himself, in all such cases, and the duty cannot be performed by another. And those ministers who aim at a principality of this kind, in the personal concerns of faith and practice, are plainly guilty of usurped dominion over the rights and consciences of the people.

Art. 11th. Expedience and right are different things. Nothing is expedient that is unjust. Necessity and convenience, may render a form of government useful and effective for a time, which afterward, under a change of circumstances, and an accumulation of responsibility, may become oppressive and intolerable. That system of things, which cannot be justified by the word of God, and the common sense of mankind, can never be expedient. Submission to power, gradually and insidiously usurped, should seldom or never be received as proof of the legitimate consent of the people, to the peculiar form of government, by which they are oppressed; as such submission may be the result of principles, attach-

ments, and energies, which owe their existence to causes foreign from the government, which is supposed to produce them. Peaceable submission by the people, to a system of government, can never be construed into a proper approval of it, as one of their own choice; for, as men by birth and education, may become the subjects of a form of civil government they do not approve, so thousands may be born into the kingdom of God, and nurtured in his family, under forms of ecclesiastical polity, materially inconsistent with the lights and notices of revelation on this subject. The continued sufferance and submission of the people, so far from proving the divine right of those who govern, does not even furnish proof of any right at all, except the claim which arises from mere forbearance.

Art. 12th. Without insisting upon those portions of the New Testament, which go directly against the right of the ministry, to exclusive rule, the well known indefiniteness of its language, on the subject of church government, should admonish the claimants of such power, that their pretensions cannot be sustained. Nevertheless, in all ages since the apostolic, and in all parts of the world, with but few exceptions, a large majority of those calling themselves Christian ministers, have shown a disposition, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs, to maintain an influence in matters of government, independent of the people, and to suppress the right of inquiry, and freedom of discussion. And this is readily accounted for, by adverting to the fact, that the liberty of thinking and acting, and especially the free expression of opinion, have always lessened the influence of ministerial pretensions, and abridged the claims of an aspiring ministry, to irresponsible domination. It is lamentably true, that in a thousand instances, in the various divisions of papal and protestant Christendom, oppression has been exercised under pretence of duty, and professed veneration for the dead; and their doings; and an earnest contention for preëxisting customs have been urged, as sufficient reasons, for withholding the rights of the people, and lording it over God's heritage.

Art. 13th. It is true, to a great extent, that throughout all the divisions of the Christian world, intellect has taken but comparatively little hold of the subject of religion, and still less of the subject of church government; and this affords the ministry an opportunity of misleading the people, on the subject of their rights, and in but too many instances, they resign themselves the passive subjects of their religious teachers, without once inquiring, whether in doing so, they do not dishonour the Great Head of the church, in his members. Christian ministers are men of like passions with other men, they are equally liable to err, and become depraved; they should not be watched with an eye of malignant jealousy, but their errors, oppressions, and usurpations, should be met and resisted by the people, with confidence and firmness. The people should teach their rulers, that they will find them alike free from the spirit of faction, and the tameness of servility. They should let them know, that with every disposition to render proper obedience, they are determined not to be oppressed.

Art. 14th. Whenever the members of a church resign the right of suffrage, and of discussing freely and fearlessly the conduct of their rulers,

whether it be done by direct concession, or indirectly by attaching themselves to, and continuing within the pale of a church, where such a system of polity obtains, they renounce to a fearful extent, one of the first principles of the protestant religion, and bring dishonour upon its name. Whenever spiritual rulers, attempt to check a perfectly free communication of thoughts and feelings among the people, — when the lips and the pens of the laity are interdicted, without their oversight and license; — when they attempt to repress honest convictions and free inquiry; — when their disapprobation is shown to all, who do not support them, and their displeasure incurred by the diffusion of intelligence among the people, not calculated to increase their power and reputation; then it becomes the duty of the people, to decline their oversight, as men unworthy to rule the church of God. The rock on which the church has split for ages, is that the sovereign power, to regulate all ecclesiastical matters, (not decided by the Scriptures, and which of right belongs to a Christian community, as such,) has by a most mischievous and unnatural policy, misnamed expediency, been transferred to the hands of a *few* ministers, who have been in part, the patricians of the ministry, and the aristocracy of the church.

Art. 15th. Government, as a fixed and stable cause in the progress of human affairs, is finally productive, of a large amount of good or evil; it is strictly in its operation, a moral cause, in the formation of character; for it necessarily presents circumstances and considerations, in the light of reasons and motives which lead to results in the formation of character, that become habitual and permanent. The good of all concerned, therefore, should be the object proposed in the adoption of any form of government; and when a system of government is adopted, which calls off the attention of the governed, from the general welfare, by depriving them of all control in the enactment and execution of the laws, the natural and unavoidable tendency, of a government of this description, is vicious and demoralizing; and such, are the character and influence, of all non-elective governments. The members of a community, who place themselves under the exclusive control of a few irresponsible persons, as their sole masters, in matters of government, thus tamely depriving themselves of the right of representation, and even of existence, except by expatriation, betray a criminal negligence of their best interests, and great inattention to the general welfare; and all governments recognizing such a distinction, contravene necessarily the influence of enlightened conviction and independent inquiry.

Art. 16th. Any government, that does not allow the people to meet, deliberate, and decide upon matters that concern themselves, is evidently oppressive. For those who are not the representatives of the people, to make laws for them, and then deny them the freedom of candid inquiry and honest animadversion, is a measure, as irrational as it is unjust. The maxim which assumes, that the ministry have a right to rule and dictate exclusively, in the great concerns of religion, is the fruitful source of *implicit faith*, which tamely and without inquiry, receives instruction at the hands of men, as authoritative and final — impiously receiving “for

doctrines, the commandments of men, and perverting the oracles of God." When the ministry judge and determine for the people, without their legitimate concurrence, as matter of right, conformity becomes a question of policy, instead of resulting from conscience and principle. A government which denies to the governed, the right to inquire, remonstrate, and demand withheld justice — which from its structure and operation is calculated to darken the understanding and mislead the judgment — and thus compel obedience to its measures, in the great interests of right and wrong, must be essentially unjust, and ought not to be submitted to.

Art. 17th. No power possesses so fatal a principle of increase and accumulation in itself, as ecclesiastical power. Its facilities for reproduction and multiplication are many and fearful, and should be vigilantly guarded against by all, who consider the image of God, as closely connected with the rights of man. And whenever the growth and manifestation of this power, in any of its innumerable forms and modes of operation, shall clearly amount to an invasion of Christian rights, the injured and oppressed, should resist the encroachment with manly decision and unyielding remonstrance. In every church, where the principle of representation is excluded, in the affairs of its government, the right of private judgment becomes a nullity, and faith and practice, are necessarily, to a great extent, the offspring of prescription. The right of deciding what are the will and mind of God, in matters of faith and discipline, by prescriptive interpretation, is conceded in the scriptures, to no man, or body of men exclusively: of course, the right of judgment belongs to all, equally and inalienably; and when the ministry avail themselves of the indifference, inattention, or ignorance of the people, brought under their charge from time to time, to constitute themselves their legislative masters and executive guardians, they usurp the dominion of conscience, and although never complained of, are *de facto* religious tyrants, because they assume and exercise rights, that do not, and cannot in the nature of things, belong to them. It should not be overlooked, moreover, that when the ministry are considered by the laity, as the sole judges and depositories of faith and discipline, the people lose the only powerful motive, the only direct incentive, they can possibly have, to inquire and decide for themselves, in the infinitely momentous concerns of truth and duty. Such a monopoly of power by the ministry, tends directly to mental debasement, consequent indecision of character, insincerity, and misguided zeal.

Art. 18th. That form of ecclesiastical polity, under which the revenues of the church, proceed from the people when they have no participation in the enactment of its laws, furnishes no proper constitutional balance of power; for the legislative counsel of the church, consisting of the ministry alone, have it in their power, at any time, to render the contributions of the people to an amount sufficient for their competent supply and even their affluence, not a voluntary service, but a condition of membership, when such government ceases to be free, and necessarily becomes tyrannical. Any government which places the public property of the governed, in the hands of its rulers, so that it must proceed from their gift exclusively, without any constitutional negative in its appropri-

ation on the part of the people, is unjust and vicious in its nature. Property, is dominion held in right of power, and if in the hands of a few, the balance of government is destroyed, by enabling them to control the destiny of the whole. As it is the duty of every community, to support those, who are only called to the administration of its affairs, so it is plainly a matter of right, that the will of the people, should determine the necessary amount of supplies, and the mode of their assessment and collection.

Art. 19th. Punishments should never be inflicted in any community, except when strictly necessary, and plainly called for by the public good; and in all cases, the affliction should be according to law. All punishments, proceeding from the regular administration of constitutional law, should be submitted to without resistance.

Art. 20th. The subjects of all governments, have a right to know the official acts and doings of their agents and officers, and to demand their publication accordingly.

Art. 21st. The vindication of an injured people, in a contention for their rights, is furnished by the shameful denial of their existence.

Art. 22d. Any movement by the oppressed, to recover their rights, will be resisted by those who have oppressed them; but suffering and persecution, in a cause, which the love of God and man requires, should be fearlessly met and resolutely borne.

APPENDIX J

LAY DELEGATION *vs.* LAY REPRESENTATION

By REV. T. H. LEWIS, A.M., D.D.

The Methodist Protestant Church continues to exist because no vital change has yet taken place in the government of the Church from which it was separated and there still lies upon it the responsibility of maintaining a representative Methodism, since it is not to be found elsewhere. We use the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, not for denunciation, but to make good the truth of our contention, which none knew better than they, that our forms of government are not alike, and that nearly all the reasons which led to our organization prevail to compel us to maintain and perpetuate it.

Here, then, are some of our reasons:—

a. The item of the Discipline under which the reformers were tried and expelled is still law in the Methodist Episcopal Church. We do not believe any man will ever be tried under it again for reading religious newspapers or for forming societies to discuss improvements in church government; and we believe that the editors and contributors of their periodicals are given to as free discussion as is seen anywhere; but, nevertheless, it is a fact that the law still stands, and the General Confer-

ence has never declared that discussing the government of the Church or publishing or reading such discussions does not come within the scope of that article as it declared it did in 1828.

b. It is still true that there is no provision for lay members to vote as such on any question of government in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the only vote extended to them is to recommend persons for license to exhort or to preach. In this case their vote is only a nomination. In the Methodist Protestant Church no question of government or of administration can be settled except by the vote of lay members direct or of those who have been elected by them. This is the radical difference between the two systems. In one, all power proceeds from the General Conference downwards. In the other, all power proceeds from the lay members upwards. One is determined by official position, the other by the ballot.

c. Lay delegation may or may not mean a representative government. In the Methodist Episcopal Church it cannot mean this, because, although the law of the Church now provides that the General Conference shall consist of an equal number of ministers and laymen, the laymen do not represent the laity because they are elected by a delegated body chosen by the Quarterly Conferences; and no member of any Quarterly Conference is elected by the membership of the Church. Lay delegation in the Methodist Protestant Church is not only equal and in both General and Annual Conferences, but it proceeds directly from the membership of the Church.

d. We want the right to vote upon the reception of members. A private member of the Methodist Episcopal Church can make public objection to the reception of a member, which must be sustained by charges and trial, but he has no other vote. In the Methodist Protestant Church each congregation votes upon the reception of members.

e. We want the right as members of a class to vote upon the selection of class leaders. The Methodist Episcopal Church gives to pastors the right "to appoint all the leaders; to change them when he deems it necessary."

f. As those who build and pay all the expenses of the church, we want the right to vote upon the selection of those who are to hold and manage what we provide. In the Methodist Episcopal Church "the pastor shall have the right to nominate the stewards, but the Quarterly Conference shall confirm or reject such nomination." The same law holds with regard to trustees.

g. When our Quarterly Conferences assemble to direct the affairs of the local church, we want them to be composed of men who represent the church and have been placed there by the church. In the Quarterly Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church there is no man present elected by the church. In the Methodist Protestant Church every man present except ministers has been elected by the church.

h. We want the right as laymen to be represented in the Annual Conference. This body deals with questions that concern us far more intimately than the deliverances of the General Conference. Here all the

assessments are laid upon the churches, here the boundaries of circuits are arranged, and here the ministers are assigned to the churches. None of these things should be done without the coöperation of laymen, and laymen ought to have a voice in legislating for them. All laymen are excluded from Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the Methodist Protestant Church as many laymen are present as itinerant ministers and with equal prerogatives.

i. As ministers we yield the right to determine our field of labor, but we want the right to appeal to our brethren and peers from an oppressive appointment and the right to retain an appointment until the next Annual Conference. In the Methodist Episcopal Church the bishop appoints, and there is no appeal from his appointment. He can change an appointment during the year or transfer a minister to another Conference without the minister's consent. In the Methodist Protestant Church the President appoints (in Maryland) under authority of the Conference, and every appointment is subject to revision by a committee of appeal. No minister can be transferred without his consent, and no appointment can be changed during the year without the consent of both minister and congregation.

j. We want the right involved in the very idea of representative government of electing our leaders, of changing them when it seems good to us, and of determining their powers. In the Methodist Episcopal Church the General Conference elects the Bishops for life, and Bishops appoint Presiding Elders. Presiding Elders and Bishops appoint pastors, and pastors appoint class-leaders and nominate trustees and stewards. In the Methodist Protestant Church every leader is elected by the members for a specified term and his prerogatives carefully defined.

k. We want the right of peremptory challenge when put on trial. Only a Bishop has this right in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Other accused persons must show cause for challenge. It was this fact, together with the power of the pastor to appoint the committee of trial and preside that made it easy to expel members on the charge herein mentioned. In the Methodist Protestant Church every accused person has the right to peremptory challenge equal to the number of the committee.

l. In fine, we want the right to vote as members of the Church, and not only by virtue of holding some official position in the Church. This sums up, in fact, the difference between our form of Methodism and the form represented by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Our members, by virtue of their membership, have the right recognized and guarded in our organic law to vote on all questions affecting the Church. The members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, by virtue of their membership, have no right recognized in their organic law to vote on any question affecting the Church, except to recommend persons to the Quarterly Conference for license to exhort or to preach. Ours is a representative government because our members have the right to vote, and not because we have lay delegates in all our Conferences. The government of the Methodist Episcopal Church cannot be made a representative government by admitting lay delegates into the General Conference or into

the Annual Conference, but only by admitting members of the Church to the right to vote.

If the President of the United States (Bishop) were elected by Congress for life, and if the President appointed the governors of states (Presiding Elders), and if the governors recommended to the President the appointment of county sheriffs (pastors), and if the sheriffs appointed or nominated the county commissioners (Quarterly Conference), and if the legislature (Annual Conference) were composed of the sheriffs and governor and elected one-half of the members of Congress (General Conference), and a convention (Electoral Conference) of delegates chosen by the county commissioners elected the other half of the members of Congress, we would have a civil government exactly like the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church. But no one would call this a representative government.

END OF VOL. I

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AUG 14 '34 AUG 22 '34	W. W. Sweet	
FEB 2 '32 FEB 23 '33	W. W. Sweet	
APR 26 '32 JUN 9 '32	S. G. Sumner 11	
MAY 21 '30 MAY 22 '30	W. W. Sweet	
JUL 14 '30	W. W. Sweet	
APR 23 '36 MAY 6 '36	R. L. James 1156 E 57th St.	
MAR 28 '38 MAY 23 '38	Dan Genung Desh 11	



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MAY 2 '90	Margaret Hill	
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APR 26 '38	W. W. S	JUN 9 '38
MAY 21 '34	W. W. S	MAY 22 '35
	W. W. S	JUL 14 '35
APR 29 '36	R. L. James	MAY 6 '38
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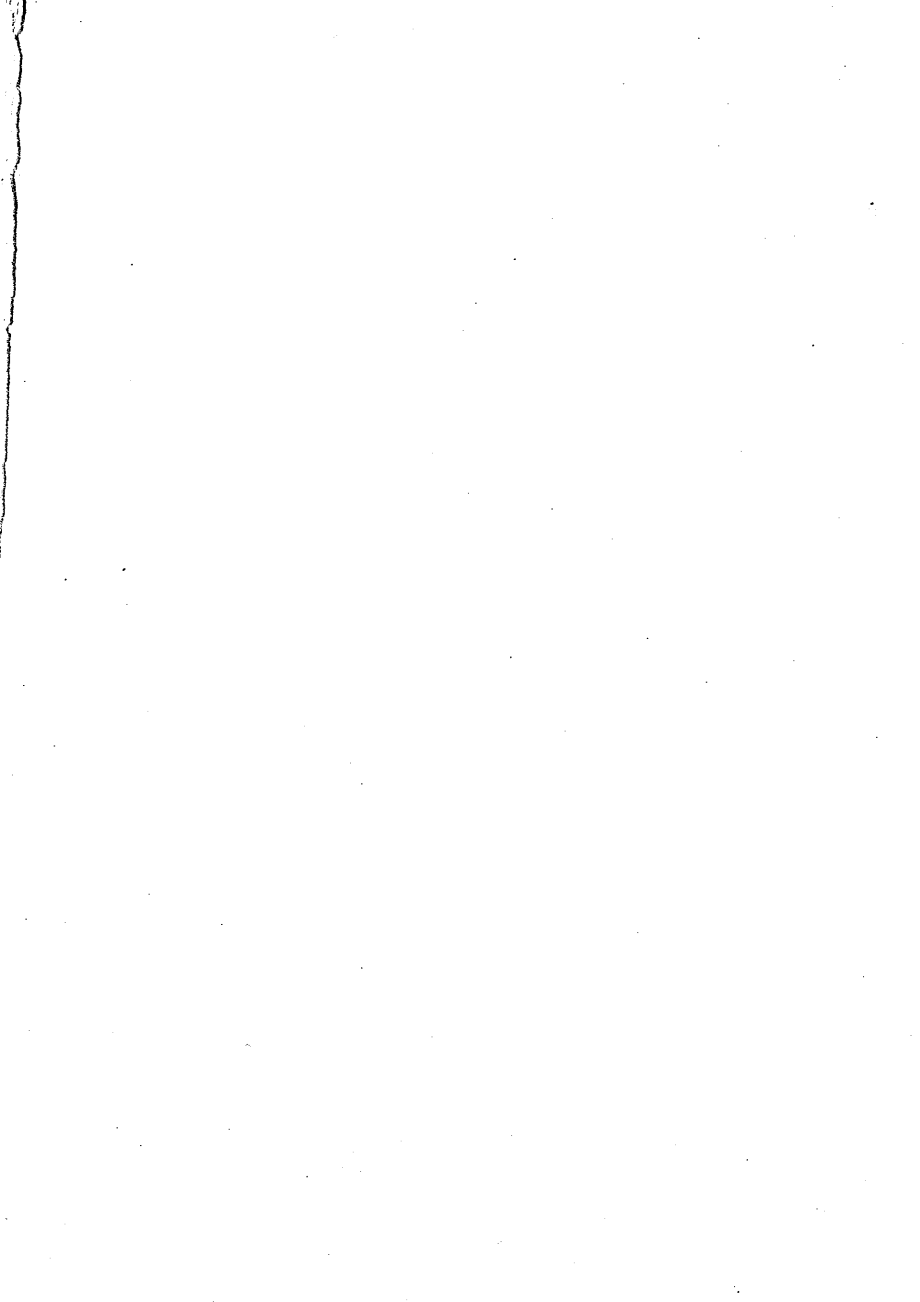
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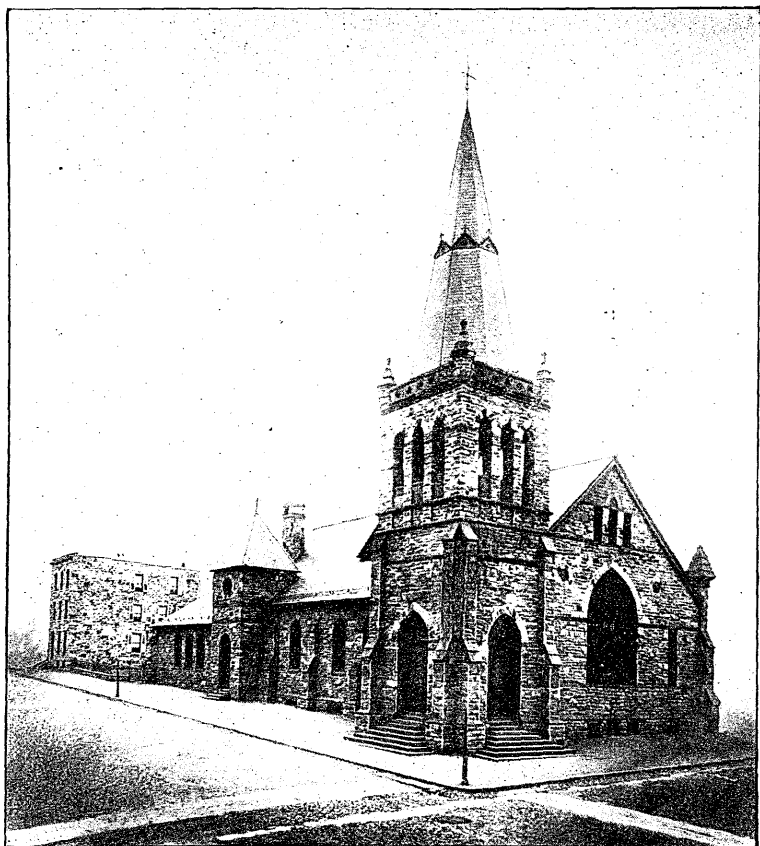
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ALNUTT MEMORIAL CHURCH AND PARSONAGE,
BALTIMORE, MD.

HISTORY

METHODIST REFORM

SYNOPTICAL OF GENERAL METHODISM

1703 to 1898

WITH SPECIAL AND COMPREHENSIVE REFERENCE TO ITS MOST
SALIENT EXHIBITION IN THE HISTORY OF THE

METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH

BY

EDWARD J. PRINKHOUSE, M.D., D.D.

(EIGHTEEN YEARS EDITOR OF "THE METHODIST PROTESTANT")

Ad astra per aspera

"Power combined with interest and inclination cannot be controlled by logic. But even power shrinks from the test of logic."

"I lay it down as an axiom that the religious liberty of a people should never be reduced below the standard of their civil liberty." —NICHOLAS SNETHEN.

The equity of all history is: Hear the other side. —THE AUTHOR.

VOLUME II

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OF THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH

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HISTORY OF METHODIST REFORM

CHAPTER I

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THE late James Anthony Froude, the English historian, employed in one of his lectures a striking illustration of historical methods: "It often seems to me as if history was like a child's box of letters, with which we can spell any word we please. We have only to pick out such letters as we want, arrange them as we like, and say nothing about those that do not suit our purpose." An equally striking exposition of his meaning is thus given: "Much so-called history has been written from this receipt no doubt, not so much because men do not regard the *suppressio veri* with as stern condemnation as the *expressio falsi*, as that man's vision is so easily limited by insufficient knowledge and so often distorted by party passion." The facts thus reflected have led to the adage, that there is nothing so false as history. The phenomenal thing about them is, that they apply quite as forcibly and truthfully to ecclesiastical as to political history. One necessary reason for it is that the facts of the past, in given groups, have more than one side, and not unfrequently are many-sided. The individuality of the writer is the controlling factor, and his point of view is made the objective. The reader of history naturally and reasonably expects to find deductions, the assumption being that next to participation in them, full possession of

the facts furnishes a vantage not to be lost, whatever the reader's final verdict may be.

The volume just closed has been written on this theory, the writer not claiming exemption from the common infirmity of historiographers. What is claimed is that Methodist Reform as a general question, and the Methodist Protestant Church as a particular instance, have suffered through the pens of writers partial, if not partisan, in their favor of the old *régimes* of Methodism, and that the truth of history demands that the group of facts defensive of the former, and hitherto suppressed, minified, or construed, should be uncovered, coördinated, and depicted in full proportions; and if the critical reader thinks he discovers any undue coloring, the insistence is that it does not more than neutralize like effects in the other class of writers. It is believed, with as much modesty as the nature of the subject admits, that the postulates of the first volume have been sustained; that much information never hitherto published, either because unsuited to the objective of the writer or inaccessible to him, has been brought to light; that no source of information or professed authority has been neglected; and that much fuller force has been allowed opposing facts and inferences than has been given by standard historians and monographists. If a portly volume has been filled before reaching the General Conference of 1820, the inciting cause of the great lay-representative movement of the succeeding decade, it has been because the heroic of a common Methodism, as well as the whole line of historic facts, belong to Reformers as well, and specially because, as has been made evident, no history of the Methodist Protestant Church can be written, logically stated and philosophically treated, that does not take into account kindred movements and the general trend of Methodism. From 1820 onward the Reform agitation, progress, culmination, and status shall receive paramount attention, and, having a heroic period of its own, economy of space, as well as emergence from such a period in the past, will dismiss from these pages the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church except as a counter illustration and necessary factor.

The General Conference of 1820 met in Baltimore, May 1, 1820, in Eutaw Street church. It was composed of eighty-nine members and the three bishops, — M'Kendree, George, and Roberts. Eleven were from New York Conference, ten from New England, seven from Genesee, eight from Ohio, three from Missouri, two from Mississippi, six from Tennessee, nine from South Carolina,

eight from Virginia, nine from Baltimore, and fourteen from Philadelphia. A full list is given by Bangs, and it shows the names of most of the leading preachers of the day. M'Kendree opened the Conference and submitted his Address, and stated that, owing to his feeble health, he would not be able to preside, but would assist his colleagues as far as possible. Alexander McCaine was elected Secretary, though not a member of the Conference, following a precedent already set. It was a high compliment to his ability and integrity. Turning aside from minor matters, the objective of this History is reached by a careful consideration of the great questions which were passed upon by this Conference: the elective presiding eldership and the supremacy of the Bishopric over the General Conference, as an interpreter of so-called constitutional law, the first as a finality, and the second accepted until reversed by the General Conference of 1844. The former had been thoroughly discussed in the Annual Conferences and in private correspondence since the death of Asbury, and nearly all the delegates came to Baltimore, as well as the bishops, with well-defined views, and with most of them under no concealment. Snethen was present as a spectator, and furnishes important information about it. He was now located on his farm in Frederick County, Md., and was not, perhaps, among the eligibles as a delegate, though he himself says, writing in 1822: "It is now nearly twenty years since I resolved never to enter a General Conference to make laws for others without their consent. In one instance, indeed, I broke this resolution (1808); but it affords me no self-complacency." He also tells how the three bishops stood on the first question, and by implication the last as well: "We have three bishops; one of them [M'Kendree] says the giving of power to the Annual Conferences in the choice of presiding elders is unconstitutional. A second [George] says it is not; and a third [Roberts] used the term without any precise technical meaning. He grants that the change will take from the episcopacy some of its former power, but he is willing to part with it. Of course he believes there is nothing in the restrictions to prevent the Annual Conferences from electing presiding elders. The discipline does not guarantee to the bishops the power of appointing the presiding elders. The zeal and perseverance of the first bishop, it seems, were thought to be worthy of a vote of thanks, which, it is said, was accordingly given by an Annual Conference. It becomes a question whether there is any appearance of evil in this transaction. Though it is a matter of some

delicacy to say in what degree, if any, it betrays an appearance of want of wisdom and candor. Neither the bishop himself, nor anybody else, ever pretended to show a single letter of authority. Their constitution is only implied or inferred; that is, it is a matter of opinion. The opinions of the bishops as well as the preachers differ, and a conference who coincide with one of them in opinion give him a vote of thanks for thinking as they do. Does not this look very much like a vote of no thanks to those who dared to think for themselves, though their way of thinking went to take power out of their own hands?"

Bishop M'Kendree in his Address gave his own decisive opinion, and it became the cue for those who ranged themselves with the minority. That the Bishop's expression of opinion was intended to forestall legislation there can be no doubt. This is his dictum: "The General Conference of 1808, satisfied with the principles and utilities of the system, constituted a delegated Conference, and by constitutional restrictions ratified and perpetuated our system of doctrines and discipline, and the rights and privileges of all the preachers and members; in a word, all the essential parts of the system of government. It is presumed that no radical change can be made for the better at present." Again: "Among so many, should some, for purposes of profit, or ease, or honor, require, as in the days of old, an injurious change in our well-tried and approved system of government, their misguided wishes, it is hoped, will be overruled by your wisdom and prudence, to whose patronage this invaluable treasure is so confidently committed."¹ He knew full well that shields of the mighty would be locked in the polemical fray soon to occupy the Conference. He knew the divergent opinions of his colleagues. He knew that when the body came to "strengthen the episcopacy" at his request, it was important that his own choice should be the choice of the Conference, and thus settle in his favor the contest, now joined between the constitutionalists and the anti-constitutionalists over the enactment of 1808. He knew that the full weight of his episcopal power and patronage must be thrown into the scale for Soule, who reserved his strength for the final tussle, well advised no doubt by M'Kendree of the policy they would mutually pursue. He knew full well that stigmatization, when pronounced by authority, is a weapon most effective, and hence his unseemly imputation of motive,— "for purposes of profit, or ease, or honor," as instigating "their misguided wishes."

¹ Paine's "Life of M'Kendree," pp. 292-300, for the full Address.

In this, however, he only followed his exemplar, Asbury, who dealt in stronger imputation of O'Kelly's motives, as already cited. The reading of it in M'Kendree's Address must have stung to the quick the large majority, who listened to it in silence, but unawed as to their purpose. Before passing from this Address, a reference in the conclusion of it must be cited for future use: "The 'Life of Bishop Asbury,' which in consequence of affliction and a press of business was not presented to the last General Conference, is now in a state of forwardness, and is recommended to your patronage." M'Kendree having found it impossible to prepare it, the Baltimore Conference engaged Dr. Samuel K. Jennings to write it, and a hundred or more pages were completed at that time. The Bishop's thorough indorsement of him and the work by this reference is to be noted.

Passing incidental business of the Conference for the first week, during which time the respective forces were caucusing and preparing for the fray on the elective presiding elder question, it was introduced early in the second week by T. Merritt of New England and Beverly Waugh of Maryland, proposing that the answer to the question, "By whom are the Presiding Elders to be chosen?" be, "By the Conference." It was discussed for two days, twenty-one speaking, thirteen of them in favor. Ezekiel Cooper, one of the affirmative, now moved that it lie on the table, for the purpose of bringing forward a motion which he believed would accommodate both parties. It was that the bishops should nominate three times the number of presiding elders to be elected, out of which number the Conference should elect. Considerable debate ensued upon it, when William Capers and Nathan Bangs moved the appointment of a committee of three from each side to confer with the bishops on the subject. George was in the chair, and appointed Ezekiel Cooper, John Emory, and Nathan Bangs for the alteration, and S. G. Roszel, Joshua Wells, and William Capers for the present form. They met the bishops, but without result, and another meeting was appointed for the next morning. This meeting was not attended by either Emory or Cooper, and nothing was done. Why did they not attend? No explanation is given, so it is open to conjecture, and it is that the arbitrary stand of M'Kendree forbade self-respecting men to take the risk of a second rebuff. At noon of the next day Bishop George requested the committee to meet him in the gallery of the church, and, after some explanations as to the bearing of the accommodation plan, he pronounced himself as in its favor. On it the committee

united, the report being written by John Emory.¹ It was brought forward at the afternoon session, and passed by a vote of sixty-one to twenty-five, or more than two-thirds. The report as passed also included the decision, "that the presiding elders be, and are hereby made, the advisory council of the bishop or president of the Conference in stationing the preachers." While the matter was in the hands of the committee, or on the 9th of May, action was taken on the Bishop's Address as to strengthening the episcopacy, and it was resolved that "it is expedient that one additional General Superintendent be elected and ordained by this General Conference." On the 13th the election took place, there being only one member of the body absent, so that on counting the votes eighty-eight were reported, of which number Joshua Soule received forty-seven and Nathan Bangs thirty-eight, with three scattering votes. Soule was declared elected.

Taking up the action on the eldership where it was left, the Journal of the Conference shows that immediately thereafter Soule obtained leave of absence. The issue was joined. Did he consult M'Kendree? Who can doubt it? Their concert of action is proof. In this interval he prepared and delivered to Bishops George and Roberts the notable letter in which he made issue with the General Conference. It may be found in full in Tigert's "History," p. 340. Three of its sentences are italicized, whether by the Bishop elect or Dr. Tigert he does not record, but they are enough to give the gist of it. After the opening sentence, "In consequence of an act of the General Conference passed this day, in which I conceive the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church is violated, . . . I cannot consistently with my convictions of propriety and obligation enter upon the work of an itinerant General Superintendent. . . . I was elected under the constitution and government of the Methodist Episcopal Church unimpaired. . . . I solemnly declare, and could appeal to the Searcher of hearts for the sincerity of my intentions, that I cannot act as Superintendent under the rules this day made and established by the General Conference." Tigert says, "This act of the Bishop elect was prompt and decisive. The question was not new to him." This is true. He spoke from the vantage-ground as the acknowledged author of the restrictive articles of 1808, and specially that which forbade

¹ Dr. Buckley, in the "History of Methodism," Vol. I. p. 434, says that this report was signed by Cooper, Roszel, Bangs, Wells, Emory, and Capers, the entire committee.

the General Conference "to change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." True, also, that many who voted for the restrictions never dreamed that it was a Mede and Persian regulation, and that covertly this very elective presiding eldership was to be forestalled by it, so that when Soule's letter was read to the Conference, claiming for himself the *right to interpret the law as well* according to the mental reserves of Asbury, M'Kendree, and himself, great was the astonishment and the indignation of not a few of the large majority. Before his letter was read to the Conference, the bishops held a consultation over it. Snethen has already given their diverse views, so the result of their interview only need be cited, which was that they would proceed with the ordination, M'Kendree to report to the Conference their views of the question raised by Soule. Two days after his election accordingly, M'Kendree presented Soule's letter to the Conference, and also read one from himself, the gist of which is in these sentences: "I extremely regret that you have, by this measure, reduced me to the painful necessity of pronouncing the resolution unconstitutional, and therefore without the proper authority of the Church. . . . I enter this protest." It had been fondly hoped since 1808 by the liberal sentiment of the preachers that the restrictive articles, whether accepted as a Constitution or not, did away with the former power of veto of the bishops, and this view received encouragement by the course of the bishops themselves, who from that time ceased to participate in debate, made no motion, and abstained from voting. Judge their astonishment as well as indignation to hear this resumption of it by the senior Bishop,—he pronounced it unconstitutional and destitute of authority.

The ordination of Soule had been set by the bishops for Wednesday, May 24, at 11 o'clock A.M., whereupon the majority, unimpressed by this show of authority and menace of power, held a caucus and determined to arrest his ordination. Capers, in his manuscript account of the action, as cited by Paine, complains: "Those in favor of a change took exceptions to [M'Kendree and Soule's letters], held a caucus without consulting those not in favor of the change, and determined to arrest the ordination of J. Soule." D. Ostrander and James Smith deserve to be embalmed as the authors of the resolution, which recites in substance that inasmuch as the Bishop elect had notified them that he would not be bound by the Conference action, that "the Bishops be

earnestly requested by this Conference to defer or postpone the ordination of the said Joshua Soule until he gives satisfactory explanations to this Conference." Tigert speaks of the "manly dignity" of Soule, and quotes from Stevens his "dignified carriage as at times verging on majesty." It may be conceded, but it is opined, that the reader will see in this revolution of Ostrander and Smith a manly dignity quite equal to any exhibition Soule ever made. Meantime it seems that the minority had also gotten together and agreed upon a line of proceeding, as they could caucus as well, so that, while the resolution was debating, Soule and others complained that it did not fairly represent him. True, it was blunt, but the objection was a quibble. Finally it was withdrawn. Then a motion was made to reconsider the action of the Conference on the presiding-elder question. It was lost, whereupon Nelson Reed suggested that they proceed at once to the ordination of Soule, as the time set had come. At this juncture, Tigert finds Soule's manly dignity, when he rose and requested the Conference by vote to postpone it, but it was not concurred in — the manly dignity of the Conference was aroused to a high pitch. The debate went on, shields were locked, timid or disgusted men left the Conference room, until it was discovered by the presiding Bishop George, willing to find some way out of the imminent crisis, that there was not a two-thirds vote present for business; he rose "and announced that the episcopacy had deferred the ordination, and the Conference adjourned."

The next morning all were present but five, Roberts in the chair, and the motion was finally taken by ballot, and resulted in a tie, forty-three to forty-three; the chair refused to vote, and pronounced it lost. The next day Bishop George again announced the ordination for 12 o'clock, whereupon Soule presented a letter, in which he stated his resignation of the office of Bishop. It was laid on the table. At the next session he pressed it, but no action was taken. The case was apparently lost for an unlimited and irresponsible episcopacy, the General Conference declaring itself supreme in its opinion, as set over against that of M'Kendree and Soule, that an Elective Presiding Eldership was not an infringement of the restrictive articles, granting the bishops their full claim of being conscientious as to its being a violation.

The situation was desperate and called for desperate measures by the episcopacy and its adherents. It developed in a piece of political strategy worthy the finesse of accomplished lobbyists.

It has never come to light who were the conceivers and executors of it, but the fact is known that during the next twenty-four hours, an evening and a night being included, as answering well such work, a paper was carried round to the members, favorable and doubtful and weak-hearted, asking signatures to an agreement to vote the next day for a "suspension" of the "conciliatory resolutions," as those on the eldership were called, inasmuch as the friends of the measure had conceded everything they could by yielding the nomination to the episcopacy of the men who were to be elders, and in the cabinet of the bishops. Forty-five signers were secured, a bare majority of the Conference. Who can tell what arguments of patronage and what menaces of power were used by these dark-lantern manipulators? Snethen's comment upon this transaction is mildly expressed but trenchantly keen. He had retired to his country home before it had occurred. He says, "We were not present when the protest [if we may call it so] against the conciliation was entered. Having witnessed that interesting scene [the vote of a large majority in favor of the conciliation plan] we left the Conference with joyful emotions of heart." Two years subsequently, in the first of the numerous articles he wrote for the *Wesleyan Repository*, he said of it, "No man ought to be questioned for anything he says in a hall of legislation; but when men legislate out of doors, they place themselves within the reach of animadversion. The vote to reconsider the plan of conciliation came to a tie, yet after several of the members had left the Conference a paper was taken round among the members, and forty-five signers were engaged, and pledged to vote for a suspension of the rule for four years. The principal mover of the measure declared the fact before the Conference, in defiance of argument, etc." The finesse of the transaction is seen in part from the fact that it called only for a suspension for four years, and for that this dark-lantern method secured the actual signatures of the members; first, that there might be no hedging by them, and, second, that the evidence of their participation might be submitted to M'Kendree in proof of their fealty. The next morning, May 26, the motion to suspend was introduced. It was warmly debated, despite the unblushing avowal that forty-five names were appended to it, S. G. Roszel acting as spokesman and tactician, as he was probably the active agent in the outdoor work through the night. Griffith, Hedding and Bangs took part. Late in the afternoon it was carried by a vote of forty-five in favor and thirty-five against. Thus it is seen that not a single vote was

gained for it by the day's debate, while thirty-five, probably all who remained in attendance, unflinchingly voted against it, nine of the members having gone home or declined to attend the session. The large majority was now a hopeless minority. The cause was lost — it will be seen, irrevocably.

The remaining steps may be briefly summarized. Soule's resignation was before the Conference as unfinished business. Roszel and Hodges moved that he be requested to withdraw it and "comply with the wishes of his brethren in submitting to be ordained." It was carried by a vote of forty-nine in favor, the negative not stated; four weaklings went over to the forty-five. Thus the way seemed to open for the complete triumph of the M'Kendree party, but, as Tigert gives the cue, "the bishop elect had been attacked in different ways, and sorely pressed," and he still insisted on his resignation, and it was accepted. Capers says, however, "that it was not done by a direct vote of the Conference, but announced from the chair that it was accepted." (See Tigert, p. 347.) Alexander McCaine, acting as Secretary to the body and intimate with all the members, throws some light upon an occult reason for Soule's resignation; the large minority vote on his election was an intense one, and they availed of every opportunity to defeat his ordination afterward. Let McCaine explain: "But why were the preachers who best know Mr. Soule so strongly opposed to his ordination? There is no instance of such stern opposition being made to the ordination of any other Methodist bishop. Simply because Joshua Soule was a *despot*. Now it matters not a straw with us, whether this statement be controverted by Mr. Soule, or any of his friends, on the ground that 'despot' was not the term that was used. We believe it was the *very term*; but whether it was despot or tyrant, it is all the same in our estimation, as the ground of opposition was an overbearing, despotic, tyrannical disposition. Perhaps his brother bishop, Elijah Hedding, recollects the expression or expressions used when stating his reasons for opposing the ordination of Mr. Soule. That there was an opposition — a strong, intense, and unparalleled opposition — we presume Mr. Soule himself will not deny. This being the case, it will show that there were other reasons for his declination to be ordained than that which he, or some of his friends for him, have asserted: the action of the General Conference on the Presiding Elder question. These proceedings will do more than this; they will show that the charge of despotism has not originated with the author of these sketches,

but with the men who were well acquainted with him, etc.”¹ It may be well to observe, in passing, that McCaine as a writer did not mince his words, but, as he in this instance proves, the harshest terms employed by him, and for which his writings were in 1827-30 condemned, and himself made an exception to the amnesty proposed by the General Conference of 1828 to the Reformers, were terms he learned from the lips of Cooper, Griffith, Bangs, Emory, and others in the open debates and private conversations of these times. But there is a difference when Hedding denounces Soule as a despot in 1820, and McCaine does the same of him and others in 1827-30, as shall be shown. Soule was both conscientious and consistent in his stand as compared with his position in 1808. His honesty cannot and need not be impeached. He maintained his consistency in all his after career; and before marshalling the issues of this decisive contest of 1820, the concluding legislative action of that Conference may be noted.

Early in the Eldership-Soule debate, on motion he was voted \$1000 extra compensation for his services as Book Agent in New York. The vote was not explained with satisfaction. Tigert furnishes a number of letters written by Soule during the Conference to the bishops, defining and justifying his position, and those who wish to read all that he has said are referred to them. May 27, after Bishop George had intimated that the election of another Bishop was a necessity, Wells and Capers moved to go into an election, but it was withdrawn, after information had been given by the bishops that a Protest² against entering into another election, signed by thirty members of the New York, New England, Genesee, Philadelphia, and other Conferences was in their hands. Roszel having affirmed that they would have no one but Soule, it was feared by the now defeated friends of an elective eldership that such an election would only result in a reelection of Soule, and this they determined to defeat at all hazards.³ In the emergency George and Roberts agreed to do

¹ Letters. Boston. 8vo. 206 pp. 1850.

² Among the reasons assigned in this Protest is the following: “They also complain of the majority for the manner in which they secured the suspension of the Presiding Elder resolutions ‘on yesterday by obtaining the signatures of said majority,’ and that now they are so leagued together that they can and will carry any measure they choose, however obnoxious to the feelings and views of the minority. They therefore say we most earnestly wish the present session to come to a close.” Paine’s “Life of M’Kendree.”

³ McCaine gives some farther facts in evidence. “When it was officially announced that Joshua Soule was elected to the office of Bishop, the preachers who

the work with M'Kendree as far as he would be physically able, until the next General Conference, and so ended the question.

The law allowing the Annual Conferences to "form their own regulations about buying and selling slaves" was rescinded. John Emory was appointed a delegate to the English Conference to settle the Canada differences. His abilities as a staunch advocate of the Elective Eldership, and his rising reputation generally, brought from the Episcopal party this first suggestive promotion. What came of this visit has been considered in the first volume. On the last day of the Conference it was discovered that the restrictive articles of 1808 were defective in that they made no provision to pass upon the constitutionality of the acts of a General Conference. Did Soule overlook it? The presumption must be that he did not, for consistency in his general position delegated to the bishops a veto power over the acts of the General Conference as the interpreters of laws, and called for no provision by which they could be overruled. It was his idea of an episcopacy, akin to that of Asbury and M'Kendree. The Conference, however, was alarmed on this discovery and passed a resolution advising the several Annual Conferences to authorize the ensuing General Conference to enact a law that when an action of it shall be pronounced unconstitutional by the bishops, they shall return it to the body within three days, and if it then pass by a two-thirds vote, it shall be valid despite the objection of the bishops. By a majority vote it was a tentative agreement to a veto power of the bishops. What came of it will be seen hereafter.

were best acquainted with him determined to defeat his ordination. Whether they met in caucus to consult how they could most easily and certainly effect their purpose, we are not able to say, but we have been told that their first plan was to come in a body into the church when the officiating Bishop was about to commence the services, and protest against his ordination. Why this plan was abandoned to make way for another, we know not. We do know that their second plan was to reduce the General Conference below the constitutional number necessary to give validity to its proceedings, which is 'two-thirds.' For this purpose, as the hour (12 M.) approached, one after another of those preachers who were opposed to his ordination would go out, until at last, 'seven minutes before twelve,' when Mr. Sias was speaking, it was ascertained there was not a quorum. Bishop George then announced, 'The ordination is postponed to some future time.'" This account bears every sign of verisimilitude, not only in the caution of McCaine in not affirming beyond his positive knowledge, but in that the facts stated are found to quadrate perfectly with those already given by Paine and Tigert. Was Bishop George a party to it? It seems probable in that as an advocate of the Elective Eldership, Cooper, and not Soule, must have been his preference, and in that he must have observed from the chair the diminishing number of members present, and his quick avail to postpone on the no-quorum excuse. See "Letters on M. E. Church," Boston, 1850, p. 169.

Three things were incontestably established by the final action of this General Conference. First, that the bishopric was an order and not an office merely; that it was a life tenure, and carried with it such an interpretation of the restrictive articles as made it impossible for any succeeding body to change either the statutory or traditional regulations of Asbury and M'Kendree, as to its powers; that the Bishop was not open to impeachment except for immorality, and was practically unamenable to any one but himself. The General Conferences of 1824, 1828 settled these concessions even more fully, so that from this period onward the theory was taught and acted upon in the undivided Methodist Episcopal Church down to 1844. Then the delegates from the North and West, finding that they could make no case on which to demand the suspension or resignation of Bishop Andrew as a "General Superintendent," by reason of his unpopularity in those sections in that he was a slaveholder, having come to the relation by a marriage which entailed upon him such property, which by the laws of the state in which he and they lived could not be made free, abandoned the ground of Asbury and M'Kendree, and took the position, until then entirely new, except as held by a minority largely in the silence of submission, that the bishopric was not an order, but an office simply; and they claimed for the General Conference the sovereignty which it was all along held had been vested in the restrictive articles of 1808, and that of consequence it was competent for it to suspend or depose a Bishop who refused to resign, on high grounds of expediency such as appeared in the case of Andrew. Its ultimate will be seen when the division of 1844 has been reached and considered. It was entirely consistent with Wesley's idea and purpose in the appointment of General Superintendents, and therefore the true Wesleyan system; but it was inconsistent with the hierarchic system of which Coke, Asbury, M'Kendree, and Soule were the fathers and exponents. Logical necessity therefore compelled Soule in 1844 to unite his fortunes with the South, and has held it ever since in the hierarchic toils, waiting some future day of redemption, while it also led the North to such finalities of action in delimiting the bishopric as has been already exhibited in the first volume.

Second, the action of this General Conference for the time determined the supremacy of a Bishop over it, irrespective of two-thirds majority or unanimous votes. Let it not startle the conservative reader,—it is not a coinage of the writer. Dr. John

Emory must be given the credit of it as another epigram in reform literature. When M'Kendree, in his address to the Baltimore Conference in 1822, plead for their adoption of a resolution approving the suspension of the conciliatory paper of 1820, as required by the constitution, it so aroused Emory, that "justice to himself and the cause which he espoused demanded that he should expose what he considered its fallacies," and he did it in so masterful a manner that the Bishop's request was "indefinitely postponed by a large vote." See Robert's Life of his father, p. 148, following the father's statement on p. 147: "In the estimation of the advocates of an elective presiding eldership, the question now merged in the more important one whether the episcopacy or the General Conference was to be supreme." The reader, on a calm review of the proceedings, will determine the question for himself; it need not be more firmly established by the writer.

Third, the action of this General Conference was a demonstration that it is hopeless to expect reform from within in a hierarchic system. In this, history has many times repeated itself. Snethen, one of the most buoyant and charitable of men, reviewing calmly the situation and the opinions entertained as to the emergency, says: "The common opinion was, the plan works well enough [the Asbury-M'Kendree plan], and it will be time enough to correct the evils when they happen, if they ever do. No fears were entertained of consequences. Now I too was (as they said) for letting well enough alone,¹ wanting no remedy for well enough, but to provide for bad enough; because none had been provided, and when it should come, the remedy would be too late. The notion, as I conceived, that a government so constructed might be reformed, has no foundation in science. A carriage which has no brake upon its wheels, when descending a hill cannot be stopped to provide one; but its motion must grow more rapid as it runs." How apt the illustration, and how verified the fact! A parallel from history obtrudes itself, as given by D'Aubigné, so pertinent that it will not down. He says in substance, the Council of Constance is an example of the futility of Reform from within the erring Church. It was assembled at the call for Reformation on all sides. Never convened a more august conclave of Romish officials. There were eighteen hundred doctors of divinity and priests, with an immense number of cardinals, archbishops, bishops; the Emperor himself, with a retinue of a

¹ See his "Replies to O'Kelly," so far as he was the author.

thousand attendants, and other civil dignitaries and ambassadors from all nations composed an authoritative assembly unprecedented in the history of Christianity. Everything bowed before it as it deposed three rival popes at once, and at the same time delivered John Huss to the flames. A commission was formed to propose a fundamental Reform. The Council was unanimously supported by the Emperor Sigismund. The cardinals all took an oath that he among them who should be elected Pope would not dissolve the Assembly nor leave Constance before the desired reformation should be accomplished. Colonna was chosen, under the title of Martin V. So soon as he had placed the tiara on his head, he exclaimed, "The Council is at an end!" Sigismund and the Council uttered a cry of distress and indignation, but it was lost upon the wind. Martin ordered a coronation procession to be formed of the Assembly, and rode through the streets of Constance with the highest in civil authority holding the bridle of his horse and all obsequiously bowing before him. With the admission that it is comparing small things with great, the parallel holds. The General Conference of 1820 assembled with a two-thirds majority bent upon a great Reform. There were twenty-eight out of the fifty-eight presiding elders elected to it, but a number of these were known to be favorable to the Reform. Its purpose had been maturing for four years and was backed by the laity of the Church. Assembled, it proceeded to its object despite all murmurings and menaces, and, when it was accomplished amid general rejoicing and the retirement of some of the delegates to their homes, the Bishop elect, Soule, uttered his "veto," and before adjournment finally had the Conference at his feet. His interpretation prevailed over two-thirds of the episcopacy and two-thirds of the Conference, the senior Bishop fully indorsing the junior. At the best their view was nothing but an official opinion, and "I declare upon my conscience," set over against the opinion of their episcopal colleagues and the verdict of the Conference. How forcibly does Snethen philosophize and rationalize upon this issue: "What would be thought of the Grand Turk, for instance, if he should oppose any plan to favor the liberties of the people, because it was unconstitutional. Constitutions were designed to set bounds to power. The people of the United States, in 1787, made a constitution to prevent absolute monarchy, not to confirm it. The barons of England met at *Runnymede* to set bounds to the power of the kings, and not to form a great charter of despotism. . . . For bishops and travelling preachers

to employ the restrictions only to restrain the hands of those who labor to promote liberty makes them appear so much like tyrants that, let them assert to the contrary ever so loudly, people will say, 'Actions speak louder than words!' Why will they not be entreated to forbear to argue that they have a constitution which shuts up all the avenues by which liberty can possibly enter into the Church, so that it never can gain an admittance, unless those who have seated themselves in power shall condescend to open the door. All the circumstances connected with this constitutional claim, which has been set up and pursued with so much perseverance, appear to threaten evil consequences. When our countrymen find every idea which they have been in the habit of attaching to a constitution reversed, and instead of this instrument being a palladium of liberty, as they supposed, becoming a mere charter of self-created and monopolized power, must they not lose all confidence in the agents who produced the transformation."

Bangs has quite fully given a digest of the whole discussion of the elective eldership question in his history, and with marked impartiality, seeing that he favored it, but Snethen has pointed out the very gist of it, in the alternative argument: "Either the presiding elders should become responsible to the Annual Conferences, or that a rule should be made to prevent them from becoming members of the General Conference." Perhaps the friends of the measure would have been content with such a restrictive law but for the fact that it in turn would have been a gross invasion of personal rights, and an offensive piece of class legislation. Wherefore? The working of the hierarchic principle had already become patent,—the junior preacher voted for the senior preacher for reasons obvious enough in the practical administration of the Conference politics; the senior voted for his presiding elder, and the presiding elder voted for all measures countenanced by the presiding bishop, and opposed those he opposed. As a consequence the list of elders in every General Conference grew,¹ until few pastors found a way to climb the

¹ The composition of the General Conference of 1820 is remarkable as an illustration of this very fact, though as already mentioned but twenty-eight were at the time in actual service as presiding elders, yet McCaine, who knew every man of them personally, says that it was composed "of eighty-nine sitting members, sixty-three of whom were presiding elders, or had filled that station." See *Repository*, Vol. III, p. 375, so that in addition to the twenty-eight elders in actual office there were thirty-five ex-elders in it. From this fact one can estimate the sweep of sentiment that crystallized in favor of an elective eldership. How

steeps of ecclesiastical ambition; and it was precisely these things that ultimated in the high-handed steps of Soule and M'Kendree, under cover of their conscience and the constitution, as they interpreted it. A concluding sentence of a paragraph as to this historical era, in the introductory chapter of the first volume, makes the allegation: "It marked its culmination; it also marked its decadence." It was made after the facts, but the prescient minds of Snethen and Alexander McCaine reached the same conclusion. In a few years thereafter, the former said (1823): "From the suspension of the conciliatory resolutions, I date the commencement of the downfall of our bishops' power;" and the latter, in 1850, wrote, "Methodist Episcopacy arrived at the *ne plus ultra* of power and authority in 1820. This was the year it ceased to advance; and from this year also, we may date the commencement of its decline." A succeeding chapter will furnish the rationale of it.

One more action of this General Conference challenges notice before it is dismissed from these pages, the most pregnant in its results ever held down to 1844, and intimately connected with it in its root principles, as will hereafter be shown. At the General Conference of 1816, the local ministers and preachers had petitioned that body for representation in it. The answer of the Conference in the negative was written by John Emory, and was a forcible paper, from the Conference point of view. The locality had increased both in average ability and numbers, sustaining the relation of nearly three to one of the itinerants, which at this date are set down at 904, and now that so large a proportion of them were ordained, either as deacons or elders, the question of their subordination was a vexed one. In 1820 they renewed their petitions, and it was deemed expedient by the bishops and the itinerants to do something that would at least have the appearance of concession to their claims.¹ The Conference created "The District Conference," to be composed of "all the local preachers in the presiding elder's district who have been licensed two much these disgruntled men, who secured their election on the issue over the actual incumbents of the office, had to do with the result may be recognized as a factor; for at this time there were sixty-five elders' districts. Twenty-eight of these actual incumbents secured election, though as made plain from the debates not a few of them favored the elective system. The remaining thirty-seven were defeated by thirty-five ex-elders, presumably on this issue. It is a curious and instructive study.

¹ This concession was most adroit and had an ulterior purpose well exposed by Hon. Philemon B. Hopper of Maryland in the *Westleyan Repository* for March, 1822, under the title, "An Earnest Appeal." He makes the *exposé* in these

years," and there was transferred to it all the powers formerly vested in the Quarterly Conference as to the supervision of this class. It ran through about a decade of years, and then died of inanition. It was a mere shadow of the thing the locality asked, and never was popular with them. It was often difficult to assemble them together. It proved an abortion, but use was made of it in connection with the proceedings against Reformers in 1827-30, which invests it with an historical importance it could not otherwise claim in this work.

illuminating words: "The very idea that the people should know and appreciate their rights* is most terrible to the advocates of the exceptionable parts of our Church Government. This was strikingly evinced by the acts of the last General Conference; for when the most enlightened local preachers in the different parts of the country (many of whom were once found to rule the Church), feeling their state of degradation, and their near approximation to the condition of the private members of the Church, became dissatisfied, the General Conference took the alarm, and, fearing that their clamors might arouse the people, they determined to appease them by raising them a grade higher than the people. They gave them the power to hold district conferences, to make local preachers, and to recommend preachers to travel, thereby taking from the membership what little of the preacher-making power they had before. This nominal distinction appears to have satisfied these clamorous local preachers, without bestowing on them one legislative prerogative."

* See this strikingly confirmed in the succeeding chapter.

The whole of this local preacher question on which so much can be said for and against, proved a bull in the china shop, both to the itinerants and the people in tentations for the adjustment of the inequalities between the last two. Snethen was a warm advocate of the locality as such, but did not favor their ordination, and when they failed to make an appreciative use of their District Conference privilege, he despaired of a satisfactory adjustment with them. Through ill-health, he was of the class for a number of years, and so entitled to speak without prejudice. He thus speaks: "In this same General Conference the local preachers' Conference was authorized. My advice was asked [he was then local himself]. It was that whatever the General Conference might do in regard to the local preachers should be real and not nominal; that their expectations ought not to be raised with the promise of substance to be disappointed with shadows. I had been an advocate of the local preachers for twelve years, that is, until their ordination to elder's orders was sanctioned by the General Conference; but the fate of their Conference disclosed facts enough to convince me that as a body they would not be apt to profit by anything which might be gained for them. As I had become local I ceased to have any immediate personal interest in the election of presiding elders by the members of the Annual Conferences. But to preserve consistency I gave the cause all the continued support in my power." This was written in 1835. See Introduction to his volume on "Lay Representation," for that year. Methodism in England, next to the Wesleys, owed its origin to local preachers, and in America they absolutely originated it. It would seem that too much honor could not be paid them. When Richard Allen inaugurated the African M. E. Church they were admitted to the Conferences on an equality with the itinerants. Perhaps if the General Conference of 1820 had been sagacious enough—inasmuch as the District Conference in its ulterior purpose was to forestall an agitation of lay rights—to admit them likewise, reinforced by this influential class in almost every location, it might have further delayed Lay-Reform for scores of years. But the illusive arrogation had seized the itinerants that the man on horseback, riding upon saddle-bags, had imparted to him a capacity for governing impossible to the laity, or to the locality. Perpetual motion on a circuit was virtue-inspiring and wisdom-imparting.

CHAPTER II

Fears of M'Kendree and notably of Soule of the effect upon the membership of the defeat of the presiding elder question — It did alarm the "people," and was the seed of the Reform of 1827-30 — Snethen on this point — M'Kendree's reference of the measure to the Annual Conferences; failure of it, and his "baby act" plea for his change of views since O'Kelly's defection analyzed to his discomfiture — Sketch of W. S. Stockton and the inception of the *Wesleyan Repository* in 1821 — The *Repository* in its objects and contributors and support carefully reviewed — In it James Smith published an unanswerable argument against the Constitutional nature of the restrictive articles of 1808 and quoted here in full — The quest since then of the old Church for its "Constitution" never yet found — The local preacher contention and its damage to the Lay-Representation movement of 1820-30 fully considered — First public Reform meeting in Cincinnati, August 19, 1823 — Ezekiel Cooper's plan — Early Reformers.

REVIEWING the situation in 1820, Bishop Paine, in his "Biography of Bishop M'Kendree," says, "Who can doubt but that on both sides there was honest difference of opinion among brethren equally good and true? Who doubts that Garrettson, Bangs, Hedding, Pickering, Emory, and Waugh, and their colleagues, on one side, and Collins, Capers, Andrew, Roszel, Reed, and Soule, and their associates, on the other side, were aiming with equal zeal and integrity to promote what they sincerely believed to be the permanent interests of the Church?" It need not be doubted, though sincerity and honesty are often, as in this case, made to cover indirection of method and arbitrary proceeding, both of which were conspicuously exhibited by the opponents of the measure. Nothing could disguise the fact that a majority vote of more than two-thirds was made a minority by the seductions of patronage and the menaces of power. No one can doubt that if the measure had been defeated by honorable means, no such distracting agitation and imminent peril would have followed its defeat. Let the consequences be examined.

M'Kendree, in his Journal of this date, says, "The Conference hastened to a close, and the members departed to their respective charges, but with different views relative to our Church polity, the result of the Conference, and the state of the Episcopacy; and

their conflicting views and apprehensions were but too freely disseminated among the people." And Soule, writing to M'Kendree May 6, 1821,¹ expressed fears of the course the latter had determined to pursue, that of submitting the suspended resolutions for the decision of the Annual Conferences, and in a few sentences lets in the light on their secret forebodings as to the effect upon the ignored "people." "But my principal fears are *the effect the measure may have on the membership.* The measures of the last General Conference *have given many of our people great alarm.*" The italics in both citations are supplied. Following the extract from Soule's letter, he indulges reflections indicative of the mole-like blindness of the autocratic mind as to the acquiescence of the people in their own ignoring and subjection. It is the very essence of paternity — your lordly rulers in State and Church construe silence to be peace, and when the rod is stretched over them until their human nature winces, the "agitators" are denounced for disturbing the blissful serenity of their paternal reign. The great alarm among the people, which Soule had reason to witness more in 1821, than M'Kendree had in May, 1820, both of them utterly misunderstood. It was not as they put it, that they feared a disturbance of the enactments of 1808, in which Soule imagined they had acquiesced, so that "general joy prevailed under the conviction that we had arrived at that permanent state of things in which all might rest." The query comes up: How could they be known to acquiesce in measures about which they were not consulted in the remotest degree? Their alarm was excited by the spectacle of these war-horses of the episcopacy taking the bit in their teeth in defiance of all restraint. They applied fire to the dry stubble — what marvel that these peasants ecclesiastical should cry out when they saw it menace farmhouse and barn, fence and forest. Snethen voiced their deeper thinking, and requotation is demanded. "Truly, if people care not how the church is governed, their governors will, in process of time, care little how they govern them. This indifference is one of the awful and undoubted evidences of the effects of an absolute government." Yet the contention is not made that all the laity were equally affected in this way. As in the ranks of the ministry, so in those of the laity, there was a hierarchic party. Snethen aptly illustrated the divergence: "From many cases which we can recollect, we are all persuaded that the tories, as they were called, were not in the usual acceptation of the term, enemies of their country, or friends to tyranny. In what then did they dif-

¹ Tigert's "History," p. 365.

fer from the whigs? Why, in their unbounded confidence in their rulers. True, said they, we may be taxed without our consent; but we ought to help to bear the expenses of the mother country; the parliament will never tax us unreasonably. The whigs, on the contrary, looked steadily at the principle; if the parliament, said they, assume the right, or the power, to take a penny without our consent, they may take a pound; and if one pound, all our property. How was this last argument resisted? We now look back with wonder upon the blind and obstinate attachment of our countrymen to the then existing powers. But there was another cause operating on their minds, while their confidence was strong in the goodness of the king and parliament; their partisans took care to influence their feelings against the assertors of principle. You have, said they, more to fear from these revolutionists, than from the established government, which will not take more than is necessary. It was by this means that principle was lost sight of, and passion and prejudice were raised to the highest degree. . . . Absolute government is wrong in principle, and confidence in it is wrong. All these worthy itinerants are creatures of a day. Men are given to change, but principles are immortal. The principles of these obnoxious travelling and local preachers, and the brethren with whom they act, are right. They say, and they say truly, that the best of men ought not to be intrusted with unnecessary powers and prerogatives." Once more, as bearing directly upon the times of 1820-24: "For many years my mind has been quieted, as it regarded any immediate danger the principle of lay-delegation might be exposed to, by taking it for granted that, should a crisis arrive, a majority of travelling preachers, as American citizens, could not be found publicly and officially to declare that the laity have no right directly to participate in church legislation. Transpiring events, however, continued to excite suspicion that I might have been too sanguine; and the suspended resolutions converted suspicion into certainty. If liberal principles had prevailed, the evidences of their decline were irresistible. Can men, who will yield their own rights in a struggle with prerogative, be trusted with the rights of others?" Thus was securely laid, by the ministerial father of Lay-Representation in America, the foundation, rationally and philosophically, of the great Methodist Reformation of the decade from 1820 to 1830. But before it is further opened by the laic father, William S. Stockton, let the devious course of Bishop M'Kendree be traced; his personal responsibility for submitting the suspended resolu-

tions for the approval of the Annual Conferences; the expedients resorted to, and the finality of the bold challenge thus be made.

After the adjournment of the General Conference, Bishop M'Kendree remained in Baltimore for some weeks recruiting his health and fortifying himself by consultation with his friends in his determination to submit the suspended resolutions to the Annual Conferences. For this action he cited the precedent of Asbury, who, after organizing the Genesee Conference, met the protests of the preachers by submitting the act to the Annual Conferences among which he was sustained as well as by the succeeding General Conference. He urged other plausible reasons and proceeded to his task. The subject inspired him with new strength of body and mind. It was to be the supreme act of his official life. He tells in his *Journal* what alienations of former friends it had wrought, how coldly he was greeted, if not repulsed, for the stand he had taken both at the Conference and now. Giving him all the benefit of his almost pathetic pleas, the reader will wonder that he should be surprised at the treatment accorded him. Not a few who were in the Conference of 1820, like the Bishop himself, had also been members of the memorable one of 1792, though nearly thirty years had rolled between. Among these were George, Pickering, Garrettson, Cooper, Roszel, and Reed, the first four staunch advocates of the suspended resolutions. They had not forgotten the fiery speech of the young elder of 1792, M'Kendree; his blistering words in denunciation of the unamenable powers of the episcopacy; the concerted effort of the preachers under initial auspices almost as certain of success in the matter of the Appeal, as were those of 1820 when success was overslaughed by the exercise, jointly of himself and Soule, of the very powers then so trenchantly deprecated. Cooper, as was found, has embalmed them in his semi-centennial sermon. Bishop Paine in his "*Life of M'Kendree*," says not one word about this famous speech. It were well enough if he had preserved the same silence anent his incongruous conduct subsequently instead of an almost reckless attempt to vindicate his consistency. To be quoted point blank against yourself is an annoying predicament. M'Kendree now had it to meet, but he did it in silence. His words were bandied from mouth to mouth, "It is an insult to my understanding, and is such an arbitrary stretch of power, so tyrannical [or], despotic, that I cannot [or], will not submit to it." It provided a never-to-be-forgotten epigram for the Reformers of 1820-30. It is all that is preserved of an elaborate and mas-

terful speech in vindication of the Right of Appeal, a first cousin measure to the Elective Eldership. If it was written or delivered from notes, M'Kendree destroyed them, or Soule, into whose hands his posthumous papers came, never disclosed anything.

There was, however, found among his papers a copy of a letter written in 1803, at the request of Bishop Asbury, in which he extenuates his conduct in the matter of his advocacy of the Right of Appeal in 1792, this feature probably being the objective of Asbury in securing the communication, as M'Kendree was then under his special patronage—indeed it might be said with as much truth, had become the echo of Asbury, as it was said and in this letter acknowledged by M'Kendree that he was the mere echo of O'Kelly, neither of which was true—for he was rapidly rising as a leader. It is autobiographical and about one-third of it devoted to his relations with O'Kelly. It simply pleads the "baby act," as the following extracts will show: "Mr. O'Kelly changed his mind [about the Council business], and began in our private interviews, to inform me of the imminent danger of near approaching ruin which our then flourishing Church would in all probability suffer; that this mischief had itself a cause, which according to unequivocal indications, was the want of religion in a party of leading characters in the ministry—yourself, sir, at the head of them—whose unbounded thirst for power and money, as I understood him, was to pull down destruction on the Church of God. . . . But alas! my greatest affliction in those days came from where I ought to have had comfort! When my old friend [Mr. O'Kelly] visited us, much of the spare time was taken up in private communication and consultation, the subject matter of which was, 'the manner of a party which more and more manifested the badness of their polity and principles, and must,' as he said, 'sooner or later, inevitably ruin the Church of God.' . . . I heard him and believed what I heard. . . . I was unfortunate enough to believe the report, and from this time counteracting measures were consulted. . . . I therefore refused to take a regular station at Conference, because I expected to reject the 'monstrous system' when it appeared, but met you and the Presiding Elder a few days after Conference and took an appointment." There is no allusion to his speech in the Conference of 1792—it would have neutralized the force of this "baby act" plea.

Every man has a right to explain himself, and when it is congruous with the associated facts, charity demands that it be accepted. But how does his explanation accord with the asso-

ciated facts? He was converted under John Easter, and for several years was under his influence for good, but Easter was no agitator, or reformer, but a stanch Asburyan, and if he was such a mere sponge as is represented, he imbibed his church politics. He was ordained deacon and elder in the next five years, and as such entered the General Conference of 1792, being then thirty-five years of age. But the sponge came in contact with O'Kelly as a Presiding Elder in this time and by exosmose lost Easter's Asburyan views and by endosmose absorbed O'Kelly. Then after a month, meeting Bishop Asbury at his father's house, the Bishop having held the Virginia Conference and there received M'Kendree's resignation in writing as an Elder, which carried his membership in the Church as well. Through the Presiding Elder an interview was arranged between the Bishop and M'Kendree at his father's. It may be repeated that no man knows all that transpired, but it is known that immediately the sponge threw off O'Kelly and absorbed Asbury, and was sent to Norfolk station, and thereafter promotion after promotion attended his course till the Bishopric itself was reached. Can any one believe that this man of stern, uncompromising, independent manhood could be such a sponge? Let those do so who can. Undoubtedly M'Kendree made some discoveries after his return to Asburyan fealty. Perhaps he saw him personally in a different light, especially while he travelled with him on the Bishop's invitation whose strong character rarely failed to impress. Perhaps he saw that the winning side after all was with Asbury, and the rapidity of his conversion from an extreme O'Kellyite to a leonine Asburyan is only what all such tergiversations prove: the pervert is nothing if not ultra. Explanations like these are in accord with historical parallels, and Reform Methodism at every stage of it has its examples.

There is a wide difference between the abandonment of a position and of those associated with it, and the diligent pursuit thereafter of old methods, not involving repudiation and denunciation of former principles and their advocates; and that new-born zeal that ignores the past, destroys what was builded, and exhibits illumination with preferment, or as cited in the former volume and now repeated, "God forbid that men should not learn while they live, but it is a bad sign when illumination and preferment come together." Gatch for 1779, and Hope Hull and Bruce for 1792, are examples of the former and they lost no moral reputation in consequence, while Dickins for 1779, and

M'Kendree for 1792, are examples of the latter, and posterity will not cease to repeat as its verdict Tyerman's sentiment as to changelings quoted in the first volume: "Wesley had a perfect right to change his opinions, . . . but when a man like Wesley does that, he can hardly expect to escape unfriendly criticism. The world dislikes changelings and hesitates to trust them." Other instances of both these classes will be met with in the next decade of this History. But why so elaborate an exposure of this phase of M'Kendree's career? Simply and sufficiently because no less elaborate attempts have been and are still made to suppress or minify the facts to a vanishing point, and the truth of history demands it. One other fact and this episode will be dismissed. The much traduced and vilified O'Kelly, when he heard of the defection of M'Kendree, so far as may be gleaned from his published writings, the only data that remain, did not turn upon him with vituperation, as Asbury and M'Kendree turned upon him, or hold up his motives to scornful imputation—he passed the betrayal in silence.

Returning to the summer of 1820, and M'Kendree's preparation of the Address upon the suspended resolutions he submitted to the twelve Annual Conferences, its consideration is in place. It may be found in full in Paine's "Life of M'Kendree," and it occupies fourteen twelvemo printed pages or about thirty-five hundred words. It is lucid, logical, persuasive, and exhaustive of his side of the question. Its assumptions are that the Restrictive Articles of 1808 are the Constitution of the Church, in the making of which that General Conference exhausted the sovereignty of the legislative powers, except by the practically impossible method of an approving vote of all the Annual Conferences and of a ratification finally of two-thirds of the General Conference. His postulates are stated with an extreme reference to intents and results never dreamed of by the advocates of the Elective Eldership, the ultimate being the destruction of the General Superintendency, the abrogation of the itinerancy, and the nullification of all the guarantees of the Constitution. If M'Kendree believed it, and it must be conceded that he did, then was the situation alarming indeed, and his Address was enough to alarm the whole Church. It did so, but not in the way the Address was intended. That he was alarmed by the clamor around his ears, which grew in volume and intensity as the facts gradually sifted down among the people, is evident from the fact that even M'Kendree made pause; and, when he arrived at the Ohio Con-

ference, September 16, 1821, having delayed a full year the presentation, he suggested, after the body had voted with him that the suspended resolutions were unconstitutional, that nevertheless they recommend their passage and incorporation as a modification of the restrictive articles. If he had conceded that much while they were under consideration in 1820, it might have conciliated the friends of the measure and anticipated the fearful agitation that was now fermenting through the whole Church. But the iron men of Episcopal rule never concede anything; imminence of revolution wrested this from M'Kendree. Following Ohio, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia took the same action, all but South Carolina also accepting the Bishop's recommendation to incorporate the Elective Eldership in the "Constitution." One tires of a word when it has so flimsy a foundation as in this case. South Carolina simply took no action on the recommendation.

It will be noted as of future historical importance that these were all Southern and Southwestern Conferences. Bishop Paine says: "It was a magnanimous surrender of preference for the sake of harmony; but it was a dangerous concession, and proved unavailing though well intended. The other five Conferences refused to accept the change as a constitutional measure, because they were unwilling to acknowledge the want of power in the General Conference to effect it. They laid the Address upon the table and there let it lie,—virtually refused to act on it, and thus tacitly avowed their determination to carry the change into effect independently of the constitutional scruples of the Bishops and other Conferences. Great exertions were made to effect this purpose." The Conferences which thus claimed the right to construe law as well as the bishops were the New England, New York, Genesee, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. It was an issue joined upon the principle involved. Five against seven on the resolutions themselves and six to six on the recommendation to accept it as extra-constitutional, and, as it required the concurrence of all the Annual Conferences, it is seen how emphatically it was defeated on the Bishop's own ground. The action of the Philadelphia Conference was most pronounced, Cooper carrying it unanimously against the Bishop. South Carolina was as emphatic in favor, and so reveals how the two sections, North and South in Methodism, came to be arrayed against each other: the first contending for the continued sovereignty of the General Conference with an interrogation at least as to the constitutional

nature of the enactments of 1808, and the second making no question that the Asbury-M'Kendree-Soule view of it was received as binding the conscience. It will be seen in the sequel how this cause operated in dividing the Church in 1844, the slavery question being only its occasion. When M'Kendree reached the Baltimore Conference in 1822, presented his Address and accentuated his anxiety to have it indorsed by this old and influential conference, John Emory—the intrepid advocate of an Elective Eldership in 1820—was moved to throw himself into the breach. His son Robert in his “Life of Emory,” p. 143, says of this episode: “Mr. Emory thought that justice to himself and the cause which he espoused demanded that he should expose what he considered to be its fallacies, especially as he had previously discharged the duty of personal friendship by doing the same privately to the Bishop when consulted on the Address before it was made. As the result of the debate which ensued, a resolution pronouncing the suspended resolutions unconstitutional was indefinitely postponed by a large vote.”¹ The speech brought Emory more than ever into conspicuous notice; as a champion of Reform he was admired, and by its opponents he was respected. Yet it will be seen that, despite this rebuff, the power and patronage of the episcopacy so wrought through its henchmen that at the election for delegates to the General Conference of 1824, this question having been largely made the issue, he was defeated.

Soule's admonition to M'Kendree as to his fears of such a proceeding as was proposed—to carry the suspended resolutions around to the Conferences for approval—was sagacious and prophetic. “But my principal fears are the effect which the measure may have on the membership. The measures of the last General Conference have given our people great alarm.” How could it be otherwise? Two-thirds of the most influential preachers of the Church had returned to their homes chagrined over a defeat by methods the most indirect, and by Episcopal interference, the most arbitrary. It inaugurated a new condition of things as to the people. The Annual Conferences were held with closed doors, and the cue from the Elders to the preachers seems to have been not to discuss church government, or Conference differences among the people—they were treated as in non-age. But now in a struggle with the Episcopacy they instinctively turned to the people. They could not refrain from talking about it in the families, and the laity took sides as well. If not

¹ The motion was made by Asa Shinn.

much versed in so-called church government, they had received a schooling in civics. The whole Revolutionary War had been for an idea, a principle, an abstract right, and a concrete liberty. For years every hustings rang with oratory on the principles of civil liberty. They quite thoroughly understood their rights and, understanding, were prepared to maintain them, and the war of 1812-14 only emphasized the education. Thoughtful laymen of the class of Simon Sommers, noticed in the first volume, took up the issues of those who had "the rule over them" in their much loved Methodism. The Discipline was examined and a strangely anomalous condition of things was discovered. The "Constitution" of 1808 made provision that forever thereafter — taking the view of the Asbury-M'Kendree-Soule party — the General Conference was to be "composed of delegates from the Annual Conferences," and the Annual Conferences were to be composed of the preachers, and the delegates were to be chosen by a ratio of preachers in the Conferences; the membership was a basis for nothing, but to pray, pay, and obey. It was discovered that while they slept the toils had been ingeniously entwined around them. It was a desperate situation indeed; for if in this tentative struggle with power so slight a boon to the preachers as an elective eldership under the disability of nominations by the Episcopacy is crushed out, what chance would they have to assert their Christian manhood along the same lines?

Ah me, it was dismal enough to contemplate. And then they revered these men so highly for their work's sake and were indebted to them for a gospel of free salvation — their spiritual liberty; and they were so used to the state of affairs, and as Snethen said of the general principles involved, and so in this particular instance of lay ignoring, it was "a usage, or custom that ought to continue because it has been — that it is not old because it is right, but right because it is old." It was Wesley's way, and all his ways had been canonized. It was sacrilegious to think otherwise. Yet think they must, and one of those thinkers up in New Jersey, like his prototype in Virginia, Major Sommers, must express his thoughts also. The agitation was circumscribed by the limits of American Methodism only. Reform had become a word coincident with the membership. The negative of five of the largest and most influential of the Conferences had said to the Episcopacy, "Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther." Though, as will be seen, that negative was overcome by methods only too well known by the fuglemen of power and patronage, it never

ceased to be a negative, and it gradually wrought a circumscription of Episcopal powers at least in administration.

William Smith Stockton was born April 8, 1785, at Burlington, N. J. He was descended from good families, the Stocktons and the Gardiners, honorably known in colonial times. His parents were Methodists of the first generation, his father's house a religious centre for class, prayer, and preaching meetings, so that in very early life he became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He had every educational advantage his day afforded, and soon developed a taste for reading and writing. In 1807 he married Elizabeth S. Hewlings, an admirable and pious woman and a member of the same Church. Soon after his marriage he removed to Mount Holly and there his firstborn, Thomas Hewlings, afterward the eminent and unsurpassed preacher, was born. Subsequently he removed to Trenton, where he was associated with his uncle in the book business. He afterward lived in Easton, Pa., and in his house the first Methodist prayer-meeting was opened in that town. In 1822 he removed to Philadelphia, which city was his home for nearly all the remainder of his life. He published his first book in 1820 — "Truth vs. a Wesleyan Methodist, and other objectors." It was an animadversion on a book entitled "Methodist Error," the author being John G. Watson, well known by his work, "Watson's Annals of Philadelphia." In 1822, he published "Seven Nights," etc., one of the earliest of temperance protests. It was four years prior to the organization of the American Temperance Society, in Boston, Mass., and thus placed him among the very first advocates of total abstinence. Though there was no means of communication in the Methodist Church of that day except through the *Methodist Magazine*, which he knew would interdict freedom of discussion on a subject which was now near his heart and absorbing to his mind — the polity of the Methodist Church — his intimate acquaintance with Ezekiel Cooper, and other leading preachers, put him into possession of the whole Episcopal controversy of the times, and his discriminating intellect and strong American instincts at once ranked him among the Reformers. He determined upon a literary venture at his own risk both pecuniary and ecclesiastical — tentative and uncertain of the result. In February, 1821, he issued a specimen number, of which no copy is preserved so far as the writer has knowledge. It must have been encouraged under its title, *The Wesleyan Repository*, as in April following its regular publication began as a semimonthly magazine of sixteen large octavo pages.

The terms were \$2.50 per annum. The first volume is now before me, but notice of its contents must be deferred until this brief sketch of his life is completed. He was for a number of years superintendent of the Blockely Almshouse and his administration of reforms and improvements in this vast charity brought him into conspicuous notice as a citizen. He published the first volume of the *Repository* in Trenton, N. J., and on removal to Philadelphia, the second and third as monthlies in that city. It closely identified him with the Lay-Representation movement; it was first publicly broached in his magazine, and he stands the unquestioned lay father of it. His pen was unremitting in its advocacy through the *Mutual Rights*, and other sources. He was a member and Secretary of the Reform Convention of 1828, in Baltimore, and of 1830. For this participation he was charged and arraigned before the Church, but such was the purity of his character and the excellence of his reputation that the charges were dismissed, so that he did not have the honor of expulsion for opinions' sake enjoyed by so many of his coadjutors. Meanwhile, he did much other literary work, commanding an elegant and forcible style, wrote much for the *People's Advocate* of Philadelphia, ranging himself always on the side of popular liberty and purity of government. He assisted in the publication of the first American edition of Wesley's Works; wrote the article on the Methodist Protestant Church in Kay's edition of Buck's "Theological Dictionary," and much other editorial work for Methodist periodicals, the editors begging him not to use his name, such was the bitter prejudice against even non-partisan articles, if known to be from the pen of a "Radical" Methodist. He purchased the copyright of the lives of John and Charles Wesley by Dr. Whitehead, issued in Boston, Mass., in 1844, and reissued it in 1845, in handsome style with steel engravings of the Wesleys, and an Introduction by his son, T. H. Stockton, already referred to in the first volume. Two editions were struck off and sold, and yet it is now after fifty years a scarce book, hierarchal Methodism having frowned upon it in America as oligarchic Methodism did in England. In the great cholera panic of 1832 he stood to his post at the almshouse, while officials of every class fled the city. In 1828 he married his second wife, Emily H. Drear of Leesburg, Va. Of her children one became a minister and missionary in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and another is Frank R. Stockton, well known to the periodical and book literature of the day. He had broad and

liberal views in everything, so that he espoused the anti-restrictive rule, and other objections of his son Thomas to the polity of the Methodist Protestant Church as defined in the Constitution and Discipline of this Church at its organization, but which it has since outgrown to its advantage. In 1860, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, he removed to Burlington, where he was born, to spend his declining days. But on the 3d of September, 1860, he met with an accident by the backing of a cart against him on a wharf of the Delaware which fractured his thigh. He was carried to his bed, and for two months suffered much in Christian patience, and on the 20th of November, with his family around him, peacefully passed away. He lies buried in Burlington near the grave of his father and his first wife. In 1849 the writer had an interview with him at the home of Rev. J. T. Ward in Philadelphia. He was tall, spare, erect, and of commanding figure, affable yet dignified, courteous yet firm,—Love, Truth, and Right were written upon every lineament. Occasion will be had often to refer to him in the succeeding pages.

The *Wesleyan Repository and Religious Intelligencer* made its appearance as a semimonthly periodical, April 12, 1821, printed at Trenton, N. J., and edited by William S. Stockton. Its introduction says: "We intend that the columns of our paper shall be open for the reception of communications which have for their object the glory of God, and the good of mankind. . . . Our readers are informed that communications, having for their object the improvement of church discipline, must be free from such expressions as are frequently dictated by an overheated zeal, and sometimes even by the evil passions. If free from evil in their design and tendency, essays on forms of church government will be freely admitted to a place in our columns." From the purpose thus stated and qualified it may be safely asserted that the periodical never departed in its three years' existence despite the calumnies uttered against it. Nicholas Snethen's biographer says: "All its correspondents, I believe, except one, were Methodists; more than twenty of them were preachers, but fourteen at least were, or had been, itinerants. . . . Nicholas Snethen, Ezekiel Cooper, James Smith (Baltimore), Henry B. Bascom, Samuel K. Jennings, Asa Shinn, and others, prominent Reformers, came in later. The leading writers, however, were Nicholas Snethen and the editor. My father's name is connected with more than fifty articles, but Mr. Stockton's with nearly one hundred and fifty. In the eighth number of the first volume

two editorial articles on 'Church Government' appeared. In one of these 'Lay Delegation' was first uttered." Mr. Snethen in his Introduction to his "Essays on Lay-Representation," thus refers to these articles: "The publication of these broke silence, and to break silence on the subject of church government in those days called for no common resolution. But the credit, not of a mere beginner, is due to Mr. Stockton; his efforts in behalf of 'Lay Representation' were unwearied, and knew no bounds short of necessity."¹ Alluding to these two editorials, Mr. Stockton, in 1849, said: "These two editorials were the first direct assault upon the M. E. Church government. I wrote to Mr. Snethen that I had brought an old house about my head."

The periodical was stanchly Methodist, and gave considerable space to its foreign missionary work; it was pronounced in its temperance and anti-slavery sentiments, the latter class of articles written principally by James Smith. The two on "Church Government" by Stockton were signed "A Methodist," and were animadverted upon favorably by Snethen, but without signature. Others followed Snethen, assuming various pseudonyms. These articles, however, made up but a small portion of each number. As the periodical grew in circulation it was criticised divergently, the friends of the old *régime* not being slow in discovering "firebrands, arrows, and death" in these mild-tempered discussions, so that as early as August, 1821, the editor said: "But permit us with all possible sincerity to say that we do not think our external economy is so perfect, as to make it *necessary* for any one to deprive writers and friends of their inherent right to *think, speak, write, and publish*. We claim no exemption from responsibility,—all we claim is the privilege of freemen, of Christians."

All the writers on Reform were careful from the beginning to avow that under no circumstances would schism be encouraged—they meant to secure changes from within. Rev. John R. Williams, a local minister from Baltimore, became a contributor after nine months, and speaking for himself and others, says, "Every author who has written for the paper has explicitly disavowed all intention to revolutionize or divide the Society, and there is not a paragraph in the work calculated to bring about such a melancholy state of things." His *nom de plume* was "Amicus." March 28, 1822, Snethen addressed a Memorial to the Philadelphia Conference, calling upon it to stand by liberal

¹ Frank R. Stockton in Colhouer's "Sketches of the Founders."

sentiments. It was signed "Thousands," and probably had its effect with the efforts of Cooper to carry it solidly against M'Kendree and Soule. In the same number Ezekiel Cooper made his first appearance as a contributor in an incidental correction of Snethen in a historical matter as to Beverly Allen. He signed himself "A Methodist." In this number Hon. P. B. Hopper of Maryland also appeared in the controversy.

When the first volume closed it had reached perhaps five hundred subscribers; and this, Snethen says, was its maximum circulation. The whole of the three volumes in my possession are verified as to all the contributors by W. S. Stockton, who did it in a series of articles for the *Western Recorder*, February, 1850, and his own original copy, which found its way into Drew Theological Library through F. R. Stockton in the first two volumes only, with his marginal annotations. These have been copied into my set, so that when authorship is spoken of in these pages there can be no doubt as to verification. As the periodical very soon came under ban it was largely subscribed for secretly and surreptitiously circulated. After seventy years it seems impossible to realize it, and the modern school of preachers and laymen must marvel at the fact. Yet every number was read by many others and became a nucleus of illumination, and a centre of Reform. The bishops and not a few of the presiding elders found access to it. Robert, the gifted son of John Emory, is careful to declare in his effort to vindicate his father from being a "Radical" that he was not a subscriber. But his brother-in-law, Dr. Sellers, was, and a *Radical* contributor, and there can be no doubt that Emory carefully read every number of it; for, during its publication he was recognized as a Reformer by its friends, and was in their confidence fully.

The second volume of the *Repository* came to its close with the addition of notable writers. Dr. T. E. Bond, who was a subscriber, wrote one article on the "Relation of the Children to the Church." He, like Emory, was recognized as a Reformer, and had their confidence. J. G. Watson of Philadelphia became a contributor. Henry B. Bascom became a subscriber and entered the lists as a bold advocate of Reform, while "Baltimore" James Smith wrote with cogency for the new measures. Snethen, always in the van, with Stockton and Hopper, Richard Sneath, J. R. Williams, and Gideon Davis were pressing the polemics to the very gates. But such was the fear of detection as supporters of it that the editor and proprietor was often straitened for

means to keep it floating, suffering much pecuniary loss. Its literary character was high, and its mechanical appearance first class. All wrote anonymously, as it was well understood that open support of it meant social, business, and ecclesiastical ostracism.

The third volume was meaty and advanced, but the same amenities of debate are observed, and for polemical papers stand to-day specimens of Christian discussion. This is no random statement; let the pages be examined, and the impartial mind of to-day will be surprised to know that these animadversions brought upon the authors the charge of "enemies of Methodism." Rev. Cornelius Springer of Ohio wrote a series of articles addressed to the senior Bishop, under the pseudonym "Cincinnatus," which excited great attention, as they were construed as a personal attack — wherefore only the prejudiced could see. And now was revived a question aside from the primal purpose of all who had written to this date, — Lay-Representation pure and simple as the issue, — the local preachers' contest. The Baltimore District Conference, nearly all of whom were inchoate Reformers, issued a circular to like districts throughout the United States, calling for larger recognition. It was signed by Samuel K. Jennings, Alexander McCaine (who had retired from the itinerancy and was school-teaching), and James R. Williams. The agitation was continued through the volume, space being given to the matter, until, as Snethen put it, a triangular warfare was inaugurated. As all of them were friends of lay-representation also, it was impossible to discriminate against them. There was also published a correspondence between Rev. Jesse Head of Kentucky and Bishop M'Kendree about a certain arbitrary act of administration by which he was expelled the Conference under aggravations sanctioned by the three bishops. It led to a secession under a Discipline which recognized the fundamental principles of a separation of the legislative, judicial, and executive powers of government, but the particulars demand no further space except to note a fact of history not elsewhere found. It is probable that the movement finally merged into that of 1827-30. Alexander McCaine made an effort to secure publication of the local preachers' circular in the *Methodist Magazine*, but did not succeed; the publishers printed on the cover of the magazine in September, 1823, a standing notice that nothing would be admitted of a controversial character, "which go to disturb the peace and harmony of the Church." All petitioners were re-

ferred to the General Conference for redress of grievances. Subsequently, however, its columns were freely used in opposition to the Reformers of every class. This refusal of a hearing aroused the lion in McCaine, and he became a subscriber and contributor to the *Repository*. In contrast its pages were open to its opponents, and several availed themselves of the privilege.

Now appeared a series of letters from Snethen addressed to Reformers throughout the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which he deprecated the sending of delegates to the ensuing General Conference as premature, insisting absolutely that there should be no schism and holding to extreme conservative ground, suggesting petitions, and in default of a favorable hearing the first organized movement. As out of it after came the Union Societies, his words must be quoted: "But if they remain inflexible, that we then proceed to organize ourselves into a kind of patriotic societies, for the purpose of obtaining, and securing to ourselves, the right of ecclesiastical suffrage, and acquiring a knowledge of our numbers, views, and proceedings; and that so soon as we become sufficiently numerous and united, we signify to Travelling Preachers our free, sovereign will, and let them know that the time is come for them to yield to necessity, as they would not to justice and reason; we may add that if they persist, all the blame and all the evil of dividing themselves from the majority of the Church must be upon their own heads." Thus is outlined a procedure which subsequent events made it wise to follow, as the only alternative for Reformers,—a procedure so reasonable, conservative, and within the privilege of Methodists, that it does not seem to have occurred to Snethen that expedients under cover of law would be found by the episcopacy not only to neutralize these methods for securing reforms from within the Church, but to visit upon those who adopted the procedure unmerited punishment,—the extreme penalty of ecclesiastical law,—expulsion. The dominating influence of Snethen held in check those who would have precipitated separation under the aggravations of delay, denial, and accusation of moral turpitude. In this at least there was concert of opinion and action among the Reformers: to keep within their privilege along the lines laid out by Snethen, to petition and remonstrate, to coöperate, and thus enlarge the area of intelligent apprehension of their aims by peaceable discussion and the use of the press at their own charges.

The writings of "Baltimore" James Smith in these volumes of the *Repository* attracted particular attention for their dialectical

lucidity and mastery of facts. He had been a member of the General Conference of 1808, and of the first delegated Conference of 1812, participated in the debates, and fully understood the merits of the pending issues. In 1820 he was stationed at old St. George's with Ezekiel Cooper and the Philadelphia James Smith, so called to distinguish them, and in 1821 he was superannuated and located in Queen Anne's County, Md., where he had the association of Hon. P. B. Hopper, Dr. Sellers, and incidentally of John Emory, and the views he expressed were probably shared by all of them as brother Reformers. He was the author of a series of articles running through several volumes of the *Repository* on the Constitution. The fifth of the series is in the August number of volume third, and so important is it that citations from it are demanded as settling the question it discusses beyond any man's power of successful controversion. It is commended specially to all the Constitutionalists of the Methodist Church, South, of the Dr. Tigert type, and all the anti-Constitutionalists of the Methodist Church, North, and as answering their recent quest for a "Constitution," but not yet found.

Smith, after carefully laying his premises, thus concludes: "The question, then, is again reduced to this shape, viz.: Were the preachers who were members of the General Conference of 1808 a convention to frame and adopt a Constitution for the Church, or not? If the answer be given in the affirmative, the fact must be assumed in one of two shapes: either, first, that the whole body of the elders, who had a right to be members of that Conference, were the whole of the community, in law; or, secondly, that the Annual Conferences, by election, invested them with powers as their representatives, to frame and adopt a Constitution for *them*, according to their own judgment, which should without any confirmatory act of these Annual Conferences be obligatory on themselves and the Church. Now, if the first of these assumptions be correct, why did the presiding Bishop, on his last tour round to the Annual Conferences previous to the General Conference of 1808, propose to the Annual Conferences to instruct the preachers who might go to the General Conference to adopt an order that representatives should compose the General Conference in future, instead of all the elders who might choose to go? If the whole community (in law) went to that General Conference, why impart such instruction or ask such permission? But, secondly, how could these elders who were expected to go to that General Conference be invested with powers to form a

Constitution whose operations should limit the legislative powers of future General Conferences, when nothing was mentioned to the Annual Conferences by the Bishop, who proposed the measure, about a Constitution which should have the effect so to limit the powers of future General Conferences, nor was the subject in any way agitated at all. But only to adopt an order or so change the government as to send fewer members to the General Conference, in future to prevent embarrassment arising from so many travelling preachers to and from General Conference, from remote parts of the country; and to secure to the Annual Conferences at a distance from the seat of the General Conference, at the same time, a more equitable and proportionate influence in the body which makes rules for all. Nothing, that we know of, was said about a Constitution to limit the powers of future General Conferences, but merely to adopt an order, by a majority of that General Conference, to send representatives in future invested with legislative powers, instead of all the elders. If any of the acts of the General Conference of 1808 can lay claim to the character of a Constitution, we conceive it is that which bears on the point of constituting delegates; because, on this point, the Annual Conferences appear to have been consulted, and perhaps may have given consent and instruction on it; but as they seem to have been consulted on nothing else, and gave authority to do no more, the whole of the restrictive articles which go to abridge the legislative powers of future General Conferences are purely gratuitous, and have no restrictive authority whatever, until that authority shall be given them by the Annual Conferences, adopting them as shown in our third essay on this subject. But if the Annual Conferences did, previously to 1808, authorize the General Conference of 1808 to impose a change on the essential principles of the government, so as to make all the General Conferences after that date delegated bodies, instead of consulting all the elders, I am inclined to think that that order is as authoritative as any other principle in our usages. But if the Annual Conferences invested that General Conference with no powers to make any other change in the government, which was the fact, then all that they did further is but gratuitous assumption, and of course is of no constitutional authority. Whether the Annual Conferences did properly invest that General Conference with powers to make even this change or not, we are not prepared to say. But if they did not invest the General Conference of 1808 with the powers to make the future General Conferences dele-

gated bodies, I do not conceive that their having done so makes them legitimately such. And if so, then in our opinion things stand as they did before 1808. But if they did authorize that General Conference to make the future General Conferences delegated bodies, we are confident they did not authorize them to restrict their future legislation within certain bounds (such as the restrictive articles specify), either specifically or impliedly; for they do not appear to have been invested with a power to form a Constitution on general terms, but only to do a specific thing, *i.e.* to reduce the number of members of future General Conferences. But here we would remark that that investiture was not of a nature to authorize them to make a Constitution, which implies the giving of certain powers to certain functionaries, as well as restricting those functionaries in the exercise of those powers. But implied only a restriction of certain powers, formerly held by many, to a fewer number, supposing the old Constitution (or order of things) to remain, wherein that Conference had not been instructed to alter it. And as their instructions went no further, and attempted to restrict the power of future General Conferences in a way that they were not authorized to do, their acts in this matter were assumed (being unauthorized), and are of no authority whatever as a Constitution, according to American doctrine, which at the time appears to be the doctrine of reason. Hence we are inclined to believe that the making of the General Conferences in future a delegated body, instead of all the elders, was a legitimate act, because it seems to have been authorized; but the acts which go to abridge their legislative powers are not obligatory, because unauthorized."

This article and others were signed "Philonomos," though he wrote under other pseudonyms. It literally tears to shreds all arguments for a Constitution in the restrictive articles, as having even Annual Conference consent. So the Methodist Episcopal Church was compelled by the exigency of 1844 to acknowledge it and so the civil courts have decided, and so it is that the great Church named is floundering to-day in the uncertainties of absolute negations; "Rules and Regulations" are all that it has, and these are liable to alteration, addition, or abrogation at the will of every sovereign General Conference. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, under a similar logical necessity, in the Bishop Andrew case adhered to the old constitutional, traditional theory, the delight of Asbury, M'Kendree, and Soule, with the

right of episcopal veto to this day on measures deemed by them unconstitutional. It is phenomenal, however, that a little more than a score of years after, their General Conference of 1866 enacted a violation of one of the restrictive articles, *i.e.* the Constitution, "The General Conference shall be composed of delegates from the Annual Conferences," and as these were composed from "the beginning" of preachers itinerant only, to the exclusion of the locality and the laity, in that it made provision for an equal delegation of laymen in the General Conference, and four delegates from each presiding elder's district in the Annual Conferences. Happily for the liberal advance of this Church and its internal peace there was no Bishop to "veto" the innovation, two-thirds voted for it in the General Conference, and on its reference to the Annual Conferences they by a three-fourths vote adopted it. The vote in the General Conference on a final test was ninety-seven yeas and forty-one nays. These forty-one were evidently "Bourbons," who believed it "unconstitutional." The large majority saw, however, that it was an emergency that demanded a waiver of the constitutional myths, and this Church is awaiting the emergency that will repudiate the Asbury-M'Kendree-Soule Episcopacy as an "order" with its veto power. In its proper chronological place more will be said of this lay-delegation feature in the Church, South.

The *Repository* fairly bristled with incandescent contributions as to their magnetic logic and contagious enthusiasm for Reform for the last nine months of its brilliant career. It developed the triangular contention, however, already referred to, the local preachers pushing their claims to recognition, not content to wait until they could be secured by the success of the lay-representation movement of Snethen, Smith, and Cooper, with what damage to the cause itself will be presently seen. Dr. Jennings, as a leader of the local preachers and a lay-representationist, made his appearance in the August number on the refusal of the *Methodist Magazine* to publish their circular. The Reform movement now was pressed along three separate lines: the Elder question, the Local Preacher question, and the Lay question. Like the Reformation under Luther, there were party leaders with divergent views, until the cause was embarrassed to the verge of defeat. Snethen and Stockton saw the shoals and heard the distant breakers, and admonished accordingly, and by their wise management the ship was kept off shore. Five hundred copies of the *Repository* found their silent way to as many ardent supporters,

and these copies found numerous readers, so that it is safe to say that three thousand sympathizers were scattered through the Conferences and among the laity. Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati were great centres. In the latter city, claiming the revolutionary right of peaceful assemblage for redress of grievances, a public meeting was held of the laity, on the 19th of August, 1823, William Disney, President, and John Forbes, Secretary, and a circular was addressed the "Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church throughout the United States," calmly and masterfully reviewing their ignoring in the government of the Church. It may be found on pages 190-193 of the *Repository* for 1823. It is denominated "a large and respectable meeting of the members," and the collateral evidence is that it composed the very cream of Methodism in that city. Indeed, it was never questioned, even by its opponents, that this was its character wherever a nucleus was found; it largely composed the brains, piety, and social force of Methodism.

In default of other vehicles the secular press was sometimes employed to reach the people, and distant points found letter-link connection beyond what the *Repository* supplied. The bishops, the elders, and for the most part the itinerants, set themselves against it diligently, profiting by every unadvised word and every lapse of order and every influence that power and patronage could evoke to frustrate the movement and the movers. In a "Voice from the West," an article reviewing the obstructions used to prevent the circulation of the *Repository*, signed "Cincinnatus, Jr.," attributed to H. B. Bascom, though not so identified by Stockton, and bearing every ear-mark of his composition, a fact is mentioned at which one knows not whether to laugh or cry: "Two elders arose immediately in succession, and admonished the people, and strove to guard them against the prevailing errors of the day; after which a respectable young minister arose, and, as he thought, drew from his pocket a single number of the *Repository*, dashed it on the floor in the presence of the people, and with *gushing tears* exclaimed, 'There is the accursed thing!' but it so happened that while he was attempting to be so *pathetically sublime*, he unintentionally drew from his pocket with the number before mentioned the discipline of our Church, which shared the same indignity and became the object of the same anathema."

A series now appeared, "Letters on Church Government," by "Martin Luther," Alexander McCaine. They are models of con-

troversial writing, though incisive and unsparing in logic, and as the writer wishes this to be believed, insomuch as McCaine was "outlawed" for his contributions to Reform by the General Conference of 1828, he has arranged that these volumes of the *Repository* shall always be accessible to any honest inquirer. And subject to the same test, it is asserted that this third volume is characterized with most of the features that gave imperishable fame to the "Letters of Junius" and the Addison papers in the "Spectator." It will not be forgotten that the sticklers for the old forms and absolute methods had raised this wind; they were alarmed at the signs of the coming whirlwind. Gideon Davis, a liberally educated layman of Georgetown, D. C., appeared as a polished and trenchant writer under the signature "Waters." Now came a writer with the *nom de plume* of "Anthroposophy," and later on other articles signed "A Methodist;" the former introduced the "Question of Lay-delegation," and the latter "The Outlines of a Proposed Plan for a Lay-delegation;" they were from the gifted pen of Ezekiel Cooper of the Philadelphia Conference. It outlines a plan for equal representation — and this is the term he employs with propriety in the body of it — in the General Conference, with careful provision for the election of the laymen in primary assemblies of the male membership, and therefore honestly representative of them. The positions taken by him are unanswerable, and broad as the ground taken by Snethen. A few concluding sentences of the second article will exhibit its animus: "The Laity and Local Brethren are awake to their rights and privileges; they cannot be by any opiates lulled to sleep again; nor by any weapons be driven from the ground of their claim and demand, as an inalienable right. The sooner it is yielded the better; for be ye well assured that Lay-delegation must ultimately be adopted, or the cause of the Itinerancy, and union and peace, will be greatly endangered, if not ruined and destroyed. United we stand, divided we fall." In a later article signed "Philo-Episcopos," he cites the language of M'Kendree in 1792, already twice given, "It is an insult to my understanding," etc. The plan of Cooper was reviewed and criticised by Jennings, McCaine, and Williams because it did not provide at once for proper recognition of the local preachers. Stockton endeavored to allay the difference in an article signed "A Layman," and warned the locality, "Let us not furnish the representatives of the travelling ministry with any pretext for saying, 'We cannot agree to legislate to you your rights, because of your

own disagreements.'” So the Luthers of this ecclesiastical Reformation had their Erasmuses, and as the leading lights of the doctrinal Reformation differed as to the scope and method to be observed, so now the strong individualities developed could not agree in the details, though fundamentals were clear enough to them all. It was the only bond that held them together, and that they did hold together is in proof that fundamentals were involved; the personal equation of each leader was finally lost in them, and made the Reform so unlike the secession of O’Kelly, which it resembled in nothing, that the principles lived and are the issues of to-day in all the Methodisms, and are surely moulding them into conformity to what Snethen, Shinn, Stockton, and Cooper taught.

Ezekiel Cooper did not further elaborate his Plan as called for; it was clear-cut and distinctive, and has the merit of having furnished the foundation principles on which the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church were subsequently built; but he did review in an exhaustive and masterful manner, at the request of the Local Preachers’ Association of Philadelphia, the criticisms of Jennings, McCaine, and Williams. The claim they set up of an equal representation in the General Conference with the Travelling preachers and the Laity was not entertained by the Local preachers as a class, as is plain from the articles in the *Repository* at the time. Their dictum was even repudiated by the Baltimore Local Preachers’ Association, from which it professed to emanate,¹ but the introduction of this element seriously and needlessly, as will be seen, complicated the situation, wrought irreparable damage to the cause of Reform, and brought the issues to the General Conference of 1824, with its advocates presenting a divided front.

McCaine concluded his letters addressed to the bishops, and in ending says: “I have studied all along to avoid personalities, knowing and feeling that respect is due to you, to the Church, to the public, to the subject, and to myself. If after all I have expressed myself in an objectionable manner, let it be pointed out, and if the subject be not injured by the alteration, it shall be altered. I have now done what I *felt* to be a duty, and subscribe myself with great respect your brother in the Gospel of Christ. MARTIN LUTHER.” It proved him, up to this stage of the discussion at least, a Christian gentleman in controversy, and

¹ They were the “Committee of Correspondence” for that Association, and spoke for it in this capacity only.

aggravates the invidious treatment he afterward received from the authorities, though it was an unwitting mode of their unwilling confession that his arguments were unanswerable. Rome made the same disposition of Huss; as he could neither be silenced nor refuted, one method was left,—“burn the heretic!”

The West Jersey District Conference addressed a Memorial to the General Conference asking that a Convention of the Church might be called to agree upon a Constitution, a method of adjusting the legal and logical and factual difficulties of the Methodist Episcopal Church which has been over and over again since that time suggested; and now that the Church is still at its endeavor to “find a Constitution,” despite the nugatory labors of the High Commission appointed for the purpose by the General Conference of 1888, it has been proposed, as late as this year of our Lord 1894, through the *New York Christian Advocate*, by an influential layman of the Church. What a happy deliverance such a procedure would be out of the errors of 1784 and 1808, and for that of 1844! Snethen and Stockton and James Smith of Baltimore continued to use their offices to conciliate the Local preachers who were so insistent, the last ably pointing out that the ensuing General Conference, even if disposed calmly to consider the petitions of the Reformers, that its right to legislate in their favor would demand attention; if the enactments of 1808 were a Constitution, then action would be barred by it, and if not, then a Convention might have to be called to give it such investiture, so that he was not hopeful of action, and drops this caution, “And as we hope it is the wish of all to banish ecclesiastical controversy from the ranks of Methodism, we wish to see a course pursued more likely to effect that truly desirable object.”

Bascom appears again “From the West,” in scathing review of the presiding elder Greenbury R. Jones, of the Scioto District, Ohio. Jones replies at length, and is given space, be it noted, in this magazine devoted to free discussion, and then in rejoinder he was pulverized by four members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who among other delectable bits of information disclose the fact that said Jones had averred in the heat of a discussion on Reform that “he would spill blood rather than submit to such innovations as are contemplated by the friends of Reform.” The burden of the petitions prepared and sent to the ensuing General Conference from meetings of the members and from Local Preachers’ Associations called for a Convention as the best expedient for harmonizing and settling the Church on a secure

foundation, while the temper and spirit of these petitions may be judged from the specimens which are found in the *Repository*; and in view of the heat and distemper engendered by the controversy, it is complimentary to the Christian forbearance of the Reformers that they state their case with such moderation. The documents are extant and open to investigation. Conspicuous for its moderation and respectful phrasing is the Memorial of the Baltimore District Conference.

"Cincinnatus," Rev. Cornelius Springer of the West, continued to use his pen to the close of the third volume. In his last article he furnishes a chapter of facts easily paralleled in other sections of the Church, and the citation of it will answer for all. "In the administration of discipline over the lay-members, high-handed measures have frequently been pursued, such as burning or tearing up class papers, and by this one sweeping act turning out of the Church the whole class at once, scratching off the names of respectable members from the class roll, and thereby expelling them without the formalities of a trial. I have known instances of a Travelling Preacher preferring charges against members for censuring his administration; and after picking his own jury, and becoming his own judge, to exercise the Church censures against those who dared to find fault with his doings. Another case I know, where an Itinerant Preacher preferred a charge of heresy against a local preacher of respectable standing, and who, previous to his expulsion, sustained an unimpeachable moral and religious character. A committee of the delinquent's peers were summoned to sit in judgment on his case. They brought in a verdict of 'Not guilty.' But the ruling spirit was much displeased at the decision, and he *arbitrarily* appealed (I say the appeal was arbitrary because the discipline allows none in such a case. It is the obvious intention of that rule on the subject of the trial of local preachers to prevent the travelling ministry, should any be so disposed, from oppressing local brethren) the case to the Quarterly Meeting Conference; and his majesty, the presiding elder, took jurisdiction thereon, and through the united influence of these two managing geniuses the heretic was hurled out of the Church, and its curses fulminated after him. The consequences of these proceedings were that they opened the way for a wider spread and a more deeply rooted heresy than ever, and they also engendered party feeling and schism in many a breast where such never before existed. And, sir, instances have not been wanting where the ministry have

preferred charges against the lay department for reading and supporting your Depository."

The controversy was not slow in developing that species of the human invertebrate known popularly as the trimmer, both among the membership and the ministry. This moral infirmity appears whenever the issue is between Principle and Power, and in this history is constantly repeating itself, both in the State and the Church. Quite a large number of the travelling preachers espoused the lay cause, especially in the centres of agitation, and so with the laity, but there were great sections of the Church into which the light had never penetrated; the means of promulgation were so circumscribed and the avenues so jealously watched that in the quadrennium up to 1824, while the Reformers constituted a respectable body as to numbers, and eminently so as to standing, they were an insignificant minority, if their cause had to be judged by this criterion — and so judged it was by the Episcopal powers. Even this minority was put to a test that few were able to withstand. The test was well described by Alexander Hamilton: "In the general course of human nature, a power over a man's substance amounts to a power over his will." The proofs are abundant that this power was exercised. There was another power employed none the less potential, that of promotion, the exact converse of the other. The line of contest became sharply defined in the Annual Conference elections for delegates to the General Conference of 1824. An examination of the rosters respectively of 1820 and 1824 will reveal how patronage and power wrought a change of sentiment or was exercised to exclude those who were inflexible. A comparison will be made when in the ensuing chapter the General Conference of 1824 is fully considered.



CHAPTER III

Prior to the ensuing General Conference of 1824, the leading Reformers, Griffith, Morgan, Waugh, and Emory, issued a circular Address again favoring the Elective Eldership—Counted without their host; secret combine of the anti-reformers for their defeat as delegates and of their reform measure; the strategy of the movement and how it succeeded—The Episcopal Address and its strange recommendation to kill by anticipation the reform memorials—Dr. T. E. Bond and Thomas Kelso as Reformers at this time; proofs—Answer of the Conference to the Reformers at the close of the session; the “suspended resolutions” disposed of at the same time by the machination of the same parties; how it was accomplished; full history of it—Alarm of the majority over their action and retrace their steps in part—Soule and Hedding as sectional bishops chosen—Diplomacy of Emory—Division into Episcopal Districts as foreshadowing the sectional sentiment and its connection with the division of 1844—The bishops’ meeting to select a delegate to the British Conference an abortion for the same reason; the secret memoranda—Eminent Reformers.

A FEW months before the election of delegates to the General Conference of 1824 took place in the Baltimore Conference, the leaders of the Elective Presiding Elder question felt it to be auspicious to address the Annual Conference upon the subject. They had lost no courage, as is manifest from the Address itself, but they were as evidently not posted in the silent, not to say insidious, influences which were at work to accomplish both the defeat of the measure, with all that it implicated of further Reforms, but the downfall of the bold advocates as well. The *Mutual Rights*, etc., of September 5 and 20, 1828, has the text of the full Address, but the writer has failed to find it elsewhere, though it was printed in pamphlet by the authors at the time, circulated through the Baltimore Conference, and signed with their own names, as their confidence seems to have been equal to their courage. Robert Emory, in his “Life of Bishop Emory,”¹ gives free extracts from it, or allows his venerated father, then six years deceased, to do so in his own effort to vindicate himself from the charge of being a “Radical.” The authorship of the Address is frankly admitted by both; it was from the facile pen of John Emory. W. S. Stockton had a copy of the text in full, and assigns as his reason for not republishing the whole: “The

¹ “The Life of the Rev. John Emory, D.D.,” etc., by one of his sons. 8vo. 380 pp. New York. Book Concern. 1841.

Address is confined to the consideration of the 'suspended resolutions' of 1820. This subject having been discussed in the *Repository*, we need not apologize for having room only for the following extract." The heading is also given: "Address to the Baltimore Annual Conference, by the Rev. Alfred Griffith, Gerard Morgan, Beverly Waugh, and John Emory." They say: "The suspended resolutions give us very little solicitude as to any importance of their own; nor are we concerned for their own sake how they are disposed of. But at the time of their passage we did consider them important, because we considered them in the light of a compromise, and as partaking in some sort of the sacredness of a treaty. The manner in which the first essay was made to arrest them we deemed it still more important to resist, because we viewed it as the germ of *individual supremacy over the General Conference*, and one which the whole character of its incipient indications compelled us to believe would eventually grow to this, if not promptly and effectually put down at its very first appearance. Of this all ecclesiastical history was our warning. It remains for you, Brethren, to determine whether those extraordinary proceedings shall receive your sanction, and be invested with all the force of binding precedents. For ourselves, whatever inconveniences it may bring upon us, we sincerely rejoice that *our* votes stand recorded against them. The responsibility is now taken from us, and rests with you; and we call upon you to look to it in the face of the Church and of the world. *Remember the force of precedents. Remember the tenacious grasp with which power is held when once acquired. Its march is ever onward and its tremendous tendency is to accumulation.* You are to act not only for the present age, and with reference to those who are now in office, but for posterity. Look forward then, we beseech you, to the influences with which your acts will descend upon them, and to the aspect with which they will be exhibited upon the page of our future history." The italics, except the word *our*, are by the writer, as singling out epigrammatical sentences, which like those given by M'Kendree in 1792, become the catch-phrases of Reformers, and as crystallizing a universal axiom.

It will be seen that the authors take ground which advances them beyond the mere occasion of the suspended resolutions and plants them upon Reform principles, with their ever widening application. It is always pitiable when a man, after accepting promotion in the line of his prior denunciation of the exercise of

power, seeks to mitigate and explain away his record. After Emory's elevation as Assistant Book Agent in 1824, and General Agent in 1828, and Bishop in 1832, these attempts to dissociate himself from the Reformers, as found in his son Robert's "Life," may have been satisfactory to his adhering friends, but will not be so to impartial readers.¹ The strained effort at exculpation does not favorably impress a candid reader, and it would have been more to purpose if his biographer had checked his filial zeal to do so. It has rendered necessary the use of more space than would have been the writer's preference, so for the present this phase of the subject is dismissed with a few observations on his associates in the Address.

Alfred Griffith, the first signer, was one of the strong men of the Baltimore Conference, but now aging, and who, yielding to the adverse pressure of 1824-32, quietly succumbed without losing the respect of his fellow-Reformers. Gerard Morgan was a reputable preacher, who had been an Elder of leading influence, but who, like Griffith, was submerged by the reflux wave of

¹ Rev. Dr. George Brown, who as a witness is unimpeachable, says: "At the Conference at Winchester (April, 1824), Beverly Waugh, with some difficulty obtained leave to read N. Snethen's letter in favor of lay-delegation. It was heard by that body with mingled indications of favor and displeasure. Joshua Soule read a paper inflicting some heavy censure on John Emory for certain statements made by Emory and others in a pamphlet involving Soule's course at the General Conference of 1820. Emory, in the course of his reply, *admitted the right of the Methodist people to a lay-delegation, and said they ought to have it, if they so desired.* Soule presided in a caucus held by the anti-reform party to nominate delegates to the General Conference, and in his remarks before taking the chair, went against nominating any reformer, as the ancient order of things must be strictly maintained. . . ." (The reformers also held a caucus, but as has been found all their candidates were defeated.) . . . "After Conference adjourned Emory and Waugh took me with them to a self-defence caucus meeting of the friends of ecclesiastical liberty. This was the first time I ever took an open, public part with the Reformers." See Brown's "Itinerant Life," pp. 123, 124. Cincinnati and Springfield. 1868. 8vo, pp. 456. Cloth. It will often be cited hereafter for testimony. The quotation italicized by the writer is in proof that the Eldership question and Lay-Representation hinged upon each other, and makes nugatory the filial effort of Emory's son to dissociate him from the "Radical controversy." Brown says further, on p. 124, "This defeat (to the General Conference), in connection with that of the local preacher claim to a share in the government of the Church, led Emory and Waugh, and most of the others, it is supposed, to abandon the cause of reform." As motives those assigned are satisfactory, and shall be further elaborated in this History. Men have a right to desist from the advocacy of a plan found encumbered by others with objectionable issues, but the obloquy cannot thus be removed from those of them who afterward denounced the *principles* involved, as these are apart from objectionable complications; and accept promotion, and the exercise of the very powers their former principles disallowed. This essential distinction shall not be overlooked in the analysis of the pervert Reformers of these days.

anti-reform. He was known to posterity through his three preacher sons, now deceased, of enviable fame in Maryland. Beverly Waugh has already been introduced as a still-hunt Reformer. Of mediocre ability, amiable and popular, and his career an exposition of the proverb, "The prudent man foreseeth the evil and hideth himself," he was not forgotten for promotion; made Assistant Book Agent to Emory in 1828, General Agent in 1832, and Bishop in 1836. His administration of the high office was mild and respectable, and residing in Baltimore he did not by extremes of utterance, like Emory, forfeit the regard of his old associates in Reform. It is finally noteworthy that while these four men were elected to the General Conference of 1820 as Reformers on the Elder question, not one of them was elected to the General Conference of 1824, so that while their Address may have had its effect in preventing the Baltimore Conference from indorsing M'Kendree's views, such had been the growth of Episcopal influence that they were marked for defeat, and a full delegation elected known to be anti-reformers. The same result was largely brought about in the other eleven Conferences, as will be seen when the delegations are analyzed.

Scriptural doctrines and helpful means of grace continued to triumph in Methodism, if an unbalanced government did continually foment discussion, and arbitrary stretches of authority provoke protest. The past quadrennium noted an increase of white members from 267,618 to 280,427, or 12,809. The percentage is small, but the distractions of controversy led not a few thoughtful people in many communities to stand aloof from a system which was capable of the abuses exhibited, while others fell away from its support as incongruous with Christian manliness. All these were stigmatized as "enemies of Methodism," whether in or out of the Church; but the reader will not for a moment impeach the piety of the adherents of the Asbury-M'Kendree-Soule plan. With all good conscience and changeless conviction they esteemed themselves the Levites of the tribes of Israel, and Methodism as thus interpreted was a sacred ark. What if the oxen did stumble in hauling it at Nachon's threshing-floor, the impious Uzzahs who stretched forth their hands under the impulse to steady it would surely meet no other fate than that of their prototype against whom "the anger of the Lord was kindled."

The General Conference of 1824 assembled in Baltimore May 1, in the Eutaw Street church, under whose pulpit now reposed the

mortal remains of Bishop Asbury. It consisted of 126 members. Bangs furnishes the full list. A scrutiny of it discloses the fact that except in a few Conferences where the Reform sentiment was paramount, Nathan Bangs from the New York, George Pickering from the New England, Ezekiel Cooper and James Smith from the Philadelphia, few of the former advocates of an Elective Eldership were honored with seats in it. In the Baltimore Conference, despite Emory's Address and the permeation of the local ministry and the membership with liberal sentiments, the entire delegation were conservatives and reactionists, such as Soule, Roszel, Hitt, Reed, Henry Smith, and the two Fries. In the other Conferences the Episcopacy was reinforced by Sandford, Martindale, Hedding, Merrill, Fisk, Hardy, George Peck, the two Chamberlains, Charles Elliott, Greenbury R. Jones, James B. Finley, Sale, Quinn, and the two Youngs, Peter Cartwright, Thomas A. Morris, Beauchamp, Paine, Douglass, Winans, Capers, Andrews, Morton, Lovick Pierce, Copton, Ware, Rusling, Lawrenson, M'Combs, and Pittman. Emory, who was stationed in Baltimore, was a visitor, as well as other defeated Reformers. What must have been his temporary surprise to find himself named and elected Secretary of the General Conference despite his record as a Reformer? But so it was. He was a young man of conspicuous abilities, and is marked for promotion. M'Kendree, George, and Roberts were all present. Did the first named out of his earlier experience as a pervert of O'Kelly's start the whisper which spread over the Conference — Emory for Secretary? A change of mind is sometimes wrought by the force of association, and preferment is a powerful means of illumination. Early in the session the fraternal delegates from the Wesleyan Conference, Revs. Richard Reece and John Hannah, were introduced and submitted their Address, which was to "The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church," etc., — the first time in just forty years that this title was recognized by the English brethren, under the favorable influence of Emory's visit four years earlier.

The Episcopal Address was read and referred. It noted that "the last four years we have not been favored with extraordinary revivals of religion;" "on the subject of Church government some of our friends have entered into various speculations, and it seems probable that memorials will be laid before you both from local preachers and private members. In order to give full satisfaction, as far as possible, on this point, it may be expedient

to appoint a committee of address, to prepare circulars, in answer to such memorials as may be presented." It is a curious recommendation by way of anticipation; there is no hint of possible concession, only a method of disposition, and it was so. The memorials did pour in, and the closing numbers of the third volume of the *Repository* have preserved not a few happily, that posterity wishing to look into the subject might have opportunity to judge of their "inflammatory" or "slandrous" or "violent" character. Notwithstanding the efforts of Snethen and Stockton to unify these memorials on lay-representation, while having a general end in view, they were diverse, and from various sources, — individuals, District Conferences, public meetings of the laity, Sunday-schools, etc. They touched almost all the questions of controversy which were debated from 1792. It was the misfortune of a good cause, and adroit advantage was taken of it by the solid conservatives of the Conference. They were from many sections of the Church, so widespread was the disaffection instigated by the assumptions of M'Kendree and Soule, and imitated by many presiding elders in the various Conferences. Baltimore was, however, a storm centre. The original of a copy of a Memorial¹ addressed to the bishops and Conference is now before the writer, claiming to represent the views of a convention of Reformers, which for literary and logical character might well challenge the respect and consideration of any deliberative body. It asks for representation for the local preachers and the laity in the General Conference; for be it noted that up to 1824 there was

¹ This Memorial from the Baltimore meeting of the Reformers is evidently as stated the "original of the copy sent to the General Conference," and is well preserved, but is unsigned so that even the authorship of it cannot be certainly stated, though it bears the literary ear-marks of Snethen. It claimed to emanate from the "General Convention of the delegates of the members and local preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church friendly to reform." It meets first calmly and argumentatively the objection that there is no analogy between a civil and religious government. Then it takes the distinct ground of right as over against the Bond-Kelso idea of expediency, and asks for "legislative liberty." It proposes that the representation in the General Conference shall give to the local preachers one-fourth, and the laity one-fourth, leaving the remaining half to be composed of the Itinerants, than which nothing more equitable could be proposed. It asks that the General Conference shall construe the section of the discipline as to "endeavoring to sow dissensions" so that it shall not be used as a basis of "constructive treason" only. It asks that in the trial of members the accused shall have the right of challenge as to the committee, and an option to be tried before the society without the consent of the preacher in charge, if this shall be the choice of the accused. It asks finally either for the abolition of the presiding eldership or their election by the Annual Conference. The temper of it is unexceptionable, as any one may see who shall be at the pains to examine the paper.

no disposition to interfere with the General Superintendency, except in curtailing its absolute power in the appointment of the Elders.

Among those who were active in the Reform movement were Thomas Kelso and Thomas E. Bond, the former a leading and wealthy layman and the latter a local preacher and practising physician. A copy of a printed Memorial to the General Conference signed by the former as Chairman and the latter as Secretary is now before the writer. Its caption is: "At a numerous meeting of the male members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the city of Baltimore held by adjournment from time to time in the Conference Room, Light Street, the following Memorial to the General Conference was after mature deliberation agreed upon." It shows the trained pen of Dr. Bond. It petitions for a lay-delegation in the General Conference and a restoration of the licensing power to the Quarterly instead of the District Conference as an abridgment of lay-privileges. It waives all natural or abstract right to such participation and puts their appeal on the ground of expediency. It touches other points in the Methodist economy,—the support of the preachers and the education of the children. Having been printed, it was freely circulated, the manuscript copy having been sent with the signatures to the General Conference. Indeed, it may be truthfully alleged that Methodism, at least in Baltimore, was saturated with Reform; quite a number of the Conference ministers, Ryland, Shinn, Griffith, Waugh, Emory, Morgan, Hanson, Davis, Guest,¹ and others, while the local preachers, under the lead of Jennings, McCaine, Bond, Williams, D. E. Reese, Kesley, Valiant, John S. Reese, Cox, John C. French, McCormick, and Boyd were with few exceptions in the same category. In fine, so general was it, that when a few years later the expulsions took place, it was with difficulty that a committee of local preachers could be named to conduct the trials of their peers. The laity was represented² by

¹ *Mutual Rights* for August, 1824, p. 57.

² "Brief Considerations of the Present System of Methodist Episcopal Government, with a few Suggestions toward its Improvement," respectfully inscribed to the Travelling Ministers and the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, by A Layman. 1824. 8vo. 40 pp.

This masterful pamphlet seems to have been issued just before the General Conference of 1824, and it is the sincere regret of the writer that he has found it impossible to identify the author. It bears not a few marks of the gifted pen of Gideon Davis. It is in proof that while the controversy at this stage had not fully ripened, that there were laymen who fully comprehended the whole situation. This pamphlet is an anticipation logically of most of Dr. Bond's Appeal,

the intellect, piety, social position, and business thrift of the three great churches, Light Street, Eutaw, and Fell's Point, as will be seen, when the names of the expelled are given in future proceedings. There were some notable exceptions, as will also be seen, but no question can be made that the Reformers constituted the cream of the Church.

Despite the efforts of power and patronage, exerted actively through the presiding elders,—and who may doubt as human nature goes that the most was made of it, the Reform influence in the General Conference nearly divided the delegations; for while there was not one south of the Susquehanna River, those from the North and East were largely in sympathy with it, at least on the elective eldership question. A test was made when, on May 5, a motion was offered to appoint a committee to whom the memorials and petitions on Reform should be referred; it was lost by a vote of fifty-three affirmative and sixty negative, the Reformers fearing the gag of a Committee, and wishing open discussion and a decision upon its merits. The next day, however, after some amendments, one including the reading of the papers before reference, it was carried, and a committee of twelve, named by the presiding Bishop, was accordingly appointed, and the fairness of the executive may be inferred from the fact that every one of them was a pronounced foe of lay-representation and the local preachers' claims, the chairman, Nathan Bangs, favoring only the Elective Eldership.¹ The proof that the suspicions of the Reformers were well founded is in the fact that their Report

specially on National and Church Rights as identical in origin of the Scriptural Principles of Church Government, and the assumption that the success of American Methodism was due to the hierarchic system as much, if not more, than to its peculiar doctrines and spiritual fervor. One citation on this point must suffice: "Nothing is more common than to hear opponents of Reform appealing to our success for justification of the present polity. And suppose it were possible to inquire of every member of the Church whether they joined it from a love of the government, what would be the answer? Let those who desire an answer preach nothing but our form of government, and see how many they will get to love it, and to become Methodists from a love of the government. The truth is our success has been independent of, and even in opposition to, the form of government; the polity of the Church has driven thousands from the Church, and kept thousands out of the Church. The injustice of our system has become matter of general recognition, general reproach, and general disgust. Why, then, is a system kept up which is prejudicial to the gospel, which does our Church so much harm, and gives it so much scandal?" The reader will remember that just such views were affirmed by the writer in the first volume, as a part of the necessary philosophy of the situation, and here confirmed by an intelligent layman of the Church living so near the times.

¹ For full committee see *Mutual Rights*, August, 1824, p. 13.

was not presented until the last day of the Conference session, and then it was in the form of a "Circular" addressed to the general Church and signed by Bishops M'Kendree, George, and Roberts. Dr. John French, a visitor, says: "As to the question of a lay-delegation, it was never before the Conference. It perished in the committee to which petitions for reform were referred. The reformers made no attempt to call it up. They knew at the opening of the Conference that the majority was against them." "Baltimore" James Smith, who was in the Philadelphia delegation, says of the Circular, "It was not passed by the General Conference until the last day of its session, when most of the representatives of the New York, Genesee, New England, and a number of those from Philadelphia had left Baltimore and were on their way home. It was carried through the house with little or no opposition, as it was done on the afternoon of the day on which the 'Conciliatory Resolutions' were virtually suspended for four years longer; with all the attendant advantages taken of the minority on account of the absence of so many of their coadjutors in the same common cause."¹ And yet the bishops in this "Circular of the General Conference" say, "To these memorials, as well as others praying the continuance of our government in its present form, we have given attentive hearing in full conference; and after much reflection we reply." It may be found in full in Bangs's "History" and in the August number, 1824, of the *Mutual Rights*. Bangs says that it was passed "after an able and full discussion." Let this be offset by James Smith (Baltimore), a member, and Dr. John French, a spectator, as already cited. The action of the Conference was: "Resolved, 1st, that it is inexpedient to recommend a lay-delegation. 2d, Resolved that the following circular be sent in reply to the petitioners, memorialists, etc." It may be characterized as plausible, patronizing, and paternal; the gist of it may be thus summed up. Referring to the scanty support of the ministry alluded to by the petitioners, it says: "Whatever that cause may be, we at least have no information that the people refuse to contribute, because they are not represented. Indeed, it would grieve us to know this; for even though they should refuse to acknowledge us as their representatives in the General Conference, they cannot do less for the love of Christ than they would oblige themselves to do out of love for authority."

¹ "Honestus's" (James Smith) Review of Circular in *Mutual Rights* for August and September, 1824.

In this is presented the germ of what afterward became the infamous "purse-string" argument of the anti-reformers, and unwittingly at the same time its effective answer. In plain prose it is: the people evidently approve our government, otherwise they would not support us in a living, but this they dare not do, as it is forbidden by the love of Christ." Again: "We rejoice to know that the proposed change is not contemplated as a remedy for evils which now exist, . . . but that it is offered, either in the anticipation of the possible existence of such evils, or else on a supposition of abstract rights, which in the opinion of some should form the basis of our government. . . . The rights and privileges of our brethren, as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, we hold most sacred. We are unconscious of having infringed them in any instance; nor would we do so." Here is a curious jumble of terms. How can there be "rights and privileges" which are not basically abstract, and yet the petitioners are scouted for suggesting that they have "abstract rights!" After toying with them about the "general rules and articles of religion" as a "constitution," which guarantees your "rights and privileges," the master stroke is delivered in these words, which furnished another imperishable epigram for Reform literature: "*But if by 'rights and privileges' it is intended to signify something foreign from the institutions of the Church, as we received them from our fathers, pardon us if we know no such rights, if we do not comprehend such privileges.*" With our brethren everywhere, we rejoice that the institutions of our happy country are admirably calculated to secure the best ends of civil government. With their rights, as citizens of these United States, the Church disclaims all interference; but that it should be inferred from these what are your rights as Methodists seems to us no less surprising than if your Methodism should be made the criterion of your rights as citizens." The italics are supplied to emphasize the epigram. The closing antithetical period of this paragraph formed the foundation of all after-arguments of the anti-reformers, viz.: the nature of government, civil and ecclesiastical, is utterly diverse, so that no likeness is demanded, and the want of parallel is of divine intention. The damaging sequence does not seem to have been observed by these zealous hierarchs: ergo, that the "civil institutions of the United States" have no countenance in the New Testament principles of Christian manhood taught by Christ and the apostles. The Circular concludes with four sophistical reasons for not granting the representation prayed.

"Honestus," already identified in the *Mutual Rights*, riddles the specious logic, and to his review those are referred who are interested enough to read it. The Circular was spread broadcast throughout the connection, the anti-reformers giving it wings because they esteemed it unanswerable, and the Reformers as well, because they found in it the strongest ground for continued maintenance of their principles and aims.

Agreeably with the nature of things, like consorting with like, on the morning of the day the Circular was passed, the "Suspended Resolutions" were acted upon also. On this question the Conference was so nearly divided that the friends of an unlimited Episcopacy approached it cautiously. On the 20th of May, Cartwright offered a motion that the Resolutions be incorporated in the organic law when the dissenting Conferences should concur. Tigert admits that strategy of a high order was employed, and that there was a private understanding that Young of Ohio should bring in a repealing resolution the next day, "the result proving satisfactory to those who had introduced it," *i.e.* the Cartwright motion. "The constitutionalists were gaining confidence, and were rather forcing the fight." On the 22d of May Young's motion was introduced, after a preamble, "that the resolutions are not of authority, and shall not be carried into effect," and on the 24th it came up on a motion to lay it on the table, which was defeated. Then the vote was taken by ballot, with the result sixty-three in favor and sixty-one against, so the M'Kendree-Soule party triumphed by the narrow majority of two votes. A scene of unseemly excitement followed. Tigert says: "So high did the tide of party feeling run, that twice, while the resolution was pending, Bishop Roberts in the chair, the quorum was broken, and only under the remonstrances of the chairman and the venerable Garrettson was it restored and the measure finally passed."¹

There must have been blatant exhibitions by the political tricksters of a foregone purpose to maintain the Episcopacy, to drive from the Conference room a number sufficient twice to break the quorum and put the body on the ragged edge of a disorganized adjournment. As it was not, a few of the Reformers after the 26th of May, three days before adjournment, left for their homes. The Episcopal party became alarmed at the tokens of indignation, and, taking counsel of their fears, on motion of Paine and Capers, both friends of the measure as passed, it was resolved—and that without a reconsideration of the action as

¹ "History," p. 383.

carried — "that the suspended resolutions, making the presiding elder elective, etc., are considered as unfinished business, and are neither to be inserted in the revised form of the Discipline, nor to be carried into operation, before the next General Conference." So they hung upon the minutes as "unfinished business." It was a mere "sop to Cerberus." Now came on the final struggle. It was determined to reënforce the Episcopacy by the election of two bishops. The lines were again closely drawn. Joshua Soule and William Beauchamp were the candidates of the constitutionalists, and sectional as well, while Elijah Hedding and John Emory were their opponents, and also sectional. The election took place May 26. On counting the ballots — and all the authorities agree, taking their data from the minutes, Bangs, M'Tyeire, and Tigert — "Soule had 64 votes, Beauchamp 62, Hedding 61, and Emory 59; but 128 votes being cast, there was no election. On the second ballot Soule had 65, and was elected, being the only one receiving a majority. But before the third ballot was taken, Mr. Emory arose and withdrew his name. This is commonly regarded as the modest act of the youngest man whose name was before the Conference. Undoubtedly it was such an act, and Mr. Emory could well afford to wait. But it was more than this. The fathers were not quite so innocent in such matters as is usually supposed. There was no possibility of the election of more than one of the candidates of the anti-constitutionalists, and the younger man withdrew in favor of the senior and leading name. Moreover, but one name was to go on the ballots this third time, since Mr. Soule had been elected, and if Messrs. Hedding and Emory divided the votes of their party it was almost certain to elect Mr. Beauchamp. Consequently Mr. Emory withdrew, and on the third ballot Mr. Hedding received 66 votes to Mr. Beauchamp's 60, and was elected. There was an element of danger in the fact that each Bishop had been chosen by a sectional and party vote; but it was well for the unity of the Church, divided on a constitutional issue, but by a sectional line, that each party secured a Bishop. No fracture took place, but if a severe strain should come, the plane of cleavage was painfully evident."¹ It did come in 1844, and the Episcopacy as interpreted by the Asbury-M'Kendree-Soule section was solely responsible for the untoward act, precipitated by a dominating majority bent on its purpose without regard to consequences.

¹ Tigert's "History," pp. 384, 385.

One serious fact is unnoticed by any of the authorities. By careful count of the members from the official Minutes there were but 126 elected to the General Conference of 1824, and it appears from the ballots that every one was present, quite a phenomenal fact in those days of difficult and distant travel, and yet on two of the three ballots for bishops there were 128 votes cast. Did two of the three bishops then vote? It must have been so, or a worse thing occurred — false ballots were cast. Charity would assume the former to be the fact, but at what cost of disparagement of the Episcopacy? Since 1808 they were not regarded as voting members of the body, and are not to this day. It is an historical conundrum worthy of record, but demanding no solution from the writer. Strange things were done, however, that mar the conception of a delicate sense of honor and truth. It seems to adhere to the hierarchal system, made a Jesuitical canon in its Romish form, that the “end sanctifies the means.”

Another matter was disposed of at this Conference. It was contended that the body had the right to divide the Church into Episcopal districts so as to obviate the travel of the bishops over the entire territory; but it was decided adversely, with a recommendation that the bishops should hold annual meetings and parcel out the Conferences for visitation, but in such a way that each should make the round of the whole number within the quadrennium. By an accident of the situation it strangely intensified the sectional animus of the Episcopacy; for the Conference having authorized the bishops to appoint a fraternal delegate to the British Conference, in compliment to Messrs. Reece and Hannah, they met in 1826, George and Hedding having travelled in the North and Roberts and Soule in the South, while M’Kendree was incapacitated largely by ill health. Bishops George and Hedding were holding the Philadelphia Conference, April 13–18, and Bishops M’Kendree and Soule came from the South to have the bishops’ meeting, Roberts being absent. William Capers was nominated by M’Kendree and Soule, but George and Hedding objected because he was connected with slavery, and named instead Wilbur Fisk or Ezekiel Cooper; and so sharp became the contention over it that no one was named, and the matter went over to the ensuing General Conference. Tigert publishes the memoranda of the meeting in full, but they were kept secret for nearly seventy years. But that the truth of history demands that the whole truth should be told, as well as nothing but the truth, it would have been to the credit of all

concerned if they had been consigned to the limbo of nihility forever. Some inklings of the trouble got out, and McCaine gives hints of it. The memoranda were found among the papers of M'Kendree, but were not published by his biographer, Bishop Paine, but are given by Tigert in his "History," the latter having a special motive; it made a link in his argumentative chain.

It is interesting as a matter of history that the sectional feeling on slavery was so pronounced at this early day that "Bishop Hedding from 1824 to 1844 made but a single tour of the Southern Conferences, and that in 1831, seven years after he became Bishop; in the same year Bishop Soule made his first episcopal visitation in the North! The Bishops were localized."¹ Was it because Ezekiel Cooper foresaw coming events that he so strenuously advocated a diocesan bishopric? If adopted, it would have superseded the necessity for presiding elders, and the saving of an immense sum annually. And as there would have been no friction on account of the interchangeable visitations of these sectional officers, it is among possibilities that the division of the Church might have been prevented, as it was in the Protestant Episcopal Church, the only Protestant denomination that was saved from disruption by the slavery question, having continental territory. All the virtue of a "General Superintendency" could have been secured by an annual or quadrennial meeting of these bishops, and another immense expense saved as entailed by the system which demands that every Bishop must in the quadrennium travel all around the world that the fiction may be kept up. But Wesley did it and Asbury did it, and, like true Bourbons, who forget nothing and learn nothing, and regardless of the change of circumstances, this episcopal wheel must be kept revolving. How much longer it will be tolerated by a patient and disfranchised membership remains to be seen. Only one thing would be marred by such a change: the hierarchal ideal of wheels within wheels; and it is for this very reason that the "General Superintendency" has so many ardent admirers among the officials of the Church.

The new bishops were ordained May 27, after a sermon by Bishop George. Soule reached the pinnacle of a Methodist preacher's ambition under his own interpretation of the practically unlimited powers of the Episcopacy. He was a colossus in the Church, having in him the timber of which popes are

¹ Tigert's "Constitutional History," p. 392.

made, and after 1844, though born in Maine, 1781, he cast in his lot with the South in logical consistency with his "Constitutional" ideas, his conscience following his reasoning. Of splendid physique, gifted and laborious, he survived until March 6, 1867. Hedding was born in New York in 1780. He was highly respected for purity of character, amiability, and talents, the latter not of a very high order, large and venerable in presence. He died April 9, 1852. The Conference elected John Emory Assistant Book Agent at New York, with Nathan Bangs as Agent. What did this election and that to the Secretariat of the Conference mean after his defeat as a delegate by the Baltimore Conference for his Reform sentiments? It did not mean certainly an indorsement of them, but it did mean, first, abilities that challenged recognition, and, second, his rescue from the number of "inflammatory," "slandorous," and "violent" writers on Reform. It will be seen that the method was successful.

Just before the Conference adjourned, May 29, to meet in Pittsburgh, Pa., May 1, 1828, Bishop M'Kendree, felicitating himself on the accomplishment of all his views as a "Constitutional" exponent, felt it incumbent on him to make an Address to the body, the objective of which was to exculpate himself from his unauthorized reference of the "Suspended Resolutions" to the Annual Conferences. Paine, in his "Life of M'Kendree," tells that he, with John Summerfield, who was a visitor at the Conference and employed in missionary labor within the Baltimore Conference, took down the Address in shorthand, and it can be found in the "Life of M'Kendree." The gist of it is in these sentences: "I have no hesitation in saying that the act was not within the limits of our restricted powers; but I was induced to do it from a precedent which had been once set by that venerable man, Bishop Asbury." He refers to the organization of the Genesee Conference, but this was prior to 1808, when, according to these doctrinaires, the Church had no "Constitution," and therefore Asbury was a law unto himself as no other man could dare to be. M'Kendree, however, admits that he did an extra-constitutional thing to accomplish a foregone purpose. Cæsar did it, and Pompey will be no less than Cæsar; that is all of it. These men were possessed with one idea: the doctrines of the Gospel and means of grace instituted by Wesley had brought success under a given system of government, ergo, it must needs be perfect. Paine, who was present, says: "The moment he rose noise and motion ceased in the crowded house," and when

he closed, "his cheeks moistened with tears, bade them as he supposed a long farewell. The whole audience continued awhile in profound silence, interrupted only by partially suppressed emotions. He concluded his address with the apostolic benediction, and retired." Soon after the Conference adjourned.

Meanwhile the Reformers were not idle. The 126 with the bishops were quartered upon the best-to-do laymen, many of whom were pronounced for Representation. The locality were nearly to a man in favor of representation for themselves and for the laity, a proceeding that seemed so equitable, not to name other considerations, that general confidence prevailed that something would be conceded by the General Conference at least of an initiatory nature. There were a large number of visitors of Reform tendencies, not a few from quite a distance in those days. Snethen and Stockton were there observing the course of events, and always self-poised. Jennings, also large-hearted and large-minded, but of ardent temperament, swayed a commanding influence as popular physician, educator, and preacher, giving his spare moments to the "Life of Asbury" under the auspices of the Baltimore Conference. Shinn was there with all his masterful faculties under calm control, and not yet fully committed to Reform. McCaine was the master of a large and flourishing day-school for boys, an Agamemnon with his armor on, who had shared the secret confidence of Asbury and the giants of an earlier day, and who was much respected and not a little feared by the "Bishop men" so called, for what he knew of the inwardness of scheming preachers. He stood six feet two inches in his stockings, symmetrically built, a majestic head, and strongly cut features,¹ with physical and moral courage that blanched at nothing, hot and impulsive, and who was never known to give flattering titles to any man. Rev. Dr. John French of Virginia was there, strong in all the elements of a great and good Methodist. Rev. Francis Waters, the courtly Christian gentleman, the classical scholar, the devout Methodist, the finished preacher, and the inflexible Reformer, was also there from his Eastern Shore home. Griffith, James M. Hanson, Ryland, John Davis, Morgan,

¹ The only "counterfeit presentment" of him extant is in the form of a plaster bust and head in the possession of the Baltimore Book Concern, and stationed over the glass book-case containing the files of the official paper. It is a study for a physiognomist, and pronounced a good likeness by the venerable McCormick, and others, who knew him. It was cast about 1835, and at the same time one of Dr. Jennings, and one of the youthful and lamented Davies. One of Dr. Jennings is still preserved in the family of Dr. Thomas Owings.

Guest, and many others were there, alive to the issues. Vying with Jennings in all but preaching popularity was Dr. Thomas E. Bond. He was a son of Thomas Bond of Harford County, Md., who was one of Strawbridge's converts from the Friends, and a brother of John Wesley Bond, the travelling companion of Asbury in his closing years. Well educated, a skilful physician, a loyal Methodist, filling official positions from very early life, yet with a mind open to the possible improvements of its economy. He has been found an active advocate of a lay-delegation on the ground of expediency. Eminently social, a fluent talker, and a ready debater, he was a recognized leader in the Church. He had one quality that moulded his whole career. His admirers said he was sagacious in all the phases of the word as defined by lexicographers. His critics said he was tricky in its broad definition; and as this is a serious allegation, it will be supported by the facts of his devious course and the evidence of himself and others. It was this element of his character that made him a suspect, though he had the free *entrée* of the Reformer meetings and their personal confidence. He will often appear in these pages. Gideon Davis of Georgetown, D. C., came up to Baltimore for consultation with his Reform brethren, as his duties as clerk in the United States Treasury permitted. Cultured, forcible, magnetic, and true, no man of his abilities has received less notice, yet no man of the laity did more for Reform as it culminated in the Methodist Protestant Church. Other laymen of note in the Baltimore churches, and in the community as citizens, were Chappell, Sr., referred to in the first volume, John J. Harrod, Thomas Mummy, Wesley Starr, Thomas Kelso, John Kennard, W. K. Boyle, E. Strahen, Lambert Thomas, John Coates, Sr., Hawkins, Patterson, Thomas and Samuel Jarrett, Gephart, Sr., Howard, Forman, Northman, Fountain, and others. These Reformers were not idle while measures for their overwhelming discomfiture were maturing by the partisan committee of twelve in the General Conference.

Referred to them on the 6th of May, they made no report upon the memorials, etc., in their custody for nearly three weeks. Whisperings of their adverse unanimous verdict got out, and the Reformers prepared for action. Accordingly a meeting was convened in the schoolroom of McCaine, and the threatening situation canvassed, May 21, 1824. It was numerously attended; Hon. P. B. Hopper and J. W. Bordley of Queen Anne, Md., and W. Smith of New York were also present, as well as no less than

seventeen members of the General Conference.¹ Their names are unknown, McCaine stating in extenuation, in his first essay in the opening number of the *Mutual Rights*, p. 17: "Did they only know the names of these champions of Mutual Rights, they would feel and confess, as I am willing to do, the high obligation they are under to men of such noble and liberal minds. The only alloy I feel on the occasion is, that I am not at liberty to record their names." Wherefore? For them individually everything was staked on concealment. The marvel is that such a number could be summoned at such a meeting out of a General Conference elected and organized to defeat and crush the Reform movement. The meeting resolved three things: "To institute a periodical publication, entitled *The Mutual Rights of the Ministers and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, to be conducted by a committee of ministers and laymen; to raise societies in all parts of the United States, whose duty it shall be to disseminate the principles of a well-balanced government, and to correspond with each other; to appoint a committee of their own body to draft a circular addressed to the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to forward the same forthwith to all parts of the United States." The committee was Jennings, French, Smith, Davis, Bordley, and Hopper. Samuel K. Jennings, Chairman of the meeting, and Francis Waters, Secretary. The Circular was at once prepared and addressed, and anticipated that of the General Conference a week or two, but as the preachers everywhere under the elders transmitted the letter, it reached a hundred of the membership where that of the Reformers reached one, as it was put under ban, and suppressed as far as possible. The full text of the Circular as well as of the meeting may be found pages 3, 4, 5, of the *Mutual Rights*, the Circular of the Conference following it on pages 5, 6, 7. Those who wish to examine the Christian temper and perfect moderation of the Reformers' Circular are referred to it. The gist of it is their disappointed expectations, calling upon Reformers "not to suffer these unpleasant circumstances to alienate their affections from the Church, nor to induce them to leave her communion," but "to cleave to her to the last extremity." The strong minority for Reform in the Conference of 1824 is made the ground that at the next "we may expect to realize our hopes." Coöperation is invited from all who favor governmental changes. Signed by Jennings, Chairman of Committee, and French, Secretary.

¹ Bassett's "History," p. 41.

CHAPTER IV

The denial of the General Conference of lay rights; Snethen's views; expectations and disappointments as to the issue—The question of Lay-Representation traversed fully; arguments on both sides considered; Dr. Neely's chain broken—Snethen states it for his opponents, etc.—The *Repository* discontinued; reasons for it; dissatisfaction; the *Mutual Rights*, August, 1824—The controversy joined by both parties; the *Mutual Rights* admitted papers on both sides; the *Methodist Magazine* declined—Union Societies; their object—Presiding Elder Devany and Dr. Armistead, with Drs. Jennings and French in reply; Shinn on the situation—Bitter opposition to the *Mutual Rights*; amusing illustration of it—Spread of the Union Societies in every direction—Reform as a Principle and an Idea; the American Revolution based on a principle and an idea solely—Snethen and Shinn keep the Reformers from seceding prematurely—Contributors to the several volumes of the *Mutual Rights*; Bascom as a Reformer and contributor—First Expulsions in Tennessee—The Stillwell Reformers.

"But if by 'rights and privileges' it is intended to signify something foreign from the institutions of the Church as we received them from our fathers, pardon us if we know no such rights, if we do not comprehend such privileges." The epigram was upon every tongue, startling as a revelation to the Reformers for its calm effrontery and unlimited arrogation; while to anti-reformers it was chewed as a juicy portion—a death draught to innovations and innovators. In 1822 Snethen had written, "It cannot be long, I am fully persuaded, before the travelling preachers must give up their supremacy." And in 1823 he declared: "The assumption of right on the part of the travelling preachers must, I hold, be formally and publicly disavowed by them. Is it not evident, that if the friends and patrons of the legislative rights of the church are resolved to maintain them (and how can they do otherwise), and the travelling preachers refuse to surrender them, there must be a division? Let no one say, if so, the sooner the better; but rather let the Church give the travelling preachers a reasonable time and a fair opportunity to make a surrender with as much willingness as possible." Once more: "When I lose all hope that the travelling preachers will in due time refuse legislation for the Church, I shall lose my

affection for them also. At present I am disposed to consider their pertinacity as the effects of ignorance or want of reflection or error in judgment, either of which it will require time and judicious management to overcome. But I place the greatest reliance upon time." He had discouraged the idea of a personal representation to the ensuing General Conference, and the advice was taken, lest it should be averred, "The enemy is at the gates" and "the standard of revolt is raised." "My plan therefore is that we continue to encourage our friends to write, and by their writing to disseminate principles, and leave the General Conference as free from any cause of fear or restraint as may be, and thus give them a fair opportunity to make a voluntary surrender of a power, the right of which they ought to disclaim." This was nine months before the Conference met. What must have been his perturbation and disappointment when by this one fell swoop all rights were absolutely denied to any participation in the government. Still he did not despair, though it touched the very heart of the issue made by the lay-representationists,— "the right of suffrage is the original and fundamental principle which has extended through two volumes of the *Repository*." This was written in the third volume, and the purpose was steadily kept in view down to 1828, except by the limited number of whom Kelso and Bond were the exponents, who placed their demand on the score of expediency. In 1822 he wrote, "Church representation is perfectly compatible with any fair construction of either of the restrictions, or of episcopacy and general superintendency." As late as 1835 he declared: "I go for no half-measures or expedients or accommodations. They will have all or none, their determination follows from their religious belief in their divine right to all. Who can meet them upon this ground with any belief or right short of religious and divine? Claim your divine right, children. Let no man take your crown of educated equality. Deem it no usurpation or sacrifice if the gospel of the grace of God, as the law of God did David, should make you wiser than even your teachers." Further: "But I rest quite easy in the confidence that when the time come (and that it surely will come) to give these essays an impartial reading, that the reader will see that all the ambition I could have was, first, to aid and assist the travelling preachers, to admit by a direct and immediate process of their own legislation the check-giving principle of lay-representation; and, second, if they not only refused, but returned evil for good, and drive us from the church, they should

be compelled to make retribution to offended liberty and equality with their own hands."

It was kindred with another purpose which he held sacred, and in which he was also followed by most of the Reformers, viz., never to secede; and yet he realized with philosophical acumen its gravity. "To reform and not divide is much more difficult in Church than in State." He never lost sight of the secession of O'Kelly and its deplorable results upon the whole connection; it was to him a danger-beacon. And so he hopefully counselled in August, 1823: "Let us furnish history with at least one example of a church achieving its rights from the hands of its preachers, without the loss of confidence and affection, and without division. Such a record will be scarcely less honorable to the preachers than to ourselves. For though it must appear that they held power to which they had no right, their readiness in yielding it will prove that their hearts were not hardened by the love of it." Alas! he did not see with the clear vision of the astute John Emory the unyielding nature of intrenched power: "Remember the tenacious grasp with which power is held when once acquired. Its march is ever onward and its tremendous tendency is to accumulation."

This is as good a connection as any other to traverse the question of lay-exclusion from governmental participation, on its logical and factual merits. It is an admitted canon in all fair polemics that the argument of your adversary must not be stated with less cogency than its strongest expression. It is accepted, premising only, as axiomatic, that there is room for searching investigation, and a presumption of fundamental wrong when the votaries of an ecclesiastical or civil system are compelled always to assume an apologetic attitude. It is true of all the hierarchies of the world from Czar Nicholas to Pope Leo; but no one thinks of apologizing for the English or the American Constitution, or the polity of the Methodist Protestant Church as constitutionally embodied. In all the writer's searching he has found no such statement of exclusive ministerial rights as that recently made by Rev. Dr. T. B. Neely of the Methodist Episcopal Church:—

"The original governing power is vested in the ministry. In the beginning it belonged to Wesley, and then it passed to the Conference of ministers. The logical explanation of this is found in the fact that in the historical evolution of Methodism the ministry was first to come into existence. Thus Mr. Wesley preached Methodism before there was a Methodist laity. The society did

not make him, but, on the contrary, he made the Methodist society. He preached and gathered the people, and the people came under his authority. Then he made the preachers, and the preachers gathered the people and formed other societies. Logically and historically the preachers were first, and the laity afterward. Later the power Wesley possessed went to the Conference called the Legal Hundred in England, while in America it passed to the Conference of preachers, who organized the Church and made the laws, while the people voluntarily accepted this Conference government. As the supreme governing power was in the Conference of ministers, the constitution-making power vested in the same body, and when the body of ministers came to make a constitution in 1808 it naturally reserved to itself the right and power to pass upon and agree to any amendment before any change could be made in the constitution which it had created. This right, therefore, of a primary or final voice in amending the constitution vests in the ministry by the logic of history and the nature of constitutional authority.”¹

It is not new, but as old as the first agitation of it more than a hundred years ago: the preachers were instrumental in the conversion of the laity, were before them, and therefore have a right to govern them. Perhaps a kind of *reductio ad absurdum*, as the dialecticians say, will be the best method of confutation of this argument of so much plausible seeming. The apostles and their successors in the primitive Church of Christ were first; without them there could have been no Church; the Church did not make the apostles, the apostles made the Church, and therefore — what? Without an array of the New Testament data — the facts of sacred history — let Snethen state the result of the research for its example of church government, with the safe assumption that no one will be rash enough seriously to challenge it: “There is not an example in all the New Testament of apostles, bishops, or any other description of church officers, trying and expelling church members, without the aid or coöperation of the church; nor of apostles, elders, or churches legislating or

¹ *New York Christian Advocate*, 1894. It does not seem to have occurred to Dr. Neely, or if it did, he wisely, for his purpose, ignores the facts that the local preachers, Strawbridge, Embury, Captain Webb, and others, with Barbara Heck, as representing the womanhood of the early societies, were before the preachers who assembled in 1784, and not a few of them were the converts of these men, so that without them and Barbara Heck there would have been no Methodist Society in America, etc., so that the first link of his chain-argument is missing, and this invalidates it — it is a genuine sophism.

making laws for any church without its consent." He exhaustively considers the subject in his essay on "A View of the Primitive Church and its Government" and "The Feudal System." The dictum is a safe one; the examples of the New Testament ecclesiasticism are utterly subversive of the Methodist Episcopal polity in both its genius and its development. Volumes have been written to prove apologetically the converse — with what avail let any impartial investigator decide. No one can honestly enter upon the task and not find himself logically delivered to the Roman hierarchy. If you search for a strong government, there you can find it, and in like manner under its various modifications down to the anomalous one of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but for a Scriptural one you cannot find it. Apropos of Dr. Neely's argument let a layman, through the same medium and about the same time and on the germane issue of lay-representation, answer: —

"The proposition for delay by this time has a familiar sound. I remember that ten years ago at Philadelphia, when some proposition was made looking to reform in this matter, Dr. Neely said he was not prepared to consider the subject. He still thinks the time for action has not come. Whenever it has been proposed to make the lay-representation equal to the ministerial, the ready objection has been that it would make the General Conference too large. When it is proposed to begin at the other end, and somewhat reduce the numbers, so as to make room for a fair representation of the laity, the same parties are equally ready with the advice to wait till a more convenient season. This persistent repression is calculated to work injury to the Church. The fact is, that the admission of laymen to the General Conference at all has settled it that the preachers have no peculiar prerogative of legislation. They are ordained to be 'faithful dispensers of the word of God and of His holy sacraments,' but not as lawgivers. It is too late in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church to claim that the ministry have any inherent and seclusive right of legislation. Perhaps it would not be immodest to say (taking an illustration from figures which I have at hand) that the fifty-five thousand lay-members within the bounds of New York East Conference can furnish as many men who could legislate intelligently and wisely as can be selected from the somewhat less than three hundred ministers of the same Conference. We must come to the point of giving equal representation to both orders, and the sooner and the more gracefully it is done, the better."

For such reasoning as this, and as mildly put, laymen sixty years ago were ignominiously expelled the Church. Another argument direct, Snethen himself furnished for the sake of it, and more cogently than any of his opponents could state it: "The duty and purity of the Church cannot continue without discipline, and discipline cannot be maintained without exclusive power in the travelling preachers to make and execute rules. Take away, or qualify, or limit the power of the travelling preachers, and there can be no government; take away government, and there can be no religion. If it were not for this means, says a zealous member, we should not be better than other people; and if it were not, says another, we should lose all our religion; but the zealous itinerant don't lay so much stress upon these minor matters; the inference from his argument is, that neither a Saviour, nor grace, nor sacraments, nor good preaching, nor anything else can save us from ruin, without itinerant power." That such a chain of inconsequents should be entertained seriously by any one is in proof how readily the human mind under prepossession receives a fallacy. The collateral arguments apologetic of lay-exclusion are more numerous, and if anything more sophistical, and, as will be discovered, some of them in the desperation of extremity positively unchristian. They will be noticed as they develop.

Stockton had completed arrangements to continue the *Repository* in Philadelphia, but the dominant Baltimore element preferred a reconstruction more directly under the control and patronage of the inchoately organized Reformers. The *Repository* had been published at a loss by its editor and proprietor, and representative Methodism throughout the world can never repay his self-sacrificing and heroic labors in its behalf. Its discontinuance caused dissatisfaction.¹ This and the injection of the local preachers' demands, Stockton affirms, materially damaged the cause in Philadelphia. The action of the Baltimore Reformers did not materialize until the ensuing August. Meanwhile the effect of the sweeping arrogation of the General Con-

¹ W. S. Stockton, in a series of articles in the *Western Recorder* for February, March, and April, 1850, gives a history of the *Wesleyan Repository*, and an identification of all the writers, but he gives no specific reason for its discontinuance after April, 1824, though evidently chagrined by that action. Dr. S. K. Jennings, in his "Exposition," page 50, assigns as the reason: "The *Repository* had been so resisted by the friends of power that it had become necessary to exchange it for the *Mutual Rights*. Experience had demonstrated the necessity of sustaining the periodical by the organization of Union Societies."

ference was diverse. Not a few were intimidated by it, specially among the Itinerants. It became evident that the Episcopal party, with the spirit of Asbury himself, as now interpreted by M'Kendree and Soule, had taken a stand from which there could be, in their view of it, no retreat. Repression of Reform was in the air; extirpation was held in reserve. Hamilton's dictum — power over a man's substance is power over his will — so worked that nearly all the comparatively large number of the travelling preachers who were in sympathy with the claims of the laity subsided or recanted. Others, however, like Asa Shinn, needed such a stimulus to rouse their lion courage. The saintly but fearless Truman Bishop and others could not brook the defiant and arrogant position of their ministerial brethren, and, after exhausting all powers of reasoning and persuasion, espoused openly their cause. In Cincinnati and Pittsburgh, as well as Baltimore and other places, where the seeds of Reform had been securely planted, parties were formed and social Methodism felt the shock of irreconcilable difference of opinion. Dr. John French led the movement in Virginia and Dr. Bellamy in North Carolina, and the memorial of the Roanoke District conference and its Circular to the general Church are among the most masterly, Christian, and effective of the many addressed to the General Conference. The full text may be found in Paris's "History." The crimination and recrimination grew apace. From arguments to epithets the way was short. Those who favored changes in the government were stigmatized as "Backsliders; under the influence of base motives; opposers of God; instigated by the devil; enemies of Methodism," while their opponents denounced their Church neighbors as "Bishops' men, traitors, cowards, etc." Not a few of the recusants withdrew their support, discouraged by the strife that was engendered, while the side issue of the local preachers did more than anything else to shadow the great principle of lay-representation with itinerants, and yet this issue was intrinsically reasonable and earnestly pressed by the locality,—the originators of Methodism in America.

August, 1824, the first number of the *Mutual Rights*, etc., appeared. It took for its motto a sentiment of Bishop Burnet's: "What moderation or charity we owe to men's persons, we owe none at all to their errors, and to that frame which is built on and supported by them." It was a forty-page octavo monthly, printed for the committee by John T. Toy. Its contents were Editorial Address, signed by the chairman, Samuel K. Jennings,

which set forth the objects of the publication "to realize to the Church a practical understanding of the title it assumes. This can be done *only through the medium of a free press.*" "Well-written communications on any of the above subjects (Mutual Rights, etc.) will be thankfully received, and the utmost impartiality observed by the Committee." This was so largely availed of by the enemies of Reform that at the end of the first volume the Committee had to admonish them, so great was the latitude of severe personalities in which they indulged, that only *arguments* could be admitted from them in future. It was in broad contrast with the *Methodist Magazine*, under Bangs and Emory, which admitted nothing but attacks upon the Reformers. This statement is indisputable. For proof examine the respective volumes. The meeting of the Reformers May 21, and their Circular, as also that of the General Conference in full, followed by the first of two articles by "Baltimore" James Smith, in review of the last Circular, dissecting it into shreds; also an opening article, "Review of Some of the Acts of the General Conference," with a full roster of the members; an "Essay on the Rights of the Laity to Church Representation," No. 1, by "Nehemiah" (Alexander McCaine); Constitution of the Union Society of Baltimore; Address of the Presiding Elder of Norfolk, Va., Benjamin Devany, late member of the Conference, to the Church in that District, republished from the *Norfolk Herald*, a secular paper, and a reply to it by John French; "Geological Phenomena," by Horace H. Hayden, geologist, a series of a masterly nature running through several numbers; a miscellany of prose and poetry. The high literary standard of the *Repository* was fully kept up in the new publication. The Baltimore Union Society was the first formed, and its Constitution sets forth as its primary object, "to ascertain the number of persons in the Methodist Church who are friendly to such alteration (the exclusive right of the ministers to make 'rules and regulations'), to raise societies in all parts of these United States, to correspond with each other on such subjects as they may believe calculated to improve our church polity." The *Mutual Rights* is placed by the Society under an editorial committee, and provision made that any other member of a Union Society in any place could vote at the annual meeting his preference for said Committee. The first elected were Jennings, Chairman, McCaine, Williams, Kesley, Harrod, Thomas, Emmerson, and Bordley.

The Union Societies by first intention were designed as a test

of the second reason assigned by the General Conference for refusing the petitions of the Reformers,—“Because it presupposes that either the authority of the General Conference to ‘make rules and regulations’ for the Church, or the manner in which this authority has been exercised, is displeasing to the Church: the reverse of which we believe to be true.” It was claimed as a sufficient answer that “not one in one hundred of the membership” were known to favor Reform. It was true that they numbered at this time actively not over five thousand, perhaps, for this was the probable number the *Repository* had reached, or one in fifty of the membership, and even this number is a marvel when the concerted effort of those in authority to repress and destroy it is taken into consideration; yet the Reformers were willing to abide by this challenge, if when all the membership had been reached it could be shown that they were in such a minority. But no one knew better than the bishops and elders that wherever the true purpose of the Reformers became known, it was approved as a rule, and that if a free press was undisturbed in disseminating the light, it would soon spread through the whole Church. The point is trenchantly covered in the Preface to the first volume of the *Mutual Rights*: “For the recovery of the mutual rights of the ministers and members of the Church of Christ from the usurpation and tyranny which were sought after and accomplished in the establishment of hierarchies, it was necessary that the people should be enlightened. To be patient in slavery men must be ignorant. To give security to masters, ignorance must be perpetuated. These maxims are equally true in Church or State. Every good citizen of these United States will, therefore, be tributary to the information of the people, and every good member of the great commonwealth of Christianity will love the equal and mutual rights of her children.”

Devany, the Presiding Elder of the Norfolk District, under date June 30, 1824, took advantage of the publication in the *Norfolk Herald*, a secular paper, of the Reformers’ first Circular, probably inserted by some zealous Reformer or the editor himself as a sensational item, to review the Circular, and gives in it the keynote of the anti-reformers, which ran through all the subsequent literature of that side, except the “purse-string” argument. As already found, Devany’s review was promptly republished in the *Mutual Rights* without his request, the editorial Committee thus inviting free discussion under the conviction that the cause

of Reform must be the gainer by it. That keynote may be here given in fairness to them, as well as to anticipate the same defensive reasoning, which was repeated and answered in almost endless iteration for six years to come, and which if disposed of now will save space in the end. He said to the Reformers and the laymen of his district and elsewhere: "When, my brethren, did we as a body of ministers deprive you of any of your ecclesiastical power? Do you not possess as much power now as you ever did, and are you not governed in the same way that ever you were? If so, how can it be said that *we govern you without your consent*? Ever since the organization of our Church, the power has virtually rested with the laity. Do you not recommend members of your own class to the proper authorities of the Church to be licensed to preach, or to be admitted into the traveling connection? Are you not apprised that if they are admitted they will possess all the powers of an itinerant minister? If so, you not only consent for them to rule you according to the existing rules and regulations of our Church, but you virtually choose them to be your rulers in the order of Providence." Again: "No man or body of men have the right to disturb the peace and harmony of the Church of which he or they may be members. You have entered the Church with the discipline in your hands, and now if you are dissatisfied with the rules, so far from wishing to *govern you without your consent*, we would advise you to go to some other, more congenial with your views, or set up for yourselves, and form such rules and regulations as will best secure to you all those rights and privileges for which you contend."

In this day it is difficult for either friend or foe of the ancient Reform question to characterize such specious utterances, the former for lack of patience and the latter for very shame. And yet they did, both ministers and laymen, labor with the crudities and sophistries and solecisms, meeting them under all their kaleidoscopic changes, pouring the search-light of common sense and matter of fact upon them, until a modern historian of these events is fatigued with the heavy inanities called arguments. Dr. French, in his reply, takes the short method with Devany,—a method of all others the most distasteful to the authorities, viz., fair, full, and open discussion of the issues. French said: "If there be such clearness of propriety (as you seem to suppose there is) in the present system, if the government of the church is as abundantly supported by reason and revelation as you would have us believe, why all this proscribing of investigation? Why

all this systematic and official persecution? Are you afraid the people have not common sense enough to understand plain arguments? If your cause is so good, and its goodness so easy to make appear as you seem to insinuate, why not come out and let us hear your reasons? We not only promise to hear them, but we have promised to print and circulate them for you. We think this course would disturb the repose of the Church much less, and is much less calculated to stir up angry feelings, than the one which you have chosen — but in a bad cause anything is preferred to reason.” As to leaving the Church with the obloquy of a secession, no congenial ecclesiasticism extant to which they could go, and the obstacles of a new organization gigantic and almost insurmountable, well has the sweet-tempered Snethen met the hard-hearted suggestion: “Are not those who know their rights under the necessity of continuing to know them? Can any length of time in which men forbear to exercise their rights give to others the title to exercise them in their stead without their consent? Rather from the nature of the case does not every hour and every day they submit their rights to others diminish the pretensions of usurped authority? Though men who know nothing may very sincerely fear nothing, yet this cannot be the case with those who apprehend danger. . . . For an official man to request preachers or members to withdraw, is an offence which can only be exceeded by expelling them unjustly. What right has a man to browbeat another out of his fellowship because he is dissatisfied with an existing rule which is made alterable by its own enactment?” This he wrote in 1822.

The Circular of Devany was answered by Dr. Jennings in three letters through the Norfolk papers, and afterwards republished in the *Mutual Rights*. Citation is unnecessary, for the only points made have already been covered. It brought to the front, however, as a champion of the old order of things, Dr. Robert A. Armistead of Virginia. He took advantage of the offer of a “free press” by the Reformers, and was allowed every privilege. He was a stronger writer than Devany, but instead of confining himself to the issues raised by him, he entered upon the merits of the historical question at large. Still he was allowed all the space he asked, the editorial Committee prefacing his first paper with the just remark, “The course pursued by the writer to secure an admission into our pages makes it improper for us to reject his piece.” He was answered by Jennings.

Dr. Waters graced the pages of the periodical with several

sermons of classical finish and force. "One of the Laity" from Philadelphia, probably J. F. Watson, was also permitted to defend the old system. McCaine continued his masterful strictures free from acrimony, though Dr. Armistead soon began to impugn the motives of the Reformers, a specimen of which is as follows, "that from motives of *personal aggrandizement* or *sensuality*, these men are unduly intermeddling with the affairs of the Church." In February, 1825, Snethen began a series of six papers on Church Property, showing conclusively that in a contest of power with principle the former has its empire in exclusive control of the property. They added fuel to the controversial flame, as the fact was vehemently denied by the opposition. Rev. James R. Williams entered the lists as a Reformer and showed his ability to handle the discussion with good temper and perspicuity. His pseudonym was "Amicus." Dr. Armistead continued to write and is reviewed by McCaine and others. He assumed the rôle of a prophet, and in this must be quoted: "They" (the terms "delegate" and "constituents") "never will be known, nor will they be incorporated in our vocabulary while Methodism continues." It was entirely consistent; the right was denied and the expediency scouted.

About fifteen years later, when Dr. E. Yeates Reese, then editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, ventured upon a counter prediction: "Lay-delegation is a certain futurity in the Methodist Episcopal Church," the whole family of *Advocates*, North and South, met it with derisive incredulity and jocular denial. And it did take more than thirty years longer before the leaven of the "Radicalism" of 1827-30 so worked and persisted that their General Conference of 1872 took favorable action on the subject. It seemed as though this long period was demanded to demonstrate the dictum of Dr. Emory in 1824, "Remember the tenacious grasp with which power is held when once acquired." In April, Asa Shinn, under the incognito "Bartimeus," published a calm, moderate, and convincing "Address to the Ministers and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church." In it his logical and analytical mind sums up the case in these points: "It is true they [the Reformers] ought to be put to silence, provided it is done by the use of proper means. This may be attempted in four ways. First, by striving to convince them that they are wrong, and that they have no cause to object to any part of our ecclesiastical government. Second, to grant their request, so far as they can support it by Scripture and reason. Third, to use *threatening*,

authority, and punishment. Fourth, to denounce them as *heretics*, *radicals*, and *schismatics*; to refuse them a hearing, impeach their motives, and put as much uncandid reproach upon them as possible." He pleads for fair and dispassionate investigation and discussion. It made a great impression, but as the *Methodist Magazine* did not dare to observe the comity of debate by publishing it, as the *Mutual Rights* allowed space to its opponents, the Address reached but a limited number. The character and reputation of Shinn was so pure, his style so dispassionate, his logic so clear-cut and indisputable, no direct reply was ever attempted.

About this time "A Travelling Preacher" from Pennsylvania wrote: "Let the *Mutual Rights* work its way for four years; let the people read during the time, and make up their minds, each man for himself. Let truth be calmly and forcibly set before them; then let the General Conference come, and, stratagem apart, we have nothing to fear. A good cause so circumstanced must triumph." It was the whole case of the Reformers; they asked for nothing more. "Cincinnatus," Rev. Cornelius Springer of the travelling preachers West, resumes his contributions; he was the most incisive of the writers except McCaine. "Plain Truth" from Virginia was a powerful writer for Reform in various articles in this first volume, but it is not in my power to identify him. Rev. Dr. Bassett informed the writer years ago, that in 1850, being in Baltimore at the General Conference, he waited upon John J. Harrod, the venerable ex-publisher of the *Mutual Rights*, in company with E. Yeates Reese, and preferred an earnest request that he would go through the bound volumes and identify the writers. He promised to do so, but it was never done, and so to-day a number of the contributions are unverified in authorship. "Zwingli," Gideon Davis of Georgetown, D. C., began a series of articles in the last (July) number of the first volume. Clear as crystal and chaste in diction, they commanded attention as a criterion of the lay calibre engaged on the side of Reform. Rev. Dr. John French reappears under his proper name, and McCaine has the closing article on Expediency. It was intended to supplement his series, supporting the inalienable right of the locality and laity, and is a calm, forceful presentation.

The periodical was gaining a much wider circulation than the *Repository*, and wherever it went it made converts to Reform. As might be expected, the opposition to it intensified as its popularity increased. Extra copies were sent to the address of Reformers for distribution, and it is in evidence that this prac-

tice, coming to the knowledge of presiding elders, influence was used with the postmasters, if members or adherents of the Church, to refuse delivery and destroy them. Much secrecy had to be observed in the circulation, for if a member was known to be a subscriber or a reader, he was put under suspicion and marked to his disadvantage. It will serve to break the serious trend of these remarks to cite from Rev. Dr. George Brown's experience. "When the *Mutual Rights* appeared, I ordered it to be sent to nearly all the leading men of my district [he was Elder on Monongahela at the time], and paid for it in advance out of my own scanty funds. So that paper was read in all parts of the district, privately; for a time even the preachers were not allowed to know anything about it, nor did any one suspect my agency in the matter. On the subject of church government in public and in private I maintained a most profound silence; and from the office I held it was generally supposed that I was unfriendly to the changes contended for, and the periodical was kept very carefully out of sight wherever I went. When dismounting from my horse at the house of Thomas Maple, a valuable local preacher, to whom I had sent the paper, I heard sister Maple call out to one of the girls: 'Run, Sal, run! and take them *Mutual Rights* off the table; there comes the Elder.' And 'Sal' must have taken and concealed them in some by-corner, for they were not to be seen during my stay. So it was in all places, no one being disposed to let me know that he read so obnoxious a paper as the *Mutual Rights*."¹ It was severely under ban, and yet the circulation increased.

Taking their cue from the Baltimore organization, Union Societies were formed North, South, East, and West, wherever, in fact, the *Mutual Rights* found lodgment and a nucleus was gathered. Specimens of the Constitutions may be found in the *Mutual Rights*; they were identical in purpose with that of Baltimore. The organizers, loyal to Methodism if not to the hierarchy, did not dream that their proceedings could be construed as a violation of the Discipline; the General Conference had stigmatized their numerical inferiority so extremely that this method was proposed; there seemed no other available, to ascertain the sense of the membership. But to the authorities these societies were a new turn, an unexpected phase; a free press for

¹ "Recollections of Itinerant Life," by Rev. George Brown, D.D., Cincinnati and Springfield. 1863. 8vo. 456 pp. Cloth. With steel portrait. For citation, see p. 125.

discussion of the merits of the cause was menacing enough to their ancient hold of power, this threatened to make a majority of a minority, and the exasperation following the discovery knew no bounds. Let them, however, be judged charitably; they had come to the possession of a peculiar "system," which made automata of the individuals, by inheritance from the "fathers." The celebrated Dr. Priestley, now resident in Pennsylvania, who had been a close philosophical observer of it both in England and America, wisely says: "For my own part I have no doubt but that the leading men among the Methodists were influenced originally by none but the best motives, a general concern for the souls of men. Nothing else, I think, can account for their conduct as they were circumstanced. But finding themselves by degrees at the head of a large body of people, and in possession of considerable power and influence, they must not have been men if they had not felt the love of power gratified in such a situation; and they must have been even more than men, if their subsequent conduct had not been more or less influenced by it."¹

As to the fact of its concentration, let Dr. Coke, as cited in the first volume, be again called to witness. In 1795 he wrote: "Hitherto we have seen, since the death of Mr. Wesley, the most perfect Aristocracy existing, perhaps, on earth. The people have no power; *we the whole, in the fullest sense which can be conceived.* If there be any change in favor of religious liberty, the *people* certainly should have some power." They had come to believe the "system" everything, the fruitful source of all the marvellous spiritual results, and hence it, even more than doctrines and means of grace, was "Methodism." So to oppose the system was to oppose everything sacred in memory and divine in origin; how could the Head of the Church give them such success if his signet of direct approval was not on it? That it could be improved by any innovations was simply the suggestion of backsliders or ambitious people. To misrepresent the innovations proposed and to impugn the motives of the innovators were steps certain to follow. The young preacher looked to his senior, and the senior to the Elder, and he did not think of doubting or inquiring for himself as to either. The confession of Sneath in the former volume as to his prejudices against O'Kelly thus imbibed covers a multitude of like cases. Nor must it be inferred that intelligent laymen were few who, reasoning from the preachers' premises, did not sink all questions of right and expediency in the

¹ *Mutual Rights*, Vol. I. p. 244.

old paths and the good way they and their fathers had known. Moreover, two considerations were all powerful with many in arresting the prevalence of the new opinions: with the preachers the Conference had control of their support, and, as shall be exhibited later, the will-power of even strong men was held in abeyance when bread was the weight in the other scale; with the laity these preachers were the instruments of their conversion,—they knew them to be good men, and they were unwilling to disturb the old order of things even to make it better, if the preachers demurred. A much larger number, however, it was believed, were ready to sacrifice everything for an “Idea,”¹ like the Revolutionary fathers. Liberty was an abstraction, for what did the small tax upon tea or the Stamp Act amount to practically? It could not be called an oppression; but the vital point on which these patriots staked their “lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor” was the enactment *without their consent*. A large majority, it was believed, were with Reform, but the authorities did not suffer the only method of ascertaining it through the Union Societies to demonstrate it. And here Snethen’s dictum must be requoted: “Power combined with interest and inclination cannot be controlled by logic. But even power shrinks from the test of logic.” The Reform periodical and the Union Societies were such a test of logic, and the hierarchy shrank from it. They held the power and felt no inclination of surrender, so logic could not control. There was a last resort: *Expel Reform out of the Church*.

The second volume of the *Mutual Rights* opens with a prefatory statement of its rule of conduct, from which these sentiments are quoted: “They trust that prudence, candor, and moderation will mark their progress; and as they will cultivate an honest inten-

¹ Extract from a letter to the editors of the *Mutual Rights*, pp. 386, 387, May, 1825, from a Layman of Tennessee: “And it is no less strange that in a land of freemen, and in an age when the divine right of kings and priests to make laws for the church and state without their consent, is universally denied; such a body as the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church should deny the right of suffrage to her members. But such is the melancholy fact, as appears from the circular of that august body of divines. At sight of this I despaired of seeing any salutary reform shortly, if ever. I had almost concluded to unite myself with some dissenting branch of the Methodist Church. In this I should have done violence to some of the finest feelings of my nature. But on seeing the *Mutual Rights*, my hopes revived, and I have concluded to cleave to my Church and use what little influence I may have in disseminating the principles of reform. We are about to organize a Union Society in this place; you will hear from us after our next meeting, which is the second Saturday in May. Our Presiding Elder, I understand, insinuates something like trying to effect our expulsion. This we shall risk.”

tion to promote the best interests of religion in general, and the permanent peace and prosperity of the Methodist Church in particular, nothing shall induce them to turn aside from their great object, or to indulge in personal altercation. In the meantime, however, they renew the tender of their columns to any of their brethren in the opposition who will set forth with candor and moderation the *arguments* by which they are influenced to oppose a change in our church government; but personal detraction or mere declamation, from whichever side of the question, will not be permitted. The Committee take this opportunity to repeat the declaration to their brethren, and to the world, that they have no design to separate from the Church, much less to divide it; but to the contrary they are laboring to prevent secession and divisions; for they desire most sincerely to remain in the communion and fellowship with their brethren of the great Methodist family of these United States." As the whole question of the subsequent expulsions will turn upon this conduct of the periodical, nothing but an examination of the volumes by the impartial inquirer can determine it, and therefore the writer shall have on deposit every form of evidence appealed to in this History free to the research of every such inquirer.

It is affirmed that, reasonably construed, the editorial Committee adhered to their purpose, and challenge is made of a parallel to the liberal and Christian spirit which offered free of cost to the opposers space for all the arguments they could produce. In the first volume they availed of it to fully one-third the forty pages each month for the year. The second volume was not so freely used, but "One of the Laity," John F. Watson of Philadelphia, continued to use the Reform periodical in defence of the old system. To reënforce this advertised purpose of the editors, Asa Shinn contributed two papers: "An Address to the Reformers," which for the Christlike spirit and controversial moderation have never been excelled. A brief extract will serve to exhibit the animus: "If we were ever under obligation to act for God and for eternity, in any period of our lives, we are surely under obligation at this eventful crisis. To be *expelled* from the Church, or to *withdraw* from the Church, or to *reform* the Church, — each requires the most serious and deliberative exercise of the human faculties, and ought never to be attempted or carried into execution under the influence of a trifling, prejudiced, or inconsiderate mind." Snethen followed with a like appeal on "The Necessity for Union," and the records will prove that these two

master spirits kept in subjection the impatient element among the Reformers. Gideon Davis continued to discuss the issues with his graceful pen and faultless spirit. The high literary character of the periodical was preserved. Jennings, the classical scholar, was editor-in-chief, and nothing crude or slovenly was allowed to pass his critical oversight. The report of the editors to the Baltimore Union Society showed that Reform, keeping step with the circulation of the paper, had spread into Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama in the South; and Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri in the West; and Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, and even Vermont, while Maryland was in the lead for numbers and influence. The new editorial Committee was Jennings, Williams, Kesley, and Reese (John S.) of the ministers, and Arthur Emmerson, Lambert Thomas, John Chappell, Wesley Starr, Jesse Comegys, and James Hindes of the laity.

Rev. H. B. Bascom, under his own signature, writes to the chairman June 20, 1825, a striking letter eulogistic of Rev. John Summerfield, who had from that fell disease consumption just closed a brilliant career. He will be heard from frequently in the future under his several *noms de plume*, Presbyter, Dissenter, Neale, and with pronounced opinions and unflinching adherence as Vindex. Next to the English Summerfield he was the bright particular star of early Methodism as a pulpit orator. Born in 1796, in New York State, his father, under stress of debt, removed with his large family to the frontier of that state, thence to Kentucky, and finally to Ohio. Henry entered the ministry at sixteen years of age, a precocious giant in intellect and physique. To the slur that he was a "new recruit" in Reform, he made answer April, 1828, "Vindex was one among reformers who drafted a memorial to the General Conference of 1816, twelve years ago, praying for an important alteration in the government of the Church — and as early as 1822 published his thoughts at length on this subject in the *Wesleyan Repository*."¹ His father died early, leaving a large and dependent family to Henry, the eldest son, as their only support. Not economical by habit, pecuniary embarrassment haunted him through life and delayed his marriage until past forty years of age. It is the key to his history and the extenuation of his failure openly to follow the fortunes of Reform to the last extremity of self-abnegation.

¹ Jennings's "Exposition of the Late Controversy." 8vo. 247 pp. Harrod, publisher, Baltimore, 1831. For citation, see p. 214.

A purpose was formed by the friends of Reform in Bedford County, Tenn., to organize a Union Society, and in February, 1825, a tentative meeting was held, and a call made for such an organization in May ensuing, which subsequently met in a large barn just out of Unionville in Bedford County. The Presiding Elder of the district, James Gynne, in the majesty of a true hierarch, resolved to estop the proceedings, and in April read out from the Quarterly conference the names of fourteen official members, some of whom were local preachers, with the announcement that "these brethren had put themselves out of the Church, and were no longer to be considered Methodists." Undeterred, the Union Society was formed in May, William B. Elgin, President, and Richard Warner, Secretary. It was composed of a number of the leading members and citizens of the county. They issued a circular in which they say: "There is a work in circulation [the *Mutual Rights*], published in Baltimore, in which the arguments on both sides of the question which agitates us are set forth; we would recommend our brethren to procure and read the work; give the arguments on both sides due weight, and if, after a patient investigation, we should still differ, we do not see why we should quarrel with or anathematize each other. . . . We again declare (the assertion of the Presiding Elder to the contrary notwithstanding) that we have not 'left the Methodist Church.' Neither do we design to do so while there is the most distant prospect of our being of any use to or in that Church." This independent course stung the Elder to the quick, and at once systematic expulsions were inaugurated, some nine local preachers being of the number. Appeals were taken to the ensuing Annual Conference, which met in October (it is to be regretted that the name of the presiding Bishop cannot be ascertained, but probably Roberts, as in these days he tried to hold an even balance with the contestants), and after a fair investigation these mountaineers decided that the Elder had exceeded his authority and ordered the restoration of the expelled members, the Bishop of course concurring. The zeal of the Elder had eaten him up. It will be seen that this first attempt to expel Reform out of the Church was an abortion, because the process of gestation was imperfect. The brethren in Baltimore addressed the persecuted in Tennessee a letter of sympathy and support, and it was this bond of union, with the steady spread of Reform, coupled with their undeviating resolve not to secede, that led the authorities at last to sanction expulsions. In February following, 1826, a temptation so to do

was presented by a circular addressed the Reformers everywhere by the Stillwell and other seceders in New York and the North, now a considerable body,¹ inviting them to send delegates to a Convention to be called in the city of New York, "to form a Constitution for a new Methodist Church." A special messenger was sent to the Baltimore Society, and they made official answer, February 15, 1826, in which they restate their position: "In the number of the *Mutual Rights* for August, 1825, p. 2, we have made the declaration to the world that we have no design to separate from the Church, much less to divide it; but, on the contrary, we are laboring to prevent secessions and divisions, . . . consequently any participation in the measures you propose would be inconsistent with our avowed intentions." Signed, John Chappell, President.

¹ The secession of W. M. Stillwell in New York City originally carried from the Methodist Episcopal Church about three hundred members in 1820-21. Through the kindness of Rev. J. J. Smith, D.D., the printed minutes of those who adhered to this organization for the years 1824, 1825, 1826, and 1827 are before the writer and enable him to give a fairly correct idea of the growth of this body. From those of 1824 it is ascertained that the "Yearly Conference of the Methodist Society" consisted of twenty-eight delegates from churches in New York City, three in number, and other places in New Jersey, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, etc. The total membership is set down 2139. In 1825 they had churches in western New York, Connecticut, etc., and claimed an increase of 386. In 1826 it appears that William M. Stillwell set up an independent Conference, disowning the large majority, so true is it that "secession breeds an exaggerated individualism and carries with it the possibility and menace of further schisms." The regular Conference held its session notwithstanding as "An annual State Conference" in the Sullivan Street church, New York, Stillwell having given notice through the *New York Observer* that it would not be allowed to meet as intended in his Christie Street church in New York. It seems that he favored union with the "Radicals" of Maryland and elsewhere whose first convention assembled in November of this year. The regular body held on its way, and it was to it that the Reformers of Baltimore declined sending delegates on their solicitations elsewhere noticed. In turn they disowned Stillwell and his church. The name of Lorenzo Dow is found associated with this movement as "general missionary," and he continued with them in his eccentric manner until his death, finding sympathy and support among Methodist Protestants in Maryland in his last illness. A society of 110 was claimed in Baltimore, and a separate conference, called the Rochester, in western New York, but for 1827 the statistics are not furnished. Nearly this whole organization eventually merged in the Methodist Protestant Church, and furnished names which are honored in its after history, as Aaron G. Brewer, who removed to Georgia, and in which state they also claimed a considerable membership, Samuel Budd of New Jersey, James Covell, and Isaac Fister. This organization must not be confounded with the Reform Methodists, also elsewhere referred to, who originated in secessions in 1814, and spread into a number of states North and West, and were in existence as late as 1840; but these also found a more compact organization in the Methodist Protestant Church, into which they were absorbed in large part.

CHAPTER V

Roanoke District Conference, North Carolina, and its Reformers—Rev. W. W. Hill's trial and acquittal; the Granville Union Society and expulsion of Lewellyn Jones; other expulsions; Ira Harris's defence; J. R. Williams's masterly summation of the charges against these Reformers—Persecution of Reformers in Baltimore; "Baltimore" James Smith retires as a Reformer; reasons—Effort to secure unanimity among the Reformers; call of a Convention in Baltimore for 1826 to this end—Analysis of Dr. Bond's character and methods as an anti-reformer; tricky and "dotingly fond of dispute"—*Christian Advocate* first issued September, 1826; a battery against Reform—Shinn on the situation; a masterly plea—Bishops' meeting in 1827; what it did—General Reform Convention in Baltimore, November, 1827; what it did—"Union Societies" and Wesley's "United Societies" kindred—Bascom to the front as a Reformer; vindication of him as such.

THE Roanoke District Conference of North Carolina took a conspicuous and early part in the Reform movement. There was great dissatisfaction throughout the South over the action of the General Conference of 1820, which met their petition for governmental recognition by enacting the District Conference measure, the itinerants thus assuming to legislate for them, as occupying the same position of nonage as the laity. The Roanoke brethren were as courageous as they were gifted, and the series of protests and circulars addressed by them to the general Church and the itinerants are among the ablest issued during the course of the controversy, and may be found in full in Paris's "History." They memorialized the General Conference of 1824 in a calm, courteous, and dignified address. A Union Society was formed at Sampson's meeting-house in Halifax County, November 3, 1824. It was the first formed after that of Baltimore, May 21, 1824, and after which most of them were patterned. It was composed of eleven persons, Revs. Messrs. Price, Smith, Bellamy, Hunter, Hines, Whitaker, and Jones, local preachers; and William E. Bellamy, Morris, King, and McLean, laymen. It soon after grew to thirty-nine. In April, 1825, Rev. W. W. Hill of Matamuskeet circuit, a former Itinerant in good standing, was received. He was zealous, educated, and eloquent. In the following month of August he was summoned to appear for trial

under the rule forbidding "inveighing against the discipline," etc., by Rev. Benjamin Edge, the assistant preacher on the circuit, on "next Sunday, August 7, at the chapel in Matamuskeet, before a committee of local preachers." He had two days' notice and was twenty miles distant, but he was in attendance. The notice gave him the privilege, "you can withdraw under Church censure, if you see proper, if you do it in a formal manner." The trial occurred, and, after the case was stated by the prosecutor, Hill made an eloquent and masterful defence, which Paris has preserved for posterity as a specimen of the mental calibre and moral stamina of the Reformers. It concludes: "And now, my brethren of the committee, bring in a verdict which shall comport with the interests of your Church, and the rights of your country, and I shall be satisfied." They reported, "No cause of action." The committee were honest and capable men, so that Edge's persecution miscarried in its purpose. So generally were the local preachers everywhere enlisted as Reformers that in not a few localities it was impossible for the Itinerants to select committees of trial, "organized to convict." In July, 1826, the Granville Union Society was organized on Tar River circuit, composed of the best material of the Church. A few days thereafter the preacher in charge, Benton Field, cited Lewellyn Jones, a man of irreproachable character, and three others, Macon, Valentine, and Hunt, for their failure to "yield to reproof so far as to engage in future to leave off such pernicious conduct," i.e. circulating Reform literature and belonging to the Union Society. They were brought before the class of which they were members, and enough were found who agreed with the preacher in charge, to enable him to infer that he had a right to expel them, but when it came before the church, the question was not put, "guilty" or "not guilty," this might have failed to secure even a bare majority vote, but the prosecutor said, "All of you who think their conduct will have a bad effect, will signify it by rising up." A majority acquiesced in this view of it, though it had no connection with the charge preferred. To indicate how arbitrary was this act, four days after a local preacher of the same class was arraigned before a committee of his peers, and though strenuous efforts were made by the prosecutor to prevent any Reformer from being of it, he was acquitted on the same testimony. The venerable Lewellyn Jones appealed to the Quarterly Conference, and the Presiding Elder, Rev. William Comp-ton, in summing up the case against him said in substance, "Men

may forfeit church privileges without committing an immoral act," and instanced a case or two in criminal practice in which men had been punished for thieves and rogues who had not actually stolen anything; and that men had been dealt with as Tories who had not loaded their guns nor pulled a trigger, alleging that the keeping of company with rogues and Tories was sufficient proof of guilt. Having performed this task, he resumed the chair and put the vote; and the majority confirmed the sentence from which Jones had appealed."¹ Three more were subsequently expelled, and the seven appealed to the Annual Conference. That body decided that "it was not maladministration." How true Snethen's words, "Men who have the same interests will be prone to act alike."

A correspondence of singular merit — a polemical bout — followed these expulsions, between Rev. Ira Harris of the Reformers and Rev. William Compton, Presiding Elder, which has also been preserved by Paris in the full text. It turns upon the issue made by Harris, who cited from the Discipline the only law bearing upon the case: "If the accused person be found guilty, by the decision of a majority of members before whom he is brought to trial, and the crime be such as is *expressly forbidden by the word of God, sufficient to exclude a person from the kingdom of grace and glory*, let the minister or preacher who has charge of the circuit expel him." The italicized words define the law evidently, and Compton found it impossible to wrest it from this plain meaning which guarantees membership unless immorality is involved; and it is in direct contravention of the rule as to "inveighing against the discipline," though it had been pressed into the service from O'Kelly's day to 1830, as well as other forced interpretations of certain sections in the "General Rules," notably that which names "speaking evil of ministers," though it was incontrovertibly established that this reference by Wesley was to the English revolutionists and referred exclusively to the "ministers" of the British Crown in their civil capacity, and is so interpreted by Coke and Asbury in the Notes on the Discipline of 1796. So desperate were the straits in which the prosecutors found themselves when the Episcopacy finally sanctioned expulsion as the only method left to extirpate a movement which it was found logically impossible to meet. The general case is thus enlarged here because it will answer for all others which followed, though the literature of the subject on both sides affirmed and

¹ Paris's "History," p. 99.

denied through all the kaleidoscopic aspects of merely dialectical fence and parry. Once for all the cases have been summarized by James R. Williams as follows: "1st. Those brethren were excommunicated *for no act of immorality*; for the neglect of *no Christian duty*; nor for the dissemination of false doctrines. 2d. They were not expelled for the *violation of any rule of discipline*; for though charged with inveighing against the discipline, the charge was not sustained. 3d. They were expelled *for becoming members of a Union Society*, the avowed design of which, according to its constitution, was 'for the purpose of corresponding with the brethren within the United States, who are favorable to Reform, on such subjects as will tend to improve the form of our church government.' 4th. They were expelled for joining said Union Society, *not* because this act was a violation of any law, divine or human, but because in the opinion of the preacher and a majority of those present at the trial, 'their being members of the Union Society *would have a bad effect*.' 5th. Notwithstanding the obvious injustice of this act, and the tyrannical conduct of the preacher in charge, yet the Virginia Annual Conference, with three bishops present, declared that the act of expulsion 'was not maladministration.'"¹ A travelling preacher afterward characterized it as "worse than passing an *ex post facto* law, which, according to the American Constitution, is destructive of civil liberty, and inconsistent with good government."

The news of these transactions spread far and wide, and on the Reformers and their opponents, in Baltimore especially, the effect was to foment bitter discussion, crimination, and recrimination, the bandying of epithets such as only an ecclesiastical controversy can engender, social church ties were sundered, families were divided in sentiment, the opponents of Reform exulted over the expulsions and warned their Reforming friends what they might expect in the near future; and the Reformers, burning with indignation, did not mince their words in condemnation. Amid it all, though scarcely credible, revivals took place, both parties meeting at the church altars and working together to this end. But this fellowship was not allowed to continue. Petty persecutions began of the Reformers by declining to renew their licenses to exhort or to preach, and dropping them from their official positions. It was the custom of the locality annually to arrange a Plan of Appointments² for the city and suburbs under

¹ "History," pp. 133, 134.

² One of these printed Plans is now before the writer.

the direction of the Itinerants. The Reformers found their names excluded from this Plan, though such notable preachers as Jennings, John S. Reese, Daniel E. Reese, Sr., McCaine, Williams, and others, were of their number. But more than all these causes of distraction the Reformers had not concentrated, as urged by Stockton, Snethen, and Shinn, upon the one issue of lay-representation; the local preachers, both of the retired ministers, like McCaine, and the locality preachers, like Jennings, were unwilling to sink their parity claim to participation in the government.

October, 1825, an event occurred which gave the cause of Reform a set-back. A few months before a young preacher of the Baltimore Conference addressed a note to James (Baltimore) Smith, craving him to define the position of the controvertists and his own. He was stationed in Annapolis at the time and replied, the correspondence appearing in the *Mutual Rights* of October. In this letter he defined his own and the Reformers' position clearly without yielding the slightest point, but indicated his doubt of the practicability of the measure in the present temper of the contestants, as his opinion was that it could be accomplished only through a convention of the Church. He disclaimed having "changed sides," but deplored the lack of unanimity in the aims of the Reformers, and the ill feeling engendered. He asks, therefore, the privilege of retiring from this "controversial field in quietude," without aspersion of his motives by any one; adding, "I do not foreclose myself from any future efforts, if my convictions should lead me to make them," etc. McCaine reviewed his letter with some sharpness, and Shinn criticised a single statement of it with his usual mildness of diction, but force of argument. A short period, however, developed a fact which, perhaps, does more than anything else to explain his retirement. The Minutes show that he superannuated the following spring, removed to Baltimore, where he died the same year, 1826, or about a year after this correspondence, and in the forty-third or fourth year of his age. Evidently ill health warned him to leave the fray. The Conference obituary is brief and gives no particulars of his illness, noting, however, his connection with Reform, "He commanded respect even from those who differed from him in some points of church polity." He died "in great peace of mind, after evincing a striking example of patience and fortitude in his last sufferings."

The second volume of the *Mutual Rights* closed with a subscription doubled in number, and its finances in good shape. "Frank-

lin," Rev. W. W. Hill, appeared as a contributor from North Carolina. Shinn and Snethen, with McCaine, occupied large space. Shinn, in one of his articles, made the sensible but "radical" suggestion, "except, therefore, the reformers can be successful in ultimately obtaining a *constitution*, they might as well give the matter up; for no reformation short of this is worth contending for; because none short of this would secure any permanent advantage to the Church." His acute and logical mind saw plainly that the enactments of 1784 and 1808 were in no proper sense a "constitution," so that any future General Conference, sovereignty residing perpetually in it, could undo any concessions that might be made if unguaranteed by conventional sanction. In this view most of the Reformers acquiesced, so that their memorials only hoped for favorable General Conference action looking to such measures as would make changes permanent. While they were radical in their examination of the foundations, they were not radical in haste, as all the facts testify. Indeed, it was this conservative ground that tested the patience of the Episcopal "radicals" more than anything else. Foregone in their conclusions that the "institutions of the Church, as they received them from the fathers," should never be innovated, they ardently wished one of two things: that the Reformers would precipitate action, or take some ground that would justify their expulsion before the world and other churches. They gratified them in neither. The much regretted withdrawal of Smith, and the insidious declension of some others, presently to be uncovered, led the Episcopal party to spread the rumor that many were abandoning Reform; so that it called for an official denial with the necessary exceptions.

One effect of it was to admonish the local preachers, whose uncompromising demands had done the cause so much damage as almost to extinguish it in Philadelphia and Wilmington, that they must surcease.¹ Accordingly, the Baltimore Union Society

¹ Despite these evil results their cause seemed so just not only intrinsically, but they had before them the example of the Allenites (colored) Zion Church, which organized years before as a secession from the mother church, giving the local preachers an equal recognition in the General Conference, and of the United Brethren (Otterbein-Boehm Church) which, at its convention of 1815, in Ohio, framed a Discipline of which the following features are noticed: "They recognize the fundamental principle of liberty, the right of suffrage; for the people elect their representatives to the General Conference. They give to the local ministry a seat in the Annual Conference, and make them alike eligible with the travelling preachers to a seat in the General Conference. And by doing away every ordination except one, they remove all occasion of pride from among the

in January, 1826, passed a series of resolutions, the locality coöperating, and appointed a committee to "consider the propriety of calling a convention of the friends of Reform," "for the purpose of securing unanimity of sentiment and harmony of expression in the memorials to be sent up to the ensuing General Conference at Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1828." It was approved, and the committee "recommended conventions to be assembled in the several states of the Union, where brethren are inclined to adopt the measure, for the exclusive purpose of making inquiry into the propriety and expediency of asking for a representation, and taking measures preparatory to the formation of a memorial expressly upon that subject." Baltimore was suggested as a suitable place for the General Convention.¹ The Report was printed and circulated through the United States so far as Reformers could make it reach. This alignment of Reform forces was a serious menace to the Episcopal party. It meant sensible business, and was hailed by the Reformers as a means of composing their differences of opinion. It infused new life into the movement, and prompted the organization of a number of Union Societies. Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and other points became additional centres of agitation, now that the objective of the leading minds, Snethen, Shinn, Stockton, Davis, and others, lay-representation alone as the issue, leaving all other questions for future adjustment, had been attained. The controversy grew more heated everywhere as extreme measures of repression were resorted to by the Bourbon conservatives, and equally extreme positions were taken by the more intemperate Reformers. It was an inevitable concomitant of such a party spirit.

Reform in Baltimore unhappily developed under three phases: the local preacher section, who were also lay-representationists; the lay-representationists, who felt this to be the sheet-anchor and other questions subsidiary; and the two sections based their claim upon the *right* of it, which was the view of all the leading Reformers. A third, and smaller, section asked for concessions to both the locality and the laity, but based it entirely upon its *expediency*. It claimed to be represented by a "large meeting"

ministry on the score of office."* They lacked only lay-representation to make the discipline a model one for the Reformers in Methodism, a feature which in after years was also introduced.

¹ It did not materialize as a "General Convention," but one was held for the state of Maryland and the District of Columbia in November of this year.

* *Mutual Rights*, Vol. II. p. 39.

of the members of the Church, as already disclosed — the meeting of which Thomas Kelso was Chairman and Dr. Thomas E. Bond Secretary, early in 1824. The expediency view was looked upon by Jennings and others as a practical surrender of the whole question. He avers that at this meeting Dr. Bond, who was a local preacher, insisted upon being admitted as a layman, that he might be on the committee to prepare the memorial, and was so recognized, because not ordained; and he was probably the author of it. It took the ground of expediency, and Jennings says, "In the instant when that part of the Report was read, which contained this fatal proposition, we considered it a known surrender of the cause of reform; and we have continued to view it in the same light until now.¹ Prior to this time, Dr. Bond was an active patron of the *Wesleyan Repository*, probably one of the writers for that work. Since then we have not known any act of his which favored our cause."²

It is the cue to Dr. Bond's after career as a violent anti-reformer. He stood as its protagonist until the day of his death. An analysis of this remarkable man is demanded, for the reason that he was criticised and denounced without stint of language by the Reformers, and lauded and coddled by the Episcopal party in equally extreme eulogy. And for this reason the writer will fortify a judgment of his own, by presenting Dr. Bond as his own witness, contemporaries of his own Church, and their united testimony as supported by Reformers who knew him well, and the facts of his anti-reform history. Others may thus be made the judges of his motives, and shall furnish an explanation of his otherwise exceptional conduct toward his former friends and coadjutors in the Church. First, Dr. Bond *vs.* Dr. Bond. In an article in the *New York Christian Advocate*, while he was editor, in 1854, on "The Sanctity of Ministerial Character," and afterward rebuked in the *Zion's Herald*, he declared: "We have never assailed the personal reputation of any one because they differed

¹ Rev. H. B. Bascom, in his "Summary Declaration of Rights," in the eleventh article says: "Expediency and right are different things. Nothing is expedient that is unjust. Necessity and convenience may render a form of government useful and effective for a time, which afterward, under a change of circumstances and an accumulation of responsibility, may become oppressive and intolerable. That system of things which cannot be justified by the Word of God and the common sense of mankind can never be expedient." Controversion of this position is impossible with success, and therefore the ground of Jennings and the Reformers on this question. Expediency, as applied to Methodist Reform, is Right, cringing and fawning before Power — Right, crawling like a reptile on its belly.

² Introduction to Jennings's "Exposition," p. 8.

with us in opinion; but when the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church turn reformers after their fashion, and denounce and defame our institutions and propose wild and impracticable innovations on her economy, we consider it a right and a duty to show that they are not entitled to the confidence of the Church, as we would in a court of justice claim the right to invalidate the testimony of a witness by showing that his personal character and reputation did not entitle him to credence." Rev. Dr. Wise, in the *Herald*, reproducing this remarkable deliverance, says: "There can be no mistake as to the meaning of such language. It is not a claim to put down wrong opinions by hard argument, — that would be right and just, — but it is the distinct claim of a right to treat ministerial character and reputation in a manner which we have shown to be forbidden by the Bible and by the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church."¹ It will be seen that he held the same right to defame a man's character, or reputation, in 1825-30, if his controversial end could thereby be secured. A former allusion to Dr. Bond gives a characteristic of him called by his friends sagacity, and by his opponents trickery. Rev. Dr. Augustus Webster, editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, July 13, 1844, cites the *Richmond Christian Advocate*, edited by Dr. L. M. Lee, of June, 1844, who elaborates this phase of his character as follows: "This ambiguous, equivocal, and jesuitical preamble and resolution, capable of being explained either way, as policy might dictate, was concocted for the purpose of 'being all things to all men,' and to catch the votes of all the factions in the Conference who would coalesce in *any* action against the Bishop." This refers to Bond's "substitute" for the resolution "requiring Bishop Andrew to resign." Dr. Webster then cites from the *New York Advocate*, edited by Bond, for August 23, 1843, this admission from him, "Heretofore it has been a matter of rejoicing that those who left us, and set up for themselves [reference to the Reformers of 1827-30], have only differed with us in opinion as to the form of church government." On which Webster comments, "When it is remembered that the Senior Editor has avowed himself the contriver of the mock trials

¹ It is remarkable that this judgment is indorsed by Dr. Buckley in an editorial, *Christian Advocate*, September 10, 1876, in these words: "If Dr. Bond came to believe a man to be upon the whole inimical to the interests of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he did not hesitate to make it known, and brought his unequalled wealth of sarcastic appellations and similes into use to restrain the influence of his opponent." This note is added in a revision of this work, December 23, 1896.

and bitter persecutions of the Reformers, it is to be hoped that the Episcopal Methodists, who have at last found out his sophistry and cunning, will do justice to the memory of the men whom he succeeded but too far in misrepresenting."

The Southern *Advocates* in 1844-45, ringing the changes on this exhibition of himself in the General Conference of 1844, unwittingly testify that the methods of trickery were identical with those he used against the Reformers in 1825-30. So much for his own witness and that of his contemporaries of the same Church. The character-reading Snethen, long years before these witnesses could be thus summoned, said of him, when, early in 1827, it was bruited about by the anti-reformers that Dr. Bond was about to issue his "Appeal to the Methodists," as a foretoken of his menace to "write down Reform": "If his book cannot be answered, I will be among the first to proclaim him victor; if it can be, he must prepare to pay up all old arrears due to the cause of reform. The cause is great and the stake is great. This brother at arms has the advantage of 'sun and wind.' The ground has been familiar to him from the beginning. He has been in our citadel and is acquainted with our camp. If he means to spring a mine, his leisure and security in preparing it have been ample. The choice of his weapons and of the time, the place, and manner of attack are all his own." After the pamphlet appeared, Snethen said: "I say now what I meant last March. The reformers did once think doctor Bond as worthy of their confidence; and in writing against us, if he knew of any secret design among us, we expected that he would publish them all." Once more: "I now not only advise the friends of reform not to separate from the Church, but I warn, and caution, and entreat Dr. Bond, and all who are baptized into his spirit, not to turn men out of the Church because they mean to petition the General Conference to grant them a representation, for this may lead to final separation." "For upward of thirty years I have been familiar with all doctor Bond's axioms and arguments as with my alphabet. I am surprised when I hear of travelling preachers of some standing professing to be convinced by this Appeal." And, finally: "As a writer against the principles of reform, doctor Bond is not to be feared; but as a writer against reformers he is to be dreaded; upon principles he soon gets out of his depth, but upon men he is quite at home." Dr. Buckley, in *New York Christian Advocate*, as late as 1894, sketching his career, justly says, as a summation of his calibre, "He was a

master of an English style, a dialectician, a reasoner, and, when his feelings were not too much excited, a philosopher." Unhappily, when he locked horns in controversy, he was always warmly excited. His habitual mental temper, Wesley, in his "Notes," aptly describes as "dotingly fond of dispute." On his death-bed, reviewing the past, he said, in substance, that in all his efforts his motive was the good of the Church. No one need doubt it; but in the heat of those efforts against Reform and Reformers, and against the Southern wing of the General Conference of 1844, he was the unsparing traducer of other men's motives. This extended analysis will save space in the end, as Dr. Bond shall frequently appear upon the controversial scene.

The call of a Convention of representatives of all the Union Societies to unify the memorials to the ensuing General Conference, the greatly increased circulation of the *Mutual Rights*, and the spread of Reform principles, probably suggested to the Episcopal authorities that the policy of silence, lest the movement should be helped by advertising its existence, would no longer answer; the press must be employed against it. In September, 1826, the Book Concern, with Bangs and Emory as agents, issued as a weekly periodical the *Christian Advocate*. Thenceforward it actively antagonized the innovators. Its weekly issue gave it a great advantage over the monthly appearance of the *Mutual Rights*. It is opportune now to observe that the reply of the General Conference of 1824 to the Reform petitions was directed against those who claimed "rights and privileges"; those who petitioned as believers in expediency are unnoticed. Through the year 1825 the Baltimore Reformers became conscious of a defection to their cause; it was evident that some parties supposed to be of them were sapping and mining in the dark, but it seemed impossible to fix the responsibility, though the suspects were marked and watched. The *Mutual Rights* for 1826 was opened by a forceful review of the situation by "Bartimeus," who in a postscript now gives his proper name under date, "Pittsburgh, June 26, 1826, Asa Shinn," alleging his authorship of all under the pseudonym, with the motive confessed "that those who are disposed to punish may be at no loss to know where to strike, as well as to comply with the request of friends." It was an exhibition, not of Spartan, but of Christian courage. He felt that it would result in the loss of the friendship of many old associates, but longer concealment "would

be in effect to demand surrender of his understanding, his conscience, and his Bible. He is entirely persuaded that he could not pay such a price for human friendship, without losing the friendship of God; and that the confidence which cannot be retained but by such a sacrifice, is really not worth retaining." He sums up the situation for all his brethren: "We *did* expect that the preachers and people in general would give us a fair hearing; this expectation is at an end. We *did* expect that our brethren in the ministry would either yield to our arguments or calmly try to show us that they are inconclusive; this expectation is at an end. We *did* expect they would feel their obligation to act as fairly and conscientiously in their church capacity as in their individual capacity; this is also at an end. Therefore we do expect *punishment*, in some form or other . . . every man among us may prepare himself either to give up the cause of reform, or to *suffer* in one form or other. Those who consider it not worth suffering for, will of course give it up; but those who understand its value and importance will hold to truth and conscience at every hazard. . . . We are constrained reluctantly to expect that there will be a *division*. Is it *possible* for this to be prevented? If impossible, it is irrational to use efforts to prevent it; because we have no control over *necessity*. But if it be *possible*, how is it to be done?—Why, it is possible for men to *give up the truth*; but would this be right? It is possible for men to give up their reason and their Bible; would this be right? It is possible for men to give up their duty, their liberty, and their standing as accountable agents in God's creation; would this be right? If not, in what conceivable way can a division be prevented, but for men to give evidence a fair hearing, and give up their bigotry and their delusions? If men will not do it, this corrupt and obstinate will is the only thing that makes a united reformation impossible, and He who requireth truth in the inward parts will judge who and what is the responsible *cause* of the melancholy schism." The facts will presently show that never was human vaticination more literally fulfilled. Shinn, next to Snethen, was the seer, sage, and philosopher of Reform. Their strongest opponents, like Dr. Bond, while freely lampooning and traducing Snethen and others, let this pure and masterful spirit severely alone. Nay, he wrung from Dr. Bond in 1844, when he was busy stigmatizing and scandalizing the Southern brethren, this handsome tribute, "Here is a man incapable of guile or a sinister purpose. A sterling and uncompromising integrity is

the prominent ingredient in his character.”¹ True, he used Shinn in this as a foil to his attacks upon others, and as a personal tribute it is equalled only by another from his pen covering all the leading Reformers: “They were men whose very errors challenged the admiration of the world.”² Unfortunately for the intrinsic value of such eulogies, he was the most inconsistent of men; for the same pen wrote in June, 1855, during his last editorial term of the *New York Christian Advocate*, “They [the Reformers] were expelled, and the act was a high and holy vindication of the Methodist Episcopal Church;” but it was in criticism of liberal views of them as expressed by Abel Stevens at the time.

In the spring of 1826 there was a “bishops’ meeting,” as ordered by the General Conference, in Baltimore, the ostensible business of which was to appoint a fraternal delegate to the Wesleyan Conference. It adjourned to Philadelphia so as to secure the attendance of Bishop George, whose relations with Bishop M’Kendree were now and for some years so strained that they did not voluntarily meet each other. Another was held, with all present, early in 1827, but as already found they utterly disagreed on the delegate question, a majority being for William Capers of the South and a minority for Wilbur Fisk of the North. Of course a division of the Episcopal work as set by the General Conference of 1824 was a part of their proceedings, and as these meetings quadrated with the severe measures instituted against the Reformers, it was their firm persuasion that, while perhaps not officially passed upon as a minute record, it was understood that “expulsion of Reform out of the Church” should be recognized in the Eldership as a last resort — “power shrinks from the test of logic.” It has passed into a maxim that force is the last argument of kings. It is seen to be the last argument of bishops also. This mention is called for inasmuch as it will be shortly seen that any direct sanction of the bishops was stoutly denied by the strategic Bond and others. It was held that the action against the Reformers was a laymen’s action to “defecate” the Church — this and nothing more.

“One of the Laity,” John F. Watson of Philadelphia, was allowed space, as he argued the question and kept within decorous bounds as to personalities against the Reformers, through the third volume of the *Mutual Rights*. He wrote with ability. Again wonder can but be expressed that the Reform periodical

¹ *New York Christian Advocate*.

² *Ibid*.

should thus occupy its pages. Two things, however, were in view: a demonstration that it was a free press, and the recreation it gave Snethen, Shinn, Jennings, Gideon Davis, McCaine, W. W. Hill, and others. They thus drew the fire of their opponents, and then turned in and spiked their guns. The product, on either side, was volumes of able controversial literature. It is all accessible to the candid reader, and nothing would be more in harmony with the confidence of the writer than to have his statements of fact or conclusion challenged by an appeal to the records. A letter from Alabama, May 19, 1826, in the periodical says: "I was personally acquainted with Bishop Asbury. I have heard him converse with the Rev. Hope Hull, who was a friend to reform." The writer says he has a son and a son-in-law in the Mississippi Conference. He sends cheer in money and new subscribers, and adds, "My name is Joseph Walker; my place of residence is Dallas County, State of Alabama." He was a type of the laymen who were not to be intimidated by threats nor cajoled by flattery.

The third volume contains the full proceedings of the Maryland and District of Columbia Convention of Reformers preliminary to the General Convention. It was held on the 15th and 16th of November, 1826, in what was then the English Lutheran church, on Lexington Street, west of Paca,¹ the use of the city Methodist Episcopal churches having been denied them by the trustees, though they were all members in good standing. Nicholas Snethen was called to the chair and Gideon Davis appointed Secretary. Snethen preached a preparatory sermon, which may be found in the periodical. The doors were opened to spectators during the sessions. Twenty-three delegates were appointed to the General Convention, and the names are in evidence of the high character of the men, whether itinerants or local preachers or laymen. The proceedings were also published in the three city secular papers. The 15th of November, 1827, was named as the time, and Baltimore as the place, for the General Convention of Reformers. It was a large and united meeting. Henry B. Bascom now entered the lists, stating in his prefatory paper: "Hitherto I have been silent for the sake of peace, but 'the time past must suffice.' In future I shall speak for conscience' sake and from principle." He was now stationed at Uniontown, Pa., in the Pittsburgh District, and was thirty years of age, having been fourteen in the itinerant ministry. He

¹ Now a colored Methodist church.

was the rising sun of the denomination. George Brown of the Pittsburgh Conference now also became active as a writer for Reform under the incognito "Timothy," in an address to the "Junior Bishop, Hedding." It was in scathing but good-tempered review of the Bishop's address to the Pittsburgh Conference recently held in that city during which he advised against the Reformers and their periodical as agitating the Church for a cause not having one in twenty favoring it. He advised both preachers and members to defer agitation until the General Conference, as that was the only proper place for such a discussion. His purpose was held to be to silence investigation, and the effect was to stimulate Reform in the West, inasmuch as the policy suggested to its advocates meant surrender and subjection. Shinn's masterful paper, already referred to as opening this volume, was printed as "an extra sheet" and widely circulated. He comes to its defence in two numbers of the periodical, and with his incisive logic drives his critics to the wall of defeat, making, among many strong points, the following excusatory of the Union Societies: "If to this end they deem it expedient to form themselves into 'Union Societies,' it is presumed they have as good a right to do so as ever Mr. Wesley had to form societies in the Church of England and call them 'The United Societies.' These united or union societies were multiplied, the members of which continued to be regular members of the Church of England during the whole of Mr. Wesley's lifetime." No one ever attempted to answer this parallel — it was unanswerable. Happy had it been if the Methodist Episcopal Church of America had been as wise in its generation as was the Church of England. Shinn adds: "A great outcry was raised against him and his united societies, and some, as in modern times, urged them to leave the Church. To whom he replied: 'As to your last advice, to renounce communion with the Church, I dare not. Nay, but let them thrust us out. We will not leave the ship; if you cast us out of it, then our Lord will take us up.'"¹

Rumors now became rife that proscription and expulsion would soon be resorted to, and the Reformers prepared themselves for the worst. January, 1827, H. B. Bascom, as "Dissenter," again returns to the succor and dealt sledge-hammer blows. Referring to the Episcopal Address at Pittsburgh, of which he was an ear-witness, he says: "The effect that has followed the defection of three or four half-hearted reformers in different sections of our

¹ "Wesley's Works."

country; men who publicly and privately committed themselves to the interests of reform, and then for the sake of a place, as it would seem, cowered down most civilly at the feet of episcopal patronage. . . . Reform is now what it was then. If their change has been the result of honest conviction, why not let us know the powerful reasons which produced that conviction? . . . Let them [the Reformers] remain in the Church till they be cast out or compelled to leave it; an event at present not to be strongly looked for; but should it occur, we shall then, in the order of providence, be under the necessity of resting our cause and appeal with men and churches better informed, and God the judge of all." These citations call for two observations: he did not believe with many leading Reformers that the authorities would resort to expulsion of its members for opinions' sake, for this is the last and only analysis of it posterity will ever allow, despite the perversions and allegations of the prosecutors. Yet the facts will show that he was treading on the very heels of systematic, frequent, and numerous expulsions for being members of the Union Societies and supporting the *Mutual Rights*, for to this complexion it will come at last. Again, he did not see the Hamiltonian maxim already twice recorded, that power over a man's substance is power over his will. Like his father, he was no economist; both were embarrassed with debt, and at the father's death in 1833 his step-mother and a large family came upon him for support. He wrestled with it manfully, and the Church authorities, in view of his abilities and adaptability, tendered him the presidency of Madison College in 1827, but in a year or more he was deeper than ever in debt. He was elected chaplain to Congress, and at the end of his term accepted the agency of the American Colonization Society, and in 1832 a professorship in Augusta College, Georgia, where he remained some years. As will be made patent, debt compelled him after 1832 to surcease active advocacy of Reform, but, as will also be proved, he never abandoned or repudiated the principles of Reform. Had he foreseen how the Church's power over his substance would paralyze his will and hold him under its patronage, he would have been more charitable to others who silently subsided, bowed their heads, and allowed the storm of persecution in 1827-30 to pass over them. This writer would be untrue to his better instincts if he did not sympathize with the large number of itinerants specially who heeded the cry of wife and children, and who accepted bread at the price of silence; but he would be

equally untrue to his better instincts if he extenuated the conduct of those in any relation who denied their affiliations, and used tongue and pen and official position against their former associates in Reform. Treachery can never be condoned in any cause. One witness must be introduced, one of Bascom's most intimate friends, and the author of his biography, himself a pervert from the Methodist Protestant Church, evidential of the position that Bascom never abandoned or repudiated the principles of Reform. "It is believed that he was never known to utter a word unfriendly to the Methodist Protestant Church, nor to do any act that could prejudice her interests or reputation. . . . In a period of thirty years he changed some of his opinions respecting things non-essential; and he who has read and thought for thirty years, without changing any of his opinions, has had none of his own to change."¹ Ere the third volume of the *Mutual Rights* closed, in which Bascom figured conspicuously, events of the gravest moment occurred in Baltimore, to which a new chapter will be devoted.

¹ "Life of Bascom," by Rev. Moses M. Henkle. Louisville, 1854. 12mo. 408 pp. Citation from p. 383.

CHAPTER VI

Agitation superinduced by the Reform Convention of 1826 — More Union Societies formed out of the cream of the Church; examples — Bascom again in the front — Baltimore a camp of spies; principle against power; the battle set — The case of Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey, suspended and then expelled the Baltimore Conference for reading and circulating the *Mutual Rights*; full particulars of the whole matter — Effect of it on Reformers various; Shinn and Snethen on the case; Bascom aroused by it — Rev. George Brown and Bishop Hedding — McCaine determines to investigate the foundations of the old Church; remarkable discoveries as to the surreptitious nature of its Episcopacy — It raised a new issue; thoughtful Reformers hesitated as to the publication of the "History and Mystery" — Dr. Bond's Appeal to the Methodists; a review of it; "purse-string" argument — Dr. Bond's amazing conceit exhibited.

THE publication of the proceedings of the Maryland Reform Convention in the public city press, with the reasons for their action, led to a counter publication of local preachers, stewards, and trustees of Baltimore city station in review. This in turn was answered by Asa Shinn under his own name in "An Appeal to the Good Sense of the Citizens of the United States," in which he exhaustively covers the whole ground of controversy. The conceded fact that Reform had permeated almost the entire membership in Baltimore was a fact no longer. Dr. Bond became an active though concealed opponent. His personal influence was controlling with not a few, while the bitterness of the contention, mistakes of judgment, and ill-advised words of certain indiscreet Reformers prejudiced their own cause; the timid yielded, and the love of the "old church mother" with more was decisive, not of argument, but of their position. Laymen who had been neutral could be neutral no longer. To show your colors was a demand on both sides. There were laymen enough who were stanch adherents of the doctrine, "Let well enough alone," of whom Christian Keener was a pure and distinguished example, to make a considerable party and give to Dr. Bond the cue, which he adroitly employed, that it was a laymen's uprising to "defecate" the Church of a disorderly lay-element; the Episcopacy and its lieutenants, the elders, had not impaired their dignity by any condescending notice of the "disaffected spirits." The lines were

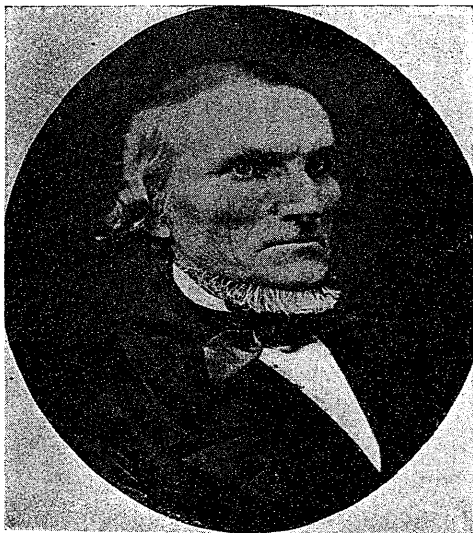
more closely drawn than ever. More Union Societies were organized. A strong one was formed in Frederick County, Md., with Jonathan Forrest, the old Itinerant of heroic service now retired, as President, and Dr. Henry Baker, Secretary, Nicholas Snethen, Corresponding Secretary. Another was organized in Baltimore for the Fell's Point brethren. It was precipitated by an effort of the preacher in charge to change the character of this eastern station for more effective control of the property, but was defeated by the bold, righteous stand of the membership by a vote of forty-nine to twenty. He retired from the meeting with the declaration, "You may go home rejoicing in your victory over Methodism and Methodist discipline, and your triumph over *me!* but I give you notice that I will leave you without trustees; for there is no law to compel me to nominate according to the charter. I will leave the station as it is with only three trustees." Far up in Vermont, under date May 17, 1827, a society was organized, one of Shinn's "extra sheets" having found its way there, and was made the basis of the organization, as their first information of Reform. This nearly three years after the first "Union" was formed in Maryland, and in evidence how persistently and successfully in the main the Itinerants were, by silence themselves and suppression of news, in keeping the Church in ignorance of the new movement, and then to twit the Reformers with their paucity of numbers compared with the whole, and the indifference or opposition of the "people" to any changes. Another was organized in Uniontown, Pa., where Bascom was stationed. A large meeting of local preachers and members was convened in Pittsburgh, March 30, 1827, preliminary to a general call for a Convention of Reform Methodists, which was held May 23 ensuing, in the Methodist Church, the charter here being also of such a character that the small opposing element with the preacher in charge did not dare to interfere. Charles Avery, local preacher, was made Chairman, and Henry Ebert, Secretary, while the delegates from all the circumjacent country were representative business and Church men in their homes, among them Dr. H. D. Sellers, John Emory's brother-in-law, who had recently removed to Pittsburgh from Centreville, Md., where, as found, he was an active Reformer. Their resolves were courteous but decisive. At Steubenville, O., a strong society was formed. Cincinnati was a hive of Reformers, and shall soon be prominently noticed. As far south as Alabama "Unions" were organized, while the growth in North Carolina and Virginia was

phenomenal. Conspicuously the society in Centreville, Md., needs mention. It was organized not until June 4, 1827, the "suspension" of Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey of the Baltimore Conference the previous April being the inciting cause, though the movement had many strong adherents long before. Its list of officers covers the salt of the Church and the social influence of the community: President, Dr. John D. Emory; Vice-Presidents, Rev. W. T. Ringgold and John M'Feely; Secretary, Thomas C. Brown; Treasurer, William Harper, Jr.; Corresponding Committee, Hon. P. B. Hopper, Dr. John D. Emory, John W. Bordley, Thomas C. Brown, and W. H. Bordley. Rev. Thomas Reed closed the meeting with prayer. They all united in sending delegates to the General Convention called for Baltimore, November 15, 1827.

Among the last contributors to Vol. III., *Mutual Rights*, was "Anti-Vulcan," Rev. James Sewell, the eccentric but effective preacher of the Baltimore Conference. His paper was "Ten Links of an Iron Chain," an allegory showing the growth of the hierarchy. It was his first and last appearance. Like many others, when the storm broke he fled to cover, not a few declaring with white-faced perfidy with Peter, "I know not the man!" Bascom, as "Dissenter" or "Presbyter" or "Neale," continued his bugle-blasts through the periodical. One clear note sent its echoes through the ranks of Reform: "If the time has arrived when a man cannot express his opinions as to the scriptural character and relative legitimacy of our mode of church government, without subjecting himself to ecclesiastical censure and anathema, as exemplified in the proceedings of the late Virginia Conference, then in this case I think the sooner we arrived at a crisis the better; the world ought to know, and heaven and earth record, that the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States is to be governed by human authority, and not by moral evidence as found in the Bible and other kindred sources of accredited information." The crisis was at hand. The whisper had already gone forth from the Episcopacy: Reform must be expelled out of the Church. Thus God-fearing men were arraigned against God-fearing men, but the blind prejudice of devotion to the old *régime*, right or wrong, on the one part, and the fever-heat of determined purpose not to secede but to compel concessions, on the other part, called these forces to confront each other. The manœuvring between them was worthy of trained strategists. The Church in Baltimore was a camp of spies. They met in public worship,

joined in the social means of grace, wept and prayed together, then went out to plot and counter-plot; the one section verily believing that for laymen to participate in church government meant the destruction of the Episcopacy, an end to the Itinerancy and of the Methodist religion. How strange the delusion seems to-day. The other section as verily believed that right and duty, conscience and honor, demanded that they should stand by each other, and push their reconstructive plan as in the best interests of the Church they so much loved. It was a banter of Principle against Power.

In 1821 the Baltimore Conference received on trial a young man, tall, erect, but slender and of feeble health. His name was Dennis B. Dorsey. His mind was logical and metaphysical, and he was a close student. He advanced by regular steps to ordination as an elder; he married, and in 1826 was on Harford circuit, with a youth, William C. Pool, as an associate. The Reform literature of the times came under his notice. He read and approved, and quietly recommended it to others. He was modest and did not write publicly, but deep convictions of the rightfulness of the cause held him in thrall. He says: "I wrote a few lines to a friend, Mr. Hugh M. Sharp [the writer gives the name that perfidy may be associated with it as it goes down to posterity], in which I gave him information of 'a work on church government, published in Baltimore, by a committee of Methodist preachers and members, exposing to open view some of the errors of our government and administration.' I also informed him that the 'work was a very satisfactory one, well worth his attention'; that I had 'taken it more than eighteen months, and was well pleased with it'; that it contained so many pages, and came at so much per year; that several in that part (Huntington circuit, Pa.) took it, and were well pleased with it; and, finally, requested him to let me know immediately, if he desired to have the work, and to inquire of a brother, whom I named, whether he would take it also. In conclusion I remarked to him, 'you need not mention this to any other person, if you please.' But when Robert Minshell, the circuit preacher, came round, my friend Sharp betrayed me, by giving him my letter to read. Mr. Minshell then, according to his own telling in Conference, asked him for a copy of the letter, to which he replied that he might have the *original*, as it was of no use to him." Minshell, it appears, wrote to David Steele, and he communicated with John Davis, now stationed in Baltimore, who reported it further,



DENNIS B. DORSEY.

First Reform martyr of 1827 for lay rights and
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"until, finally, it was brought before the Annual Conference, first in the form of an *objection*, and then as a *charge*."

The Conference of April 12, 1827, was held in the Eutaw Street church. The writer recently stood within the now ancient building, its interior but little disturbed, the great sweep of galleries, the pews, the chancel, if not the pulpit, as of old. Imagination peopled the place with the Conference in session. The bishops present were M'Kendree, Soule, George, and Roberts, the last three mostly presiding, relieving the now feeble M'Kendree. The presiding elders were Joseph Fry, Stephen G. Roszel, Gerard Morgan, Marmaduke Pierce, and John Baer. There were present such men as Waugh, Slicer, John Davis, Bryson, Norval Wilson, Ryland, Guest, James M. Hanson, Gere, Alfred Griffith, James Sewell, and others; but these are remembered as participants in Reform, for or against, and with a number, both for and against as the wind blew. Expectation was in the air so that there was a full attendance, though the galleries were empty and on the floor only members of the Conference, for Methodist preachers did not yet assemble with open doors. The examination of official character is in progress. Bishop Soule calls the name of Dennis B. Dorsey. The tall, erect, slender young man, now pale from recent severe illness, quietly arose from the rear of the audience room and faced the Chair. The Bishop said, "Is there anything against his character?" Stephen G. Roszel stated that "Brother Dorsey had been away from his circuit during the year, under the pretence of being afflicted, but had been travelling extensively, circulating a work derogatory to the interests of the Church." Messrs. Steele and Minshell were referred to as witnesses. The latter read Dorsey's letter to brother Sharp, relating the circumstances. The Bishop said that if he had anything to say in reply he was now at liberty to speak. "As I saw no formal *charge*, I had nothing to say, only to acknowledge the letter read to be my own production. I then retired, and, after considerable deliberation on the subject, the case was decided." The next morning, when the Journal was read, Dorsey learned that a formal charge had been recorded, which was, "*for having actively engaged in the circulation of an improper periodical work*." The president then announced that the decision of the Conference in my case was 'that my character pass, upon my being admonished by the president, and promising the Conference that I would desist from taking any agency in spreading or supporting any publication in opposition to our discipline or government.' The

admonition was then given from the chair, after I had signified my disposition to submit to it, for the sake of brethren's conscience. I was then required to give a pledge that I would comply with the latter part of the resolution; which I refused to do, while the resolution remained in its unqualified form. I then replied to all the important items of the admonition, and gave my reasons for not complying with the latter part of the resolution." The substance of this answer he has preserved in his full statement of the case made to "Vindex," Henry B. Bascom, who solicited the information after he heard of the trial. It may be found in the *Mutual Rights*, Vol. III. It shows how the bishops, the preachers, and the book agents read it, exchanging it with the *Methodist Magazine*, and therefore the members should be allowed to read it.

The paragraph, however, which perhaps was the ground of a final charge of "contumacy," is the following: "I have read the *Mutual Rights*, sir, for myself, and think highly of the work, and recommend it to every member of this Conference." The Conference refused to pass his character on this answer, and the case was postponed to the next day; those in charge of the prosecution evidently halted in their purpose on such evidence. The next day Dorsey again made answer, in which he specially demanded the "rule of discipline" under which he was being tried. This the presiding Bishop evaded by stating that the Annual Conference had authority to make rules and regulations for its own members. But it was parried at once, though unfounded in fact, that "in such case the Conference must be acting in its *legislative* character," and if so, how could the same body at the same time both act as legislative and executive, clinching it with the corollary; "Unless you prove that these two powers should be united in one body; which would astonish my understanding, and form a monstrous anomaly in ecclesiastical government, in *this* country." He closed by asking again that the rule of discipline should be produced. He retired. Roszel softened, and moved that "his character pass on his being reproved by the president for his contumacy in resisting the authority of the Conference." But the body was now in no mood for concession. Job Guest then moved "that the bishops be and are hereby requested not to give Dennis B. Dorsey an appointment for the present year, and that his name be so returned on the minutes, with the reason assigned why he has not an appointment; viz., his contumacy in regard to the authority of the Conference." It prevailed, and at

once Dorsey requested "a copy of the proceedings." It was laid over to the next day. Meantime the prosecutors were more embarrassed than ever. Joshua Wells moved that "his contumacy in regard to the Conference be retained on the Journal but not published in the minutes." This was carried. The proceedings of an Inquisition are not proper for the public, whether Romish or Methodist. The next day Dorsey, not being able to be present through illness, wrote the Conference that he should appeal to the General Conference and requesting that this purpose be entered upon the minutes. They had another perplexing deliberation over granting his request for a copy of the proceedings; "the secretary, Mr. Waugh, and others, made some remarks on the impropriety of my obtaining such a document, without some restraint not to publish it until the General Conference." Finally Stephen G. Roszel, who either had more sense or more charity than the other prosecutors, moved that "his request be granted." What was feared was the ripening public sentiment of the city and elsewhere in sympathy with the Reformers personally and their principles. It was quite general in all the non-hierarchal denominations. Realizing it as an adverse force, the anti-reformers said it was due to the "jealousy" other Christians entertained of the success of the Methodists. Thus a young preacher in feeble health, with a family, was thrown upon his own resources of personal poverty for a support for circulating the *Mutual Rights*, and for contumacy in declining to criminate himself under examination before the Conference. That this correctly states the case is evident from the fact that Bishop Roberts dissented to the proceedings largely, having afterward stated to one of the editorial Committee of the *Mutual Rights* that he was not an enemy of free inquiry, remarking, "If our discipline and government will not bear the test of examination, let them go down." It will save space and avoid a reference to a vast mass of excusatory twaddle to establish this fact beyond dispute, that the proscription was against *free inquiry and a free press*.

Two opposite effects were wrought by this prosecution of Dorsey. The time-serving, the irresolute, the dependent, the discouraged among the itinerants were silenced; while the manful, the heroic, the steel-true, and unabashed nailed their colors to the masthead; and not a few who had been hesitating as to open committal, such as Bascom, hesitated no longer. The action of the Conference was not a surprise to Shinn; the time for *pun-*

ishment of Reformers, as he predicted, had come; but to more hopeful men, like Snethen, it was a sad surprise. Peaceful, Christian measures of adjustment were at an end. The Union Society of Baltimore, and many elsewhere, entered protest against the proceedings, but accepted the issue thus joined: "Not only to withhold representation from the membership and local ministry, but also to keep them in ignorance of the true principles of church government. . . . The society deem it but just to say, that several members of the Conference, together with Bishop Roberts, manifested a liberal spirit on the occasion." Shinn addressed a paper to the Conference reviewing at length the situation, accentuated with interrogations which must have cut to the quick certain ex-Reformers: "I retain a lively recollection of the times and seasons when an Emory, a Ryland, and a Griffith made a noble stand on your floor; and when other intelligent brethren with them plead the cause of liberty against the dangerous accumulations of ecclesiastical power. Whence is it then that in your last session, you laid an embargo upon the *Mutual Rights*? Is Emory gone from among you? Is the voice of Ryland no more heard? Has Griffith retired to the mournful solitudes of discouraged silence? Does modest Hanson still refuse to open his mouth? And have Waugh and Davis found out that truth reaches too deep to be safely followed in all its connections? Does the thunder of S. G. R. [Roszel] still terrify the rising ministry? And have your young men 'stipulated' to enjoy the consolations of passive obedience and non-resistance? Whence is it that these dismal tidings have come to us from Baltimore?" As already hinted, in his youth Shinn had been struck by a horse-shoe upon the head, and some years after suffered temporary mental derangement therefrom; now it was whispered that he was crazy. He meets it at the close of this masterful address: "Bartimeus thinks it best to meet this friendly and sympathizing suggestion with a smile, and to wait patiently until some *admirers* of episcopacy will condescend to answer his crazy arguments." It is evident that Shinn could not see the fine distinction afterward raised by Emory and a few others, that their Reform sentiments never went farther than an elective eldership; one cannot but sympathize with the filial attempt of Robert Emory to exonerate his venerated father, but truth and posterity will not heed the appeal.

Shinn was now in the thickest of the fray. June, 1827, he meets the charge that "Reformers are endeavoring to expose our

church to contempt," and in a "P.S." thus pulverizes the innocents who were so pure in speech and so charitable in temper that longer association with Reformers could not be tolerated: "Do those brethren who seem so much concerned for the preservation of a Christian spirit, think it altogether Christian for our opponents confidently to assert that we are 'backsliders,' that the spirit of our writings 'originated in hell,' and then proceed to suspend the reforming ministers and expel private members from the Church? Must we receive all this, as a perfectly gracious and Christian spirit in our old side friends, and not presume to speak to them, except it be done with all possible softness and submissiveness?" Snethen met the issue May, 1827, in "An Address to the Friends of Reform." He traversed the selection of Dorsey as the victim, the ministerial protomartyr of Reform, who was only a reader of the *Mutual Rights*, and sought to make other readers, while the writers were untouched by the rod. He says, "It is doubtful if a single travelling preacher has written for the *Wesleyan Repository* or the *Mutual Rights* who was not known to his superiors." The only explanation that will stand investigation is that the suspension of Dorsey was a tentative effort; they knew the proscription was for opinions' sake, only, and they feared to touch the leaders; they thought an example would precipitate a secession,—an act most devoutly now wished by them, as it would save them from the odium of further expulsions in violation of Christian sentiment everywhere. Snethen further urged: "The truth is, brethren, that there is the very essence of persecution in this act of the Baltimore Conference, . . . we are not to be *reasoned* with, but *punished*; . . . your turn, my turn, may come next. . . . It is an awful thing to be driven by the power of a majority from the last asylum of harmlessness; to be reduced to the dreadful alternative of dissimulation or bearing witness against one's self. . . . It will, I know it will, it must be asked, where is Snethen? I trust while he is among the living but one answer will be given to this question: he is at his post, he is on the front of the contest, he is shouting, On, brethren, on! and if he fall, it will be with a wound in his breast, and his head direct towards his opponent. . . . But I call upon you by every sacred name to resist this inquisitorial power, this attempt to renew in America the old, the exploded principle of torture, this monstrous outrage upon the principles of civil and religious liberty: the punishing of men for not submitting to criminate themselves. Oh, defend to the last extremity this final sanctuary

of oppressed innocence. . . . The fiery trial has come upon one who is as the shadow of a man, a walking skeleton, and I yet go free! . . . Lord, let the young man live and not die! Let not the wife of his youth be a premature widow. I cannot now desert the cause and be innocent before God or man." Never before had he written with such an incisive pen; he was dumfounded at the audacity of the prosecutors. He could have exclaimed:—

"Can such things be and overcome us like
A summer cloud without our special wonder?"

When Bascom received tidings of the method of Dorsey's suspension, he was warmly indignant, and made answer through the *Mutual Rights*, April 27, 1827, in hot, blistering words, afterward quoted as part of the allegations against "readers" of the periodical. He denounced the action as "an overbearing act of abandoned tyranny. . . . I cannot refrain from asking where three or four members of the Baltimore Conference were during this labored deed of *hard-earned* infamy? Did they sit by in inglorious silence? . . . On hearing of the treatment you and others received at the Baltimore Conference ten or twelve persons of my charge have declared for reform, and are ready to aid you with their influence and purses." Signed with what became his favorite anonymous, "Vindex." June 1, 1827, he submitted for publication, under the pseudonym of "Neale," "Reasons in Plea for Reform," etc., covering seven pages of the periodical. It is a review of the organization of the Church, in which the facts already exhaustively explored in this work are marshalled in a most convincing manner. Two brief extracts must suffice: "*We* have the Bible on our side; the practice of the primitive church sustains us; public opinion is our friend and ally; the civil institutions of our country lend us aid, and the *genius* of American freedom throws her protecting shadow over every friend of equal representation and mutual rights." In conclusion: "*We resist* only when we are *oppressed*; as members of the great family of our common father, we *ask* to be treated as his children, and we shall continue to ask; if *tauntingly* requested by 'the powers that be' to leave the church, we reply, if you wish a *division*, separate yourselves; if required to lay down our arms (they are those of reason and scripture), we say to our rulers, '*come and take them.*'"

After the appearance of "Timothy" to the "Junior Bishop" in the *Mutual Rights*, the official addressed, Bishop Hedding, sent a note to the Chairman of the editorial Committee, requesting

the proper name of Timothy as well as the names of the Committee, charging that Timothy had made "a misrepresentation throughout of an address I made at the Pittsburgh Conference, and a vile slander on my character." It led to a correspondence with him; and the free consent that his name, Rev. George Brown, should be furnished, the whole of the interchange being published in the periodical, as well as a number of affidavits from other preachers of the Pittsburgh Conference, deposing that Timothy's recollections of the Address were substantially correct, and could never be made a "misrepresentation" or a "vile slander." With the statement of this case all that is essential of Volume III. has been furnished. It closed with the July number, 1827.

The *Christian Advocate* had now a circulation of from fifteen to twenty thousand, and was the vehicle of articles editorial and communicated against the Reform movement. The *Mutual Rights* had a circulation of from fifteen hundred to two thousand, and while a number of its subscribers took the *Advocate*, but few of the latter took the *Mutual Rights*. It was a great disadvantage, and inaugurated a period of pamphleteering on both sides for wider dissemination of the views of either. In the winter of 1825 Alexander McCaine, having become interested in the Reform proceedings, specially as his attention was directed to the answer of the previous General Conference to the petitions, determined to investigate the foundation of the claim of the Itinerants, of which he had been one of the most conspicuous for thirty years, to exclusive government under an Episcopal régime derived directly from Mr. Wesley as embodied in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It resulted in the publication, in May, 1827, of a pamphlet of seventy-two pages octavo. Up to this period he was of the traditional opinion that in said organization the superintendents, Coke and Asbury, and the preachers summoned to the Christmas Conference, had followed specific instructions of Mr. Wesley. He tells in the Preface that "he was resolved, if possible, to ascertain the means by which the travelling preachers had arrived at these pretensions, and find the authority which Mr. Wesley had given to justify them in saying he 'recommended the episcopal mode of church government.' When lo! the first discovery he made was that whilst Mr. Wesley, the testator, was yet living, the title of bishop was assumed, and the episcopal mode of government adopted without his recommendation; and more, that his most solemn remonstrance and entreaty did not avail in caus-

ing them to relinquish the one or change the other. Still pursuing the investigation, he found that a more extended research served only to increase his conviction that claims had been set up for which there was no warrant; and authority was said to have been given which he believes can nowhere be found." This states the whole case of his "History and Mystery of the Methodist Episcopacy, etc.,"¹ and, as will be seen later, it stands to-day, as then, fully vindicated as the truth of history.

He read the results of his investigation before the Baltimore Union Society. The discoveries were so compromising to the leaders of 1784, and the facts so indisputable; the entirely new issue it would inject into the lay-representation measure upon which the Reformers were now concentrating; its explosion of the received tradition that Wesley had authorized the call of the General Conference of 1784, and had sent over "a sketch of government," which was precisely followed in the organization of the Church; the certainty of the intense excitement it would create on new lines of controversy, and the ground it would furnish for judicial proceedings, justly or unjustly against Reformers, — gave the Society pause, so that it took no official action as to its publication; but individuals urged McCaine to give it to the press. He was deterred, however, long enough to address a letter of inquiry to Bishop M'Kendree and his four colleagues, under date July 1, 1826, in which he respectfully asked for information as to the principal points of his pamphlet in controversy, and in it the sentence occurs: "I am forced to believe that the present form of government was surreptitiously introduced; and that it was imposed upon the societies under the sanction of Mr. Wesley's name. I shall suspend the publication of my piece to allow you a reasonable time to reply." Receiving no answer from any of them, for the simple reason that they were as ignorant of any such information as McCaine himself, September 25, 1826, he addressed a similar letter in purport to six of the oldest preachers then living, all of whom had been members of the Christmas Conference. They were Garrettson, Green, Ware, Reed, Watters, and Dromgoole. From most of

¹ "The History and Mystery of the Methodist Episcopacy, or a Glance at the Institutions of the Church, as we received them from our fathers," by Alexander McCaine, Elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church. "He who has no right to the thing he possesses cannot prescribe or plead any length of time to make his possession lawful." Barrow. Baltimore. Printed by Richard J. Matchett, 1827. 8vo. 72 pp. Only one edition was ever published, and while a number of copies are in the author's possession it is now a rare pamphlet.

these he received answers, and they agreed that to the best of their knowledge they acted under Wesley's instructions, thus confirming McCaine's theory that the system of government they enacted under this impression received from Dr. Coke, and acquiesced in by Asbury, was "imposed upon them"; and they acted accordingly, never suspecting that they did not possess Wesley's will and purpose as he delivered them explicitly to Dr. Coke. The merits of McCaine's pamphlet shall be deferred until it can be reviewed in juxtaposition with Dr. Emory's "Defence of our Fathers," which was given to the press about six months later.

It may be seriously doubted whether McCaine's pamphlet did anything to further the cause of Reform. Not a few of the leaders regarded it as inopportune. It complicated the lay-representation idea, and its statements, though never successfully controverted, fell like a firebrand in dry stubble. The pamphlet in its conclusion says: "In the preceding pages, we have spread before our readers such documents as were found to be connected with the origin of our episcopacy. We are sorry that this *exposé* will not reflect much credit upon those who were instrumental in saddling it upon us. We are persuaded that the impartial, intelligent, and pious of other denominations will pronounce our episcopacy to be illegitimate; and that the means which were used to introduce it into the Church were neither fair nor honorable." For a caustic writer like McCaine this is a temperate verdict, and in both its chief positions posterity has indorsed it. The episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church is "illegitimate," in any and every sense the term conveys, as interpreted by the Roman, the Greek and the English episcopacies. Therefore the right to the term as an ecclesiastical exponent is anomalous and accommodational only, and to this complexion the Methodist Episcopal Church has come, not without determined opposition from its high church wing, as has been already exposed in these pages; and to this complexion the Methodist Episcopal Church, South must ultimately come. "The means which were used to introduce it into the Church were neither fair nor honorable." This McCaine demonstrated, and Dr. Emory utterly failed to invalidate the facts and arguments, as shall be exhibited in order.

It would have been well if McCaine had concluded with this summation, but instead he ventured to outline a Plan for the reconstruction of the old Church, in advance of concerted action by the Reformers. It was radical in its features and adhered to

the equal legislative rights of the local preachers. It was eagerly seized upon by the opponents of Reform, not as a particular expression of opinion, but as a general sentiment, and sharply criticised as impracticable and visionary. Nevertheless, the chief issues of the pamphlet were so cogently put and so buttressed by unquestionable facts and documentary evidence that it made a profound impression, and won for him the distinction of being outlawed by his Church. Something must be done to neutralize it. Subsequent events made it apparent that agreement between Dr. Bond and Dr. Emory parcelled out the defensive work. In a few months Dr. Bond's "Appeal to the Methodists," etc.,¹ made its appearance, and was scattered broadcast throughout the Church. In a Dedication to it he scathingly reviews Snethen's strictures upon it, anticipating it in the rumor that Dr. Bond was to "write down Reform"; with a fling at Bascom, who, in one of his articles in the *Mutual Rights*, had referred to Dr. Bond "as the chief officer of the star-chamber to my Lord of Canterbury," alleging that this English court was exclusively civil in its jurisdiction, and, therefore, the illustration was impertinent as to ecclesiastical matters. It was unfortunate for Dr. Bond, for Bascom turned upon him with such indisputable evidence that the star-chamber did take cognizance of ecclesiastical matters as well, that his competence to handle historical facts was discounted seriously. The Appeal was written in vigorous English, and was of singular merit, in that it must be credited with all the seed-thoughts and arguments that have ever since been reproduced apologetic and defensive of the mother-church polity as it was up to 1872. It is a master mind that can thus box the whole compass, and anticipate a generation of thinkers on the same side. Everything is here in embryo that ever afterward appeared in General Conference reports, or found expression through the *Advocates*. And more, there is not a sophistry, a fallacy, an indirection, a perversion of language, an appeal to passion and prejudice, that escapes this zealous purveyor of Bourbon conservatism; it is exhaustive of ingenious turns and tricks of speech. That full justice may be done him the reader shall have a synopsis of the pamphlet, as the mere statement of his positions will be self-refuting to the impartial Christian investigator, and save a detail of the several replies

¹ "An Appeal to the Methodists in opposition to the Changes Proposed in their Church Government," by Thomas E. Bond, M.D., a local preacher of said Church. Baltimore. Published by Armstrong & Flaskitt, 1827. 8vo. 69 pp.

which at once were launched against it by eminent Reformers, riddling it into shreds.

A number of opening pages are devoted to a eulogy upon the early American itinerants and the work they accomplished: ten preachers and a handful of members in 1773, and now, 1827, 1400 itinerants, over 3000 local preachers, and 300,000 members. It was a breezy showing, a "common Methodism" about which there was no dispute, as well as the effectiveness of the missionary character of the itinerant plan. And now comes his first bare and bald assumption that this is to give place to "a scheme founded on abstract notions of natural rights." The scheme is not new, he says; and, tricked out in blackest garb, O'Kelly is held up as a warning. He plunges into the propositions and purposes of the Reformers, and depicts them for the best effect upon his readers. He takes up the right, the expediency, and the practicability of lay-representation. As to the first, he does not find in the Scriptures "any form of government for the Christian church prescribed," carefully avoiding any reference to the example found in the New Testament, wherein the people are first in authority and always participants in church polity. He finds therefore no scriptural right of lay-participation. Neither can he find a natural right. "The complainants are under no government but such as they voluntarily put themselves under, and which they can at any time renounce;" overlooking with shrewd purpose the essential difference between a society and a Church. A man may, and perhaps should, change his relation to society if dissatisfied with its methods, though the right to propose and secure different methods, if possible, cannot be denied him; but his church relation is a divine obligation, and is not voluntary in the same sense, nor may he withdraw from it voluntarily. Shinn, in his calm and effective "Review of the Appeal," has put this point beyond animadversion: "A man's obligation to continue in the Church can only be cancelled by the official acts of the Church taking away his Christian rights, in violation of the laws of heaven. On this condition only can he have any *right* to withdraw."¹ A few months later Rev. Francis Waters, D.D.,

¹ "Conference Rights; or Governing Principles of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," etc., by T. A. Kerley, Nashville, Tenn. Publishing House, M. E. Church, South. 1898. 12mo. 398 pp. Cloth.

This is an investigation of Methodist Episcopacy along the old lines in the main, and is an apparent attempt to invalidate the conclusions of Rev. Dr. Tigert in his "Constitutional History of Methodist Episcopacy in the Church, South, and a review of the Hargrove-Kelly case," etc. Like nearly all Methodist Episcopal

in a review of a meeting of Methodists opposed to Reform in Baltimore, among other effective rallies, says: "I remember that when my friend Dr. Bond received his license to preach in the district conference of 1824, on the question being put to him by the chairman, or some member of the conference, whether he was satisfied with the discipline of the church, he answered that he was satisfied with it till it could be lawfully altered — modified." So this champion of conservatism proposed to become a preacher in the Church and stay in it until its Discipline could be changed to suit him; but now he informs the "Methodists" that a man if dissatisfied has but one thing he can do — withdraw.

He had cast his Reform principles to the wind, and, like all perverts, he is now consumed with zeal in destroying the things which once he builded. Next he takes up expediency, and, remembering his own active part in memorializing the General Conference in 1824, on this ground, he is careful not to stultify himself by now denying that it is a ground for innovation; but forthwith proceeds to show that it is highly inexpedient, and accepts the opportunity to criticise three mooted plans which several Reformers had, on their individual responsibility, suggested. It is not, of course, a difficult thing for him to show obstacles in the way of either. He pictures in lurid colors the electioneering of the membership for lay-representatives, and the limning is enough to affright timid people. But that is not the worst; assuming it to be done at last after a practical internecine war of the brethren, how are the expenses of such a representation to the conferences to be raised? Now, he urges the members are voluntary contributors to the support of the Church; then, he sees nothing but assessment and personal taxation. It

historiographers, Mr. Kerley knows nothing of the class of facts disclosed in this "History of Methodist Reform." Yet he does see men as trees walking, stumbles upon the truth here and there, and has rearranged for his own logical purpose the facts of history. This voluntary notice is made of his work, but the principle object of this citation is to fortify the position marked with this * from page 29: "This voluntary membership in a society could be dissolved at any time, for any cause, without sin; but when these societies were merged into a Church, and it became to them the visible expression of their personal relation to Christ, the case became quite otherwise. Membership in such a body is a *duty*. This duty carries with it the right to a voice in the government. Therefore Mr. Wesley could not say to them, 'If you do not like my will as law you can withdraw.' It is only the majority of the Church that can say this, and then not until the minority have exhausted their legal rights to convince the majority. Neither can the minority withdraw from the Church until they have used all proper efforts, within the Church, to convince the majority. Duties and rights demand this much of all parties."

would be a repetition of the British Stamp Act and the tax upon tea, and he shrinks from it in holy horror. He never once mentions the offsetting fact that such a representation would obviate a presiding eldership, which, in the matter of cost, is fourfold annually what the laymen would cost in the item of travel. Hence it is utterly impracticable. Finally, he takes up McCaine's Plan, already adverted to, and dissects it unsparingly. Not a word is uttered, however, in review of the "History and Mystery" itself—that is relegated to Dr. Emory. McCaine's Plan he characterizes as "a base and disgraceful compromise." Though occurring in the body of his pamphlet it is well that reserve is made of the infamous "purse-string" argument, afterward so called, but classically stated thus: "Our preachers are totally dependent upon the voluntary contributions of the laity, and we therefore have over them a positive and absolute control; for whenever their flocks shall withdraw their support, the preachers will be under the necessity of abandoning their present pastoral relation and betaking themselves to some secular occupation." The reader will marvel at the audacity of a professing Christian physician, in the desperation of his cause, to adventure such an argument, utterly repugnant as it is to the Scriptures, in violation of the Discipline, and repelled by every humanitarian instinct. It must be said of it, that it was disingenuous and insincere, and Dr. Bond shall be witness to it; for, in 1852, when the British Wesleyan Reformers, mayhap getting their cue from this very "Appeal" of Bond's, resorted to the tactics of "withholding supplies," the redoubtable Doctor, hearing of it, made a vehement "appeal" through the *New York Christian Advocate* to American Methodists for contributions to these Wesleyan preachers, and denounced the Reformers for their conduct.

Consistency was not a jewel with Dr. Bond. But four months before, February, 1852, through the same medium, he had reproduced this purse-string argument as valid. When a man in public station lays bare for effect the weakness of his character, it is legitimate to offer additional proof out of his own mouth.

The concluding paragraph of Dr. Bond's "Appeal" is a pompous declaration of a self-opinionated and amazingly conceited man: "We will add what we are sure will give satisfaction to the lovers of peace, on both sides, whatever may be their opinions of all the rest of our book, namely, that when our local brethren among the Reformers shall abate something of their pretensions; and

the lay-Reformers shall be satisfied with a representation, based on the broad ground of expediency *alone*, without any reference to abstract principles; we have *terms of pacification* to propose, on which we think all parties may safely meet, and happily unite. These terms, however, are, as yet, our own, having never communicated our views to any member or minister of the Church, of either party; and while Reformers continue in their present temper, it will probably be useless to propose anything which does not quadrate with their 'visionary theories.' It must not be inferred that we think *any sort* of lay or local representation necessary. If we propose anything, it will be only for the sake of PEACE." Magnanimous Dr. Bond! Had he been authorized by the Episcopacy to offer terms? He had or he had not. If he had, it was a "conspiracy" indeed, beside which that which Bond alleged against Snethen and others, "for the destruction of the Church," pales. If he had not, — and this is the presumption in the absence of evidence which he never furnished, — then the top-loftiness of his attitude is a spectacle. But not more so than when, on his election to the editorship of the *New York Christian Advocate* he made this deliverance to the Church, June, 1841: "We are willing to serve the Church as Editor, if necessary, but we hope the good Lord and the church will excuse us from the dignity of the episcopacy." This and other cues already furnished explain the otherwise incomprehensible conduct of a great and good man when not pursuing his controversial bent, and outside of the gladiatorial arena in which he so loved to disport himself.

CHAPTER VII

Dr. Bond's Appeal stimulating to the Reformers, and formed a distinct anti-reform party — Prominent Union Societies organized — Bond's secretly manipulated plan for expulsion of the Reformers; particulars of it; moralizings on the prosecuting committee of seven laymen — Expulsion machinery set in motion; its *morale* — Its conclusions foregone — Summons to Dr. Jennings, etc.; suspension and expulsion of the eleven local preachers and the twenty-two laymen of Baltimore city — Indignation of the outside community over it — Bond's "Narrative and Defence" issued to mollify the indignation — McCaine's "History and Mystery" made the ground of charges, and himself expelled and outlawed — Ground of the persecution fairly stated by themselves — Alexander Yearley as a type of the prosecuting committee — Content to pray, pay, and obey — Reformers held inflexibly to a Principle and anti-reformers to the Power, and so could not understand each other.

DR. BOND'S Appeal made a strong impression upon the Church. On the Reformers it was stimulating to greater exertions, and settled them in their convictions that a cause which could not command a better showing than he had made for it was barren indeed of argumentative resources, as well as its implications that repression by excommunication would soon be resorted to in answer to the logic of the situation. It prompted the organization of more Union Societies in various places. A large meeting of Reformers for the lower Eastern Shore of Maryland was held in Newtown church, July 25, 1827, with representatives from that whole section. Rev. Dr. Francis Waters led in this movement, with such men as Rev. David Watts, Rev. Avra Melvin of the local preachers, John Williams, Daniel Ballard, William Quinton, William Smith, James White, and James Lawson, leading members and citizens, who formed a society and elected delegates to the November General Convention. They issued a masterly review of the situation confronting them, probably written by Dr. Waters. A large meeting was also held in Kent County, convened in the church at Chestertown, August 11, and the fact that they met in the church in both these instances is in proof that the movement was so influential that the Itinerants did not dare to interpose through the trustees to prevent it. Such men as Rev. Thomas Walker, John Constable, William Harris, and

William Copper furnished the officers for the society, of great social and religious influence. John Constable, William R. Durdging, and John Turner were sent as delegates to the Convention. "At a general meeting of the male members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Pittsburgh," held September 27, of which Thomas Cooper was Chairman and Charles Avery Secretary, in the church,—for here again the deed to the property, as well as the dominance of Reformers, gave them control of it,—resolutions were passed denouncing the expulsions in Baltimore which had just taken place. And on October 4, a general meeting of Reformers was held in Washington, Pa., for the entire section of West Pennsylvania and Ohio, and a strong delegation elected to the Convention. They were: Charles Avery, a leading local preacher and a man of growing wealth and social influence, whose after career shall receive further notice in the history of the Methodist Protestant Church; Patrick Leonard, William Scholey, John Bissell, Samuel Bushfield, Henry Ebert, William Robinson, Samuel Hazlett, David M'Masters, William Evans, Archibald Hawkins, Alexander Sutherland, John Strickler, William Griffith, and Thomas M'Keever. In Centreville, Ind., a Union Society was formed September 1, Rev. Elijah M'Daniel President and John Scott Secretary. In Philadelphia, despite the unfavorable effect of the discontinuance of the *Wesleyan Repository* and the Local Preacher question, meetings of Reformers were held in the court-house, corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, and they elected from the Union Society such strong men as Dr. Thomas Dunn, a local preacher of more than average ability and wide influence, W. S. Stockton, John S. Furey, Rev. John McCloskey, and Rev. A. A. Palmer. In Cincinnati, where the Union Society was formed as early as November 17, 1825, and therefore among the earliest, decided action was taken. Dr. Bassett says: "Its membership included most of the leading influential members of the Church. The writer has in possession the records of the society, with a list of 120 names, all males, and nearly all, he believes, heads of families." Rev. George Brown during his eldership quietly, and afterward while stationed at Steubenville, O., publicly; Rev. Henry B. Bascom; the two Henkles, Saul and Moses M., brothers of Eli of Maryland,—all Reformers, were of the Western leaders. Space would fail to enumerate all the Societies and make honorable mention of the staunch men who organized them.

Another effect of Bond's Appeal was to concentrate the oppo-

sition, under his lead, though covertly, that he might better manipulate the concerted plan to expel the Reformers. He was in his element as he "sat on the whirlwind and directed the storm" — to employ a figure he applied to Snethen. He alleged that the prosecutions were entered upon by the laity without "any itinerant suggestion or influence whatever," and when he was charged with complicity by his former Reforming friends, he declared it was "a personal insult without provocation." It was a principal purpose of Dr. Jennings's "Exposition"¹ to prove his absolute leadership in the expulsions, and to it any reader wishing the indubitable proof is referred; but it is unnecessary, for Dr. Bond subsequently avowed himself the author of "The Narrative and Defence" and of all the proceedings leading to the expulsions, and plumed himself on the service he had rendered the Church. It is in order to notice the steps taken. Private meetings were called at Brown's dwelling and Roszel's school-house in East Baltimore, and when the scheme was matured, a public meeting of the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church was called, after selecting seven laymen who were willing and zealous to enter upon the work of trial and expulsion, in the old Baptist church at the corner of Pitt and Front streets, August 7, 1827, after public notice from all the Methodist pulpits. It is denominated "a very large meeting of the male members (exclusive of the members of the Union Society)." This brings into view for brief notice the third effect of Dr. Bond's Appeal. This called meeting, under such extraordinary cautions, drove nearly all the neutrals into the ranks of the anti-reformers. A large number of the class professed themselves convinced by it, as well as not a few of the itinerants, who accepted it as a refuge while bowing before the storm, so that while a few years before most

¹ "An Exposition of the Late Controversy in the Methodist Episcopal Church; of the true objects of the parties concerned therein, and of the proceedings by which reformers were expelled in Baltimore, Cincinnati, and other places, or a Review of the *Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review*, on Petitions and Memorials." By Samuel K. Jennings, M.D. To which are appended remarks on an article entitled "Asbury's Life," which appeared in the *Methodist Magazine*, etc., for January, 1831. By a Layman. Baltimore. Published by J. J. Harrod. Printed by William Woody, No. 6 South Calvert Street. 1831. Large 8vo. 247 pp., boards. This volume is now scarce, but several are in the possession of the writer. "By a Layman" was Dr. Jennings himself, but as the matter was purely personal he preferred not to obtrude his name. It thoroughly exposes Dr. Bond's immediate connection with the expulsions, gives the particulars of Jennings's trial, and that of his ten local preacher associates and the twenty-two laymen who were simultaneously expelled in the summer of 1827 in Baltimore city.

of the Baltimore Methodists were Reformers by profession or by sympathy, now a large number rallied as opponents and gave the active prosecutors a lever for future operations, under color of a lay uprising to purge the Church of the "disaffected spirits" who would not surrender principle to power.

Outside of Baltimore and the state of Maryland, the Appeal gave a large number of the members their first information of Reform under the specious showing of Dr. Bond; for while Shinn's "Brief Review," in three parts, immediately followed its publication, and Snethen and McCaine met the personal allusions to them in its introduction, they served only to fortify the unflinching men who found access to his "Brief Review," either through the *Mutual Rights* or through its after pamphlet issue. Ten read the Appeal where one read the Review. There can be no doubt that it did much to arrest the progress of Reform. This public meeting of August 7 inaugurated an anti-reform party of the most pronounced character. The Dorsey suspension found publication in the secular papers, and it provoked a generous sympathy from Christians of other denominations in Baltimore. It was the subject of comment in religious circles generally, so that the Bond party found it absolutely necessary that some counteracting measure should be instituted; hence this public meeting of the anti-reform party. It passed two resolutions: first, that "we are firmly persuaded the Baltimore Annual Conference acted in the case of the said Dennis B. Dorsey with becoming prudence and with great lenity; with a just apprehension of their duty, both to their offending brother and to the church of God;" second, "that the following Address be published by the committee who reported it, and that it be distributed under their direction." It was as widely circulated as the Appeal, and bears the marks of Dr. Bond's authorship. It covers seven octavo pages, and is a specious presentation of all that could be said apologetic of that action. It is a wonderful production, when it is considered that it is directed against brethren for "circulating an improper periodical publication," in which the itinerants were held up to "public odium by misrepresenting both their actions and their motives," etc.

In view of these allegations it will be well to give a few excerpts from this Christian (?) Address. After giving what it claims to be "a plain, unvarnished statement of the transaction," it proceeds to justify the Conference action by citing the slanderous doings of the Reformers. McCaine's "History and Mystery"

is characterized by these meek and mild-mannered brethren in these choice terms: "a pamphlet written by a local preacher, in which the whole system of Methodism is assailed with the guile and artifice and sophistry of a jesuit, and with all the malignity of which the human heart is capable, . . . a work which, for malignity of purpose, shrewd cunning, misrepresentation of facts, and gross misstatement of circumstances, has no parallel among the productions of modern times, on a similar subject, except the far-famed Cobbett's 'History of the Reformation.'" Charity is mingled with truth in that it does make an exception of Cobbett, for which no doubt McCaine felt under obligations at the time. The dovelike innocence of these brethren, echoing the words of Dr. Bond, in thus "speaking evil" of an honored and reputable minister of the Church, remained serenely undisturbed. They say in proof: "The present storm may be necessary to defecate and purify the Church of Laodicean lukewarm professors. Let us deeply humble ourselves before God. Let us watch unto prayer both for ourselves and for our deluded brethren." They notice "Vindex," Henry B. Bascom's, rhetoric on the Dorsey suspension, "a labored deed of hard-earned infamy," as language which "outraged all decency, and applied to the conduct of the Conference the most abusive epithets to which malignity itself could resort." When Bascom read it, he was surprised, and calmly analyzed the sentence, word for word, but failed to find, as every reader of to-day will also fail, how it "outraged all decency of language" or was among the "most abusive epithets to which malignity itself could resort." These brethren, who kept such "a watch upon the door of their lips," as the naughty Reformers could not and would not, conclude their Address in this pious strain, "We do most earnestly pray that the great Head of the Church may restore to our afflicted Zion all the blessings of concord and unanimity, in both opinion and effort, and that he may preserve us in the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace." This was their method of bringing it about. The Address is signed, William Wilkins, Chairman, and John Howland, Secretary.

This Address was answered almost simultaneously by the issue of four pamphlets by distinguished Reformers: one by Rev. Dr. Francis Waters, of sixteen octavo pages, already referred to, under address, "Somerset County, Md., September 14, 1827"; one by Asa Shinn, under title: "A Finishing Stroke to the high claims of ecclesiastical sovereignty in reply to the Address of a"

meeting of lay members," of twenty-nine pages; one by Dennis B. Dorsey, of seventeen pages, September 10; and one by a "Member of the Baltimore Conference," of seven pages, as also a letter from Bascom. The writer had marked a number of passages in each of these for citation, but forbears to do so. It is sufficient to say — and all the pamphlets are extant if a doubt be expressed — that Shinn leaves the Address utterly bare; Waters with the touch of a Christian gentleman shames it; while Dorsey refutes it inch by inch, and makes it plain from actual pew measurement that the "very large meeting of male members" could not have been more than 350, and that witnesses testify that not more than 250 voted for the Address, though the open dissentients were but few, and this after every effort to bring together all anti-reformers. The entire male membership in Baltimore was perhaps 500 out of a total less than 3000.¹ A single quotation from Bascom must suffice, as it furnishes as well a reason for not cumbering these pages with the elaborate replies: "This Address and the late 'Appeal' of jesuitical memory, are destined to do the cause of Reform much good; the more they write the better; I know no one who has been 'rebuked' into silence, and such as *have* we do not want. Let reformers be firm; we will not leave the Church; and where we can yield, for peace' sake let us do it; let us only resist where principle and duty call for it." These are words of reason; but, alas, a stage had been reached when Reformers were "not to be reasoned with, but punished" — the evil hour of Shinn's sagacious prediction. Universal history is the witness to Snethen's axiomatic truth, repeated that the reader shall not forget its application to every foot of the ground now contested: "Power combined with interest and inclination cannot be controlled by logic; but even power shrinks from the test of logic."

Meantime the combination formed by Dr. Bond for the expulsion of Reformers matured its arrangements. That it was done without conference and advice from the officials of the Church no one will believe with any knowledge of its polity and genius. Joseph Frye was Presiding Elder of the Baltimore district, and James M. Hanson, at one time listed with Reformers of the Emory class, was preacher in charge of the city station with assistants. Stephen G. Roszel was Elder on Potomac district within easy reach. A month after the public meeting, to give color to their proceedings, the machinery was set in motion. Jennings says,

¹ *Mutual Rights*, Vol. IV. p. 391.

"The seven prosecutors, the three local preachers who afterward sat in judgment on the cases of the ten local preachers, as also the committee, who in like manner sat in judgment on the twenty-two members who have been expelled, were all present and voted, and of course virtually pledged themselves to stand by the prosecution."¹ Their cases were prejudged, so that nothing was required but to get up charges and specifications in accord with the prejudgment. Hanson had written a letter to the venerable brother, Thomas Jacobs of Alexandria, Va., a quiet Reformer: "I am disposed to view the greater part of them [Reformers] as holding a relation to the Church, to which in justice and propriety, nay, even in charity itself, they are no longer entitled."¹ And this was the position of the judge.

The Reformers were not without intimations of the impending proceedings. August 17, 1827, the Reformers, as such, received notification through the venerable President of the Union Society, John Chappell, Sr., from the self-appointed committee of Dr. Bond's selection, as follows: "The undersigned, believing that the members of the Baltimore Union Society have violated the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and being desirous of having a friendly interview with them individually, previous to instituting charges against them, if necessary, we respectfully request to be furnished with the names of the members of said Union Society. Signed: George Earnest, Jacob Rodgers, Isaac N. Toy, Samuel Harden, Alexander Yearley, John Berry, Fielder Israel (Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church)." It may be observed in passing that these brethren were reputable and leading laymen of the Church. The last was a son of the venerable Beal Israel, a member of the "Corresponding Committee" of the Union Society, and is in evidence how families were divided in sentiment on the subject. Examine the facts, and let posterity marvel at the uncompromising hostility of the anti-reformers: Fielder Israel, the son, accepts the relation of Inquisitor to expel from the Church Beal Israel, his father. Inquiry may be made for "natural affection." This Fielder was also the father of Fielder, Jr., who subsequently became eminent in the ministry of the Baltimore Conference, changed his doctrinal views, left the Church, and died out of its communion. It may be well that posterity may preserve for honor or dishonor, as the verdict of the impartial readers of these pages shall be, to give the officers of the Union Society for this year 1827-28: President, John

¹ Jennings's "Exposition."

Chappell, Sr.; Vice-President, Daniel E. Reese; Treasurer, James R. Williams; Secretary, Levi R. Reese; Corresponding Committee, John J. Harrod, Thomas M'Cormick, Beal Israel; Editorial Committee, Samuel K. Jennings, James R. Williams, William Kesley, John S. Reese, John Robb, John Chappell, Wesley Starr, Thomas Mummy, John Kennard, Ebenezer Strahen. They had just been elected, August 1, and the list published in the periodical for September. The modest request of the prosecuting committee of seven for "the names of the members" had the complexion of "Greeks bearing gifts."

Rev. James R. Williams had an interview with Fielder Israel, requesting information as to their purpose against Reformers. Israel was candid, and voiced the whole situation in reply: "You and your friends are members of the Union Society, and say you will not leave it. You publish the *Mutual Rights*, and say you will not discontinue that publication. You also say that you will not *withdraw* from the Methodist Episcopal Church. Now we are reduced to one of two alternatives: either to let you remain members of the Church and go on peacefully publishing the *Mutual Rights*, by which you agitate the church, or *expel* you. We have come to the *determination* to take the latter alternative, and expel you."¹ It was a fair and square statement of the case for both sides. The Reformers claimed the right of free publication and free speech as to the government of the Church, as members thereof. The anti-reformers, backed with the power to execute their menace, said, governmental Methodism shall no longer be criticised or written against by the members thereof. In accordance with their plan to visit the brethren accused, two of the committee, George Earnest and Fielder Israel, waited upon Rev. Dr. Jennings, and in an interview of two hours endeavored to induce him to abandon the Union Society and the publication of the *Mutual Rights*, i.e. surrender their whole cause. His answer he well summed up: "Experience had demonstrated the necessity of sustaining the periodical by the organization of Union Societies. Such, indeed, had been their effect, that we were entirely satisfied with the prospect of success, and the proceedings of the power party prove that they were no less apprehensive of the ultimate result. Were we not bound by every consideration of justice and propriety to say to them in reply, that we considered their attempt at coercion in this matter altogether out of the way? In fact, if obedience had been the price

¹ Jennings's "Exposition."

of personal safety, the price would have been considered too dear. It is believed we would not have yielded the rights for which we contended, under existing circumstances, to have saved our lives." It is the whole question again fully stated. Members of the Committee of Seven waited on other Reformers, and in some cases did not receive the courteous treatment Dr. Jennings accorded his interlocutors. It must be confessed it required a higher degree of Christian forbearance and meekness than some of them had yet attained to meet impertinent advances and consider propositions which demanded that they should sink, not only their Christian rights, but their American manhood. These preliminaries over, as a part of the mockery of expulsion, formal prosecution was entered against them. It is worth the mention that not until four months after, when the Committee of Seven, to meet the general indignation of the local religious community aroused to the pitch of inchoate protest, joining that of the expelled Reformers themselves, led by Dr. Bond, prepared "*A Narrative and Defence*"¹ of the proceedings, in which he states the only truthful allegation which could be made against his quondam friends; it is that the Union Societies in the Church "incorporated the spirit of party in its very constitution." This was true, but it is defensive on the only two grounds which could make it a justification of expulsion from the visible Church of God, namely, the immorality of the act or its disciplinary violation. The first was not hinted until the power party found it impossible to overcome the general indignation of the outside community, while the second never was successfully accom-

¹ "*A Narrative and Defence of the Proceedings of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore City Station against certain Local Preachers and Laymen of said Church by the persons who preferred and sustained the charges, to which is added an Appendix containing the Rev. James M. Hanson's Vindication of his official conduct in relation to the above proceedings; together with other interesting documents.*" Baltimore. Published by Armstrong and Plaskett. J. D. Toy, Printer. 1828. 8vo. 135 pp.

It purports to have been written by the Committee of Seven, but subsequently Dr. Bond, unwilling to lose the honor of its authorship, confessed that he had written it. It appeared early in 1828, or some four months after the expulsions, and the immediate occasion of its issuance was the publication in the secular papers of the city of Dr. Jennings's "Protest" against the expulsoy proceedings in his case. It excited the whole Christian community, the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Lutherans being specially interested as exponents of religious liberty. One of the leading physicians of the city, a prominent citizen, an unimpeachable Christian gentleman, and a preacher of such popularity that crowds always attended when he was announced, the task Dr. Bond set himself to prove was a difficult one — even to prove as he had averred that "a man may be a good Christian but not a good Methodist."

plished; Shinn had put an extinguisher upon all such attempts in his parallel of the Union Societies with Wesley's United Societies within the Church of England.

It has been the prayerful endeavor of the writer to give an impartial account of this ancient controversy, and to this end he has given prominence to the statements of the opponents of Reform, a method quite unprecedented in Methodist controversial history heretofore. In pursuance of this method, in traversing the expulsions in Baltimore, typical of all the others, and these alike in all the essential features, he will cite from the "Narrative and Defence" the facts in the case. The prosecutions were inaugurated by the following summons sent to Dr. Jennings:—

BALTIMORE, Sept. 8, 1827.

DEAR SIR: You are hereby informed that charges have been preferred against you by the following persons: J. Rodgers, S. Harden, J. Berry, I. N. Toy, A. Yearley, G. Earnest, and F. Israel. As it is desirable for the satisfaction of all who feel an interest in the matter, that a hearing should be had as soon as practicable, it is hoped that Tuesday evening next, at 7 o'clock, will suit your convenience.

Yours respectfully,

JAMES M. HANSON.

Dr. Jennings wrote for a copy of the charges. They were sent on Monday, the 10th, one day before the date of trial. They are as follows: "The Rev. Samuel K. Jennings is charged with endeavoring to sow dissensions in the society or church in this station or city known by the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and with the violation of the general rule of the discipline of the said church or society, which prohibits its members from doing harm, and requires them to avoid evil of every kind; and especially the violating that clause of said general rule which prohibits speaking evil of ministers." The specifications are three in number, and are briefly stated: "1st. Becoming a member of the Union Society. 2d. Directly or indirectly supporting the *Mutual Rights*, and the evils consequent upon its publication. 3d. Approving the 'History and Mystery' written by Alexander McCaine, which contains assertions made 'without proper proof or just foundation, calculated to disgrace and bring reproach upon the Church' and to 'produce, increase, and heighten the disagreements, strife, contention, and breach of union alluded to in the second specification.'" The proofs are sundry citations from the *Mutual Rights*, by Snethen, Shinn, Brown, Dorsey, McCaine, Bascom, W. W. Hill, and Joseph Walker of Alabama. In addi-

tion the "History and Mystery" as an entire pamphlet was cited, "with such other documentary or oral proof as the undersigned may deem expedient to exhibit or produce." Signed by the Committee of Seven.

Jennings demurred to the shortness of the time allowed him, to which the preacher in charge, James M. Hanson, answered by expressing astonishment that he should want further time, as the evidence was all published to the world and speaks for itself. Five days of grace were granted. Citing again from the "Narrative and Defence," "the preacher in charge caused each of the persons accused to be furnished with a copy of the charges and specifications, and notified them of the time of their trial severally." They were sent to the following eleven local preachers, a number of whom were ordained ministers, and one, McCaine, an itinerant of thirty years' standing. Appended to the name of each local preacher will be found the years of his membership in the Church: S. K. Jennings, 30; A. McCaine, 30; J. C. French, 20; J. R. Williams, 27; D. E. Reese, 33; J. Valiant, 27; W. Kesley, 26; T. M'Cormick, 16; L. J. Cox, 19; J. S. Reese, 17; R. T. Boyd, 11. Twenty-five laymen were cited as follows: W. J. Chappell, 46; J. Kennard, 23; J. J. Harrod, 20; T. Mummy, 16; E. Strahen, 8; A. Emmerson, 25; L. Thomas, 26; L. R. Reese, 4; T. Patterson, 16; J. Hawkins, 12; J. P. Howard, 10; W. Starr, 20; J. P. Paul, 15; J. R. Foreman, 19; W. K. Boyle, 25; S. Jarrett, 30; T. Jarrett, 32; S. Guest, 14; G. B. Northman, 15; S. Krebs, 22; S. Thompson, 12; T. Parsons, 12; J. Coates (acquitted), J. Stinchcomb (acquitted), and J. Comegys (acquitted). It will be seen that the drag-net had included three more than could be inculcated even under such charges as were laid.

Realizing how serious the business was, as these names are inclusive of the leading preachers, and the laymen of as high standing in every sense as the Committee of Seven, pause was had under the diplomacy of Dr. Bond, and another effort made to coerce the recalcitrants into measures. The "Narrative" says: "Dr. Bond, who had not yet relinquished the hope that some conciliatory course might be devised, . . . ventured alone and without our knowledge upon the business of negotiation. Having a particular intimacy with Rev. J. S. Reese, and reposing great confidence in his understanding, piety, and prudence, the doctor communicated his intentions to him." The reader will mark that Dr. Bond is the writer of this account. His proposal

to Dr. Reese was that after the Reformers had held their announced Convention in November proximo, that the Union Societies should be dissolved, and the *Mutual Rights*, if continued at all, to be so only under persons *chosen mutually by the two parties*. It was made September 15, referred to the Union Society by Dr. Reese, and action taken that no response should be made. The reasons are obvious enough. The trials proceeded in order of time appointed, Dr. Jennings being first. The committee selected to try the local preachers, says the "Narrative," were, John W. Harris, Samuel Williams, and Thomas Bassford. These three were good men, but of very inferior talent and reputation as preachers. Wherefore then chosen? It is indisputable that the brains and piety of the Baltimore locality were, with the exception of Dr. Bond, listed with the Reformers. McCaine's case was made an exception; two were taken from Baltimore County, and one from East Baltimore station, namely, Rev. Samuel Gore, Nicholas Harden, and Edward Hall. The committee to try the lay-members were: Baltzer Schaeffer, Thomas Kelso, Alexander Russell, Thomas Armstrong, John W. Berry, and William McConkey, Jr. They were good men and of as high standing as the Committee of Seven. Dr. Jennings has been made a typical case. The *Mutual Rights* for this period, and Jennings's "Exposition" in particular, cover the elaborate defence he made under three separate protests, analyzing the charges, dissecting the specifications, and nullifying the proofs, and to these sources the reader must be referred who wishes to peruse the literature of the subject. All the protests and exceptions were overruled by the chair, James M. Hanson. No one can carefully peruse the testimony and the proceedings of trial and not be convinced that the verdict was foregone. He was found guilty and suspended from his ministerial office. The same result followed in the cases of the other nine preachers. McCaine's separate trial resulted like the others, and was conducted in his absence, as he refused to recognize the court and jury, except that no condition was annexed to his case; he was outlawed, no room being allowed him for repentance. The laymen were similarly disposed of—a common expulsion. All the papers in the case of the venerable President of the Union Society, John Chappell, Sr., are in my possession and accessible as ecclesiastical curiosities in this day. A number of the suspended and expelled published individual accounts of their trials, and each is a masterful pamphlet, that of Daniel E. Reese already referred to being the most searching

and elaborate; William Kesley, James R. Williams, and Levi R. Reese being of the number.

McCaine's "History and Mystery" was specially dwelt upon in the trials, and with reason. Its disclosures were startling to the Methodists wherever they became known. He had trodden a new path, and the discoveries made in the esoteric of Methodist history were such as to make his euphonious title pertinent—Mystery as well as History. As already intimated, even the Reformers were confronted in it with a new phase, and they received it cautiously. The "Narrative and Defence" says that, when Dr. Jennings was plied with it as a factor in Reform, he answered, "he thought the publication of it at this time rather a fortunate circumstance, as an opportunity was thereby afforded to the Church to rebut the charges by proper evidence, *if it could be done*, before the time should pass in which the evidence could be collected." The italicized words are Dr. Bond's. This was the justification for its publication at the time, as otherwise it would have been better for the cause of Reform if it had not been handicapped with the issue it raised. It shall be shown that it never has been disproved, and thus one of the strongest points of evidence on which the Baltimore Reformers were expelled remains unrefuted. It must be conceded that from the point of view of the prosecutors there was enough in its unqualified and unmincing declarations, as well as in the arguments and affirmations, if not in the language of some of the contributions to the *Mutual Rights*, to posit a charge of calumnious writing as they construed it.¹ But this alone, perhaps, would have been condoned,—indeed, the conciliatory approaches are in proof,—but

¹ Perfect fairness to the author of the "Narrative and Defence," as well as the prosecuting committee, demands that they should be allowed to state their case from their own point of view, so citation is made from the pamphlet to this effect: "Our complaint against the members of the Union Society is not on account of their opinions on the subject of church government, nor for the honest and candid expression of their opinions, but for the misrepresentation of the motives and conduct of our ministers, and for endeavoring to sow dissensions in our Church by inveighing against the discipline. Nor do we understand by 'inveighing,' the temperate expression of opinion, or calm and dispassionate argument in favor of changing any part of our discipline, but we understand it to mean 'vehement railing,' 'abusive censure,' or 'reproach.' . . . We repeat then that it is not for being reformers themselves, or for endeavoring to make reformers of others, nor for uttering and publishing their opinions on the subject of reform, that we complain of the members of the Union Society, but we complain that they have employed against their brethren in the ministry, and against the discipline of the Church, the severest invectives and the most vehement railings. They have impugned the motives of our venerable bishops and our itinerant ministers with unrelenting severity, and accused them without a shadow of proof with con-

the Reformers were contumacious as well, and as they could not be humbled or broken, figments of church law were evoked, and they were excommunicated. Jennings's subsequent analysis of the charges and specifications in syllogistic form in his "Exposition" clearly establishes this conclusion; treating of one, namely, "the Union Society is in opposition to the discipline, in whole or in part, of the Methodist Episcopal Church." In the "'Narrative and Defence' they say, 'the Union Society is a body not recognized by the discipline.' It follows in course, then, not prohibited. And yet they seem persuaded that Union Societies must be in opposition to the Methodist Episcopal Church, if not in *whole*, at any event in *part*. They were like Peter in Dean Swift's tale of the tub. If the necessary opposition could not be established by any known and promulgated rule, they could make it out by some rule of construction. It was all in their own hands, and *they did make it out*." The candid reader, after this specimen of the anti-reformers' position and the pulverizing logic of the Reformers of the Jennings, McCaine, Snethen, Shinn, Bascom class, will excuse the writer for not consuming precious space with more of the kindred literature of the anti-reform power party. They undoubtedly satisfied themselves that they were "doing God service" in general, and the Methodist Episcopal Church in particular.

Bond's Appeal and his "Narrative and Defence" satisfied many others. The *Methodist Magazine* and the *Christian Advocate* indulged in laudatory commendations, and the educating force of all the publications combined turned the tide of influence against Reform. And yet it was strongly intrenched in the Church, and justly excited the apprehensions of the adherents of the old *régime* that, if such progress had been made in seven years, seven more would find them in possession of an utterly unmanageable majority

duct which would render men odious, even in civil society, and how much more in the Church of God? They represent them to the world as usurpers, as tyrants and despots, 'lording it over God's heritage,' as exercising an arbitrary authority, which was at first '*surreptitiously*' obtained, and which has been perpetuated by printing and publishing a falsehood in the preface to our book of discipline, and by forbidding the people to inquire into the truth of the affair." These allegations they believed were proven by the extracts submitted from the Reform publications, and specially it will be noted from McCaine's pamphlet. On the trials, discussion, however, was strictly ruled out of order on the extracts so furnished, and as to McCaine's incisive allegations it will be seen that they are fully sustained as to the main points alluded to in the summation just given from the "Narrative and Defence;" but at this stage of the matter it is not to be wondered at that he was esteemed a vile traducer.

of the whole Church. Up to December, 1827, twenty-four Union Societies had been formed in twelve states of the American Union. "In those Societies were to be found some of the most distinguished ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in point of piety, talent, and influence. But no character was too fair, at this stage of the reform history, not to be attacked and aspersed by the votaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Even the much honored Bascom and his collaborators . . . were denounced by the prosecuting committee as a 'reckless assailant that transcends all decency of invective.' To be in favor of Reform, or of *Mutual Rights*, was regarded by the advocates of the old order of things as an offence calling for expulsion from the Church."¹

One other excusatory phase of the anti-reform brethren must be considered in making up a judgment as to their persecuting proceedings against brethren formerly beloved and even members of their own households. As noted, they reached the conclusion that the evidence was sufficient, and it is a part of the rationale that they were mentally and morally of a type easy to reach such a conclusion. Alexander Yearley, a reputable merchant and a leading official in the Church, next to Fielder Israel, who was the spokesman of the Committee of Seven, furnishes the keynote of their underlying character. At the trial of Daniel E. Reese he ventured at its conclusion to make this deliverance: "I have been a Methodist ever since the days of Wesley, and have lived happy under the Discipline which our brother has thought so despotic, until this political scheme of liberty (a liberty to do wrong, I suppose) was got up; I thank God for the privilege of belonging to a church which brings us up to a strict discipline. It is strange to me that brethren make such a hue and cry about right. They have as much right to take up arms against the state, and consider themselves good citizens, as to rise up against the Discipline of the Church, as they have done, and call themselves good Methodists."² The inconsequent reasoning need not be considered; it is patent and of the staple of all the opposing views of Reform fairly stated. And as to discipline, moral discipline, no society can exist without it, and no one can object to its exercise, when the laws under which it is done are made with the consent of those who are to be the subjects of discipline. No Reformer was ever wild enough in his theories to question it. But this is evidently not brother Yearley's idea. Snethen hap-

¹ Paris's "History," pp. 167, 168.

² Rev. D. E. Reese's "Protests," etc., p. 16. 16 pp. 1827.

pily satirizes his meaning: "It is said that when a Chinese is punished by a Mandarin, he returns his most humble and grateful acknowledgements to that high officer for the fatherly care he takes of his education. The law, it is presumed, obliged him to do so." Brother Yearley had "lived happy under the Discipline," and many thousands more then and since. He had and they have practised without fault the layman's rights under it,—pray, pay, and obey. The administration to such is an easy yoke; with the law they have had little concern. And it must be confessed that there is a large class of people for whom such a system is best as a controlling force. They are "happy under it"; what more concern? Converted at the Church altars in youth or early manhood, the doctrines of free grace and the means of spiritual growth absorbed their attention, while on their reception they had affirmatively answered the question: "Will you cheerfully be governed by the rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church?" not once in fifty cases knowing what they were and are. Administration is easy while implicit obedience continues. And there is no criticism of all this method. The Reformers made no such issue in 1820–30, though by the anti-reformers it was charged that it was the only issue in fact. What they claimed was the right to examine the Discipline, the law of the Church, to consult, to express opinions, to publish them, and seek by petition and personal combination to effect changes which they as conscientiously believed would be to the benefit of the Church as their opponents believed would be to its injury. The only difference between them and the respective situations was: the Reformers held inflexibly to the Principle; the anti-reformers held inflexibly to the Power, and exercised it. They did not and could not comprehend each other. Brother Yearley said: "It is strange to me that brethren make such a hue and cry about right." He never felt any disposition to inquire into his rights, and as to oppression and deprivation, he knew nothing of the kind. A dog chained under his master's wagon does not know that he is chained so long as he keeps pace with the horses. But let him fag or pull back, and he gets a hint of his true condition. And thus is disclosed the practical philosophy of this ancient Methodist controversy, with the one hundred years of disaffections, discussions, expulsions, secessions, resulting in numerous excised branches of the common Wesleyan vine; the direct result of entailed Paternalism in its polity, which have made a track of history such as these volumes trace.

CHAPTER VIII

Bascom's *expose* of the threatened dissolution of the Pittsburgh Conference as a menace to its Reformers — The expulsions lead to more Union Societies far and near — The General Convention of Reformers in Baltimore November 15, 1827; roster of members; principal business; Memorial to the ensuing General Conference and an Address to the general Church; nature of both proceedings set forth — Dr. Bond calls a halt of expulsions covertly; the Dr. Green plot his invention; its character and failure — Meeting of Reform Methodists to offset Dr. Bond's meeting; what it did; the "moral discipline" feint — The Baltimore District Conference meets to hear the appeal of the suspended local preachers; how it was manipulated by Dr. Bond by the votes of colored members (non-voters under the Discipline in Maryland); full history of this infamous step — The immorality question considered.

DURING the summer and early fall of 1827 pamphlet after pamphlet appeared, and meeting after meeting of Union Societies was held, as well as public meetings of members of the Church, in various places favorable to Reform, and in protest of the suspension of Dennis B. Dorsey, and of the eleven local preachers, and the expulsion of the twenty-two laymen in Baltimore. Such was the disaffection in Pittsburgh and Washington, Pa., as well as other points, that "Plain Dealer," H. B. Bascom, advised the Reformers through the periodical, in October, 1827 (see Vol. IV. p. 91), that "there is a measure in contemplation which I think proper to make known, — it comes from one of our bishops and the witnesses are eight or ten in number, — it is a *determination to dissolve the Pittsburgh Annual Conference*, at the next General Conference, should its members persist in their attachment to the principles of reform. Now, in my judgment, there is more *want of principle*, more *deliberate cruelty* in this *hard-hearted, unjustifiable* measure of oppression than all the petty deeds of persecution with which our modern journals have been stained. Merciful God! and are these the only weapons Christian bishops and their ministerial dependants can use to exterminate error! I heard it with regret, I write it with sorrow; but it is due to the Methodist public that it should be known. The territory embraced by the Pittsburgh Annual Conference supports a population of several hundred thousand, — there are nearly ninety

travelling preachers belonging to the conference, and some of them inferior to none in the United States, — but all this avails nothing, reform must go down, right or wrong, and hence the meditated blow at the very existence of the conference. . . . If private character must be assailed in this controversy, let the inquisition extend to a few blustering, but ignorant dupes of the artful and designing in your city [Baltimore], and it will be found that they are not quite as *invulnerable* as they have imagined. Should justice and humanity compel me to engage in this business, I shall undertake nothing but what I can *prove* in courts of law, civil or ecclesiastical.” Suffice it to say that this extreme measure was abandoned, if ever more seriously entertained than as a menace of terror.¹

Dr. John Emory, assistant Book Agent in New York and one of the editors of the *Methodist Magazine*, announced his purpose to reply to McCaine’s “History and Mystery.” Care was taken that Reformers removing to Baltimore should be excluded, as was the case with John Gephart, who, with a clean certificate and the indorsement of his leader, came to the city from Cumberland, Md., and was refused admission by Hanson on the sole ground that he was a subscriber to the *Mutual Rights*. (See Vol. IV. pp. 118–122.) A meeting was called at Watters’s meeting-house in Harford County, Md., Rev. Benjamin Richardson (local), Chairman, and W. D. Lee, Secretary, who denounced the suspension of Dorsey and formed a Union Society. A large meeting of members of Norfolk and Princess Anne, Va., churches was held in the Baptist church in Norfolk, November 2, composed of such men as Rev. John French and Rev. Thomas Blunt, Seth Foster, and J. J. Burroughs. They passed resolutions of sympathy with the suspended and expelled, and sent delegates to the impending Reform Convention. In New Orleans, La., a meeting of male members was held in Gravier Street church, October 9, and formed a Union Society; the officers were John Allison, Patrick Thomason, F. Reynolds, W. M. Goodrich, and Wm. N. Wallace. The associated friends of Reform in Philadelphia assembled November 14, with Dr. Isaac James, Chairman, and William Whiteside, Secretary, and placed themselves on record. “Neale,” H. B. Bascom, published in the periodical a paper of eight pages, “A Plea for Reform,” of great strength. In Louisville, Ky., a meeting of local preachers and members was held, July 28, and a Union Society formed; the officers and leaders were James F.

¹ Brown’s “Itinerant Life,” p. 163. The Bishop was Enoch George.

Overstreet, Rev. James Ward, W. S. Spurrier, James Harrison, Rev. Philip W. Taylor, Rev. Matthew Nelson, Samuel Dickinson, Mann Butler, Hooper Evans, Rev. James Hutchinson, Henry C. Dorsey, and John D. Locke. In Burlington, Vt., a Society was formed November 24, with Nathaniel Gage, President, Truman Seymour, Secretary, Justis Byington, Luther Chamberland, and Daniel Norton, with the officers, Corresponding Committee. At Greenfield, O., William Hughey notifies the Reformers of the organization of a Society, October 11. Thus, in the teeth of expulsions and provoked by them, the movement continued to spread; but it will be seen that the unequal contest, following all history, ended in the triumph of power — under the crucial test of a new organization, without property and without coöperation, except from the fire-tried and true, many honest sympathizers fading away when it came to sundering the religious and social and family ties that held them to the Church of their birth and education and salvation.

In pursuance of the call a General Convention of Reformers was held in Baltimore in the Lutheran church on Lexington Street near Paca, November 15, 1827. Rev. Nicholas Snethen was made temporary Chairman, and Gideon Davis, Secretary. The following brethren it was found had been appointed, or elected, as delegates: * —

OHIO

Rev. Archibald Hawkins¹
 Rev. Moses M. Henkle¹
 Rev. David McMasters²
 Rev. James Towler²
 Rev. Daniel Inskeep
 Rev. Thomas Scott
 Rev. Evert Richman²
 Dr. Shadrach Bostwick²
 Stephen B. Cleaveland¹

William Disney¹
 William B. Evans
 Alexander Sutherland
 John Strickler
 William Griffith
 Thomas McEver
 Dr. James T. Johnson
 Benson Goldsberry
 Stephen Bell²

NEW YORK

Joseph K. Owens, Esq.¹

David Ayres, Esq.

* "Proceedings of the General Convention of Delegates from the Members and Local Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church Friendly to Reform, Assembled in the First English Evangelical Church in the City of Baltimore, November 15, 1827." Baltimore. Printed by John T. Toy, 1827. 8vo. 36 pp. Five thousand copies printed.

¹ These were present in person.

² These gave excuses for absence. Considering the difficulties and expense of travel in that day it will be seen that the attendance was as large as could have been expected.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Rev. William Lamphier¹
Gideon Davis¹

William King¹
Nathaniel Brady¹

NORTH CAROLINA

Rev. William W. Hill¹
Rev. William Harris¹

Rev. Thomas Moore
Augustus Claibourne

PENNSYLVANIA

Rev. Charles Avery¹
Rev. Anthony A. Palmer¹
William S. Stockton¹
John Mecasky¹
John S. Furey¹
James Kelch¹
James McKim¹

Patrick Leonard
William Scholey
John Bissell
Samuel Bushfield
Henry Ebert
William Robinson
Samuel Hazlett

VIRGINIA

Rev. Dr. John S. French¹
Rev. Charles Roundtree¹
Rev. Richard Gilham¹
Rev. Richard Latimore¹
Rev. Dr. John B. Tilden¹
Rev. William H. Coman
Rev. Benedict Burgess
Rev. David T. Ball

John Blount¹
John Jones¹
Richard H. Ramsey
Robert Bailey, Esq.
Joseph Ball, Esq.
Dr. Andrew B. Wooley¹
George O. F. Andrews¹
Jordan Edwards¹

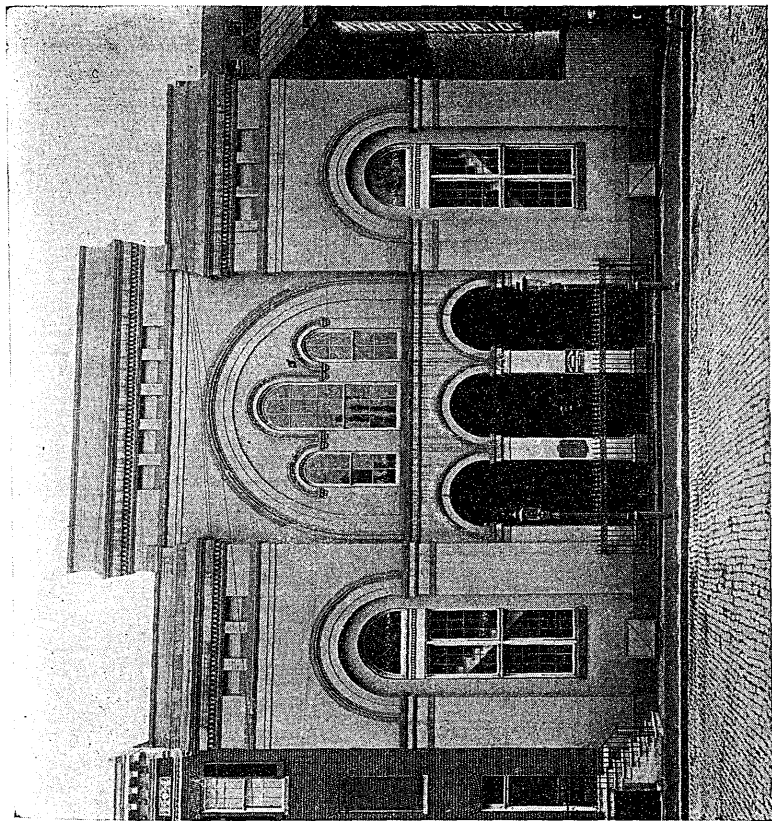
MARYLAND

Western Shore

Rev. Dr. S. K. Jennings¹
Rev. Alexander McCaine¹
Rev. William Bowden¹
Rev. Benjamin Richardson¹
Rev. Eli Henkle¹
Rev. Nicholas Snethen¹
John Chappell¹
Thomas Mummy¹
Philip S. Chappell¹
Charles Jessop, Esq.¹
Samuel Willis¹
Hezekiah Linthicum¹
Elias Crutchley¹

Nicholas Durbin¹
Thomas W. Boyd¹
William Bradford¹
Kidd Morsel
Rev. Daniel Chambers¹
Rev. Slingsby Linthicum
John J. Harrod¹
Ephraim Smith¹
Biscoe Doxey¹
Edward Hall
Jasper Peddicord¹
Richard A. Ridgeley¹
Ignatius Davis, Esq.

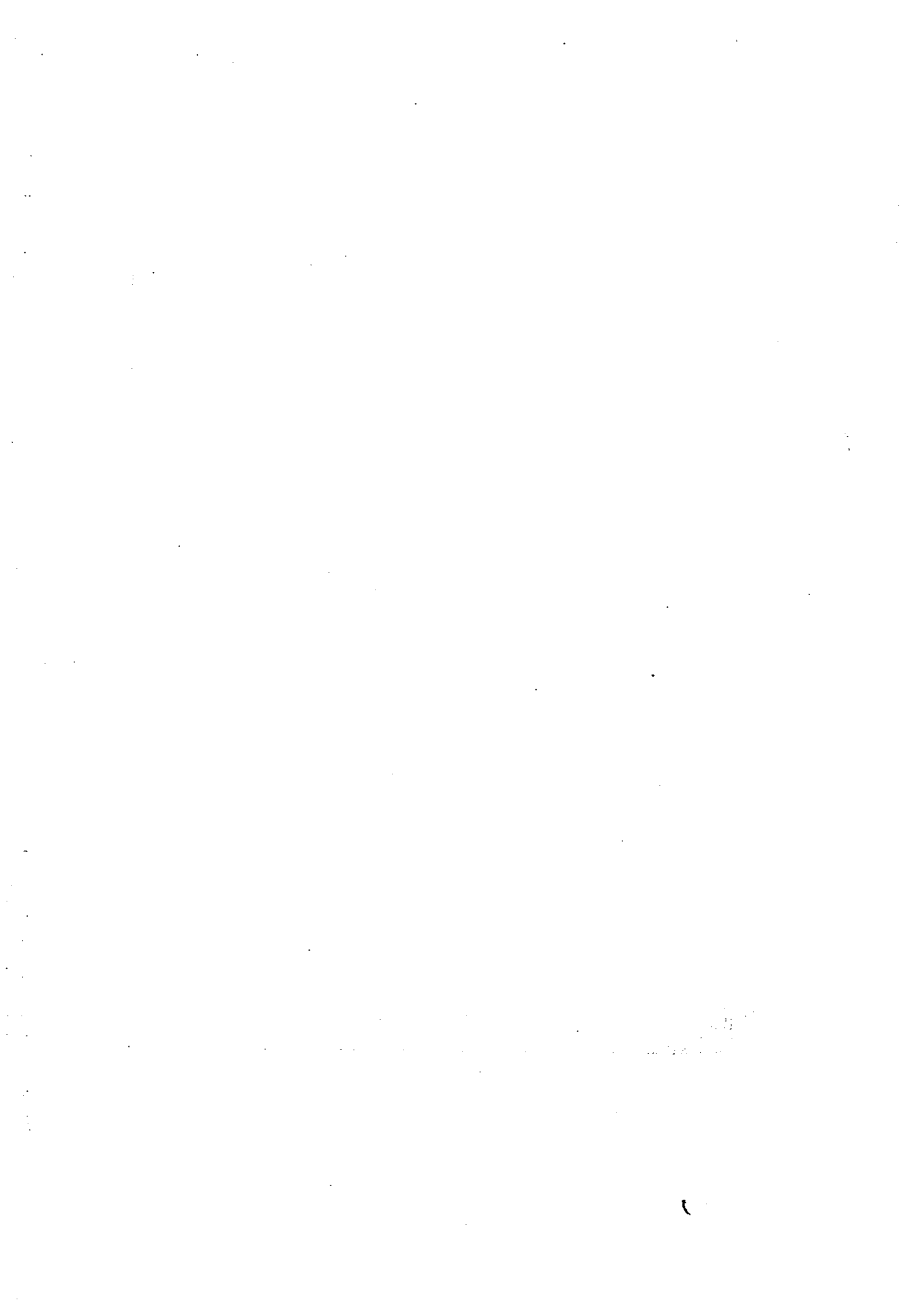
¹ These were present in person.



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH,

Liberty Street, Baltimore, Md.

Here convened the Associated Methodist Churches of 1838 in Convention, and also the Convention of Churches that formed the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church in 1890. Subsequent General Conferences were also held in this church. It is the oldest existing land-mark of the Church.



Eastern Shore

Rev. Francis Waters, D.D.
 Rev. D. Watts
 Hon. Philemon B. Hopper
 Edward Anderson, Esq.
 William R. Stewart, Esq.¹
 John Wesley Bordley¹
 John Turner¹
 John Cropper

Rev. Thomas Walker¹
 William Quinton, Esq.¹
 Thomas Roberts, Esq.
 John Constable, Esq.¹
 William H. Waters¹
 Rev. Avra Melvin
 William R. Durdin
 Richard Bayley, Esq.

It was resolved that the Convention be held with open doors. After routine business the Convention went into an election of President, and William R. Stewart, Esq., of Maryland was unanimously chosen; Henry Willis of Frederick County, Md., and Luther J. Cox of Baltimore, Secretaries. Various committees were appointed. There was preaching at night, and a tender was made of the services of the ministers present to the preachers in charge of the Methodist churches in Baltimore, Hanson and Waugh, for the following Sabbath. They were not invited to preach. After Friday the Convention met in St. John's Protestant Episcopal church, Liberty Street.² The material doings of the body were summed up in the Memorial addressed to the General Conference, an Address to the General Church, and the appointment of Rev. Nicholas Snethen, Dr. Henry D. Sellers, and the President of the Convention to present it. A Committee of Vigilance and Correspondence was appointed: S. K. Jennings, A. McCaine, John J. Harrod, Luther J. Cox, Wesley Starr, J. W. Bordley, Nicholas Snethen, Francis Waters, and Eli Henkle. It was unanimously resolved, on motion of Snethen, that the Reformers are not opposed to the Itinerancy, and that all articles "which have a tendency injuriously affecting itinerancy" be excluded from the *Mutual Rights*. Snethen was invited to address the Convention, which he did; and after religious service it adjourned, November 20. The Committee of Vigilance was authorized to call another Convention, should it be thought necessary.

¹ These were present in person.

² It had outlived its usefulness as such, and John Clark, a wealthy member, having a mortgage upon it and being favorably impressed with the cause of the Reformers, led to the invitation to occupy it. Arrangements were subsequently made for its purchase on easy terms and it became the First Methodist Protestant Church of Baltimore, John Clark and others of the old membership having cast in their lot with the new organization. Its subsequent varied history, having its cue in the fact just mentioned, — its origin, — will receive attention later.

The Memorial consists of ten paragraphs. The first announces the purpose of the Convention "petitioning upon the subject of lay and local representation." The second disclaims any purpose to "use any word or phrase" to injure the feelings of their opponents. The third suggests that a representation of local and lay men be allowed in the General Conference. The fourth calls attention to it as a matter of right. The fifth meets the objection that there is no analogy between civil and religious liberty. The sixth notices the strange declaration that the classes named have too much liberty already. The seventh specifies that it is legislative liberty that is asked. The eighth meets the point that such a representation can be claimed only as an expediency. The ninth covers the alleged impracticability of it, and the claim of a separate equal representation for the locality is waived so that the number of laymen and local preachers shall equal the number of itinerants in the General Conference, thus classing the local preachers as laymen. The tenth asks that the old rule of 1796, as to "sowing dissensions," shall be so modified as to prevent its abuse by prejudging the intentions of brethren — they prefer its abolition so that it be not open to favor constructive treason. And, finally, it asks that the trial of members shall be more in analogy with the civil law as to jury and right of challenge. It will be seen that these points are in no sense "radical," and yet expressed the demands of the Reformers at this date. The Address to the Members of the Church¹ rehearses the history of the Reform movement in England and America; and is a calm and judicial appeal, and sets forth that they are not for hurried reformation. It says: "We feel no disposition to hurry our Methodist brethren into any premature determinations; all we are disposed at present to insist on is the rationality and Christian obligation they are under to give the subject a fair and persevering examination. If we are mistaken in our views, we sincerely wish to be set right; but we think it impossible for any people to judge of the matters in dispute who neglect to examine into the subject, or who refuse to give an impartial hearing to both sides of the controversy." It makes a pamphlet of nine octavo pages, and the sentences cited find an illustration in the testimony

¹ The original draft of this Address as it came from the Committee is in the writer's possession with its numerous amendments and emendations as made by the Convention before its final passage. A number of these changes are made to soften the rhetoric and avoid expressions and arguments which might be construed as offensive by the opponents of Reform. This care and concession availed nothing, however.

of Rev. George Brown, as to the partisan and one-sided judgment of not a few of the high officials of the Church against Reform. He rehearses a conversation he had with Bishop George, while he was presiding elder, in which he justified his reading the *Mutual Rights*. "'Bishop George,' said I, 'did you ever read the *Mutual Rights*?' 'Why, no,' said he; 'but brother Roszel has, and he has told me all about it; and he thinks it will do a great injury to the Church.' I then advised him not to make any further opposition to that work until he would read it for himself. The good Bishop was affected unto tears at what he considered my obstinacy; and so the conversation closed."¹

It must not escape notice that at the time of the expulsions the Baltimore Union Society consisted of 133 male members, all of whom were identified with the publication of the *Mutual Rights*. Immediately after the expulsion of the eleven local preachers and the twenty-two laymen, the Society sent the prosecuting Committee the names of thirty-three more on their own authorization, with the promise that when they had disposed of these as many more names would be furnished, until the whole Society was covered. It was not, however, for the want of information that the Committee paused in their work of expulsion, despite the inconsistency of the act of selecting thirty-three as guilty, who were so in no other sense than the remaining one hundred, who, by their omission, were allowed innocent.² One, and the principal, reason of the surcease was the Machiavellian policy of Dr. Bond, who, soon after the adjournment of the Reform Convention, surreptitiously set on foot another attempt to compromise the difference. In the "Narrative and Defence" much is made of the allegation of Dr. Jennings that Dr. Bond was the prime mover in the "under plot" to restore the expelled if they would come to the terms proposed to them. In the "Narrative" he quite indignantly denies the paternity of it, as he subsequently concealed his connection with a collateral plot to accomplish the same end, though, as already found, confessing with pride the authorship of the business in after years.

The collateral plot developed by the appearance in Baltimore, early in January, 1828, of Dr. J. C. Green of Virginia, a prominent member of the Church, who interviewed Dr. Jennings, proposing substantially the same conditions of restoration of the expelled. He was so plausible, and professing to be acting on his own motion, at first his approaches were entertained; but dis-

¹ "Itinerant Life," p. 127.

² Paris's "History," pp. 233, 234.

coveries followed which unmasked the scheme as having the same source with the first attempt to compromise the Reformers. A series of letters passed between them which are preserved in the "Narrative and Defence," and, finally, broke off with no better result than the former. In the conference room attached to the Light Street church, which was the usual place of these private gatherings, as of the trials of the Reformers, a note was found, which had been carelessly left upon the floor, bearing date the same as Dr. Green's letter to the Quarterly Conference of the station, asking for a suspension of further proceedings until he could interview Dr. Jennings; and this note was to apprise Dr. Bond of Dr. Green's arrival in the city, and the request for a private interview at "dinner, or soon thereafter." It was held as proof of complicity, though he affirmed to Dr. Jennings that he had come "unsolicited to do so by any one." Yet in the Quarterly Conference referred to, after he had a long night interview with him, Dr. Bond arose and asked, "Who is this Dr. Green? Is he the man who preached," etc.¹ It will be noted that this second attempt to conciliate the Reformers, without conceding the slightest to them, took place within a month after a meeting was called of Methodists at the old Baptist church, corner Front and Pitt streets, where the former meeting of members was held to indorse the Annual Conference action in the suspension of Dorsey. Care was taken to make it a meeting of male members not in connection with the Union Society, with the same guileful intent, it must be acknowledged, that led their opponents to hold their meeting with the boast that members of the Union Society had not been invited, that is, to give the appearance of a strong constituency in favor or opposed to Reform aside from the active participants.

It was held December 12, 1827, with Francis Coates as Chairman and Dr. William Zollickoffer as Secretary; and it appointed a committee of seven to make a report to an adjourned meeting, held on the 13th of December in the same place. The committee was Moses M. Henkle, John J. Harrod, William C. Spindler, William Rusk, William Zollickoffer, Robert B. Varden, and George Evans. Of this number Harrod alone was a member of the Union Society and, in consequence, declined to serve. It is called, in travesty of their opponents' meeting, "a very large meeting." How large the writer cannot determine, as no data are furnished. It adopted the report of the committee with but

¹ Jennings's "Exposition," and "The Narrative and Defence."

two dissenting votes, and these were given by persons not entitled to vote in this meeting. The notice which was sent to the churches for its call was openly denounced by Dr. Bond after reading it, "that such a meeting could only be an attempt to substitute *mob law* for the discipline of the Church." The report was ordered printed, and is a cogent review of the proceedings against Reformers, the exclusion of fourteen local preachers from the annual plan of appointments, for no other reason than their sympathy with Dennis B. Dorsey; the weak explanation of the agents in it, that the preacher in charge had "the undoubted right to select such preachers as he thinks expedient to employ;" the character of the committees of trial; their confessed prejudgment, one of them, Armstrong, admitting that he was so prejudiced against Wesley Starr, one of the expelled, that he was unable to do him justice, and so preferred not to be on his case; but was, nevertheless, retained, and when the accused examined these jurors as to the matter of their prejudgment, the chairman, Rev. James M. Hanson, pronounced the questions "out of order," and proceeded with the mock trials. It is a searching inquiry into the disciplinary law under which the offenders were arraigned, and the method of trial shown to be utterly unamenable to fairness, and consistent with nothing but a foregone purpose to expel, making out the case where evidence was deficient. In the whole history of "moral discipline," as administered in the Church, never before or since have there been such flagrant instances of lawless expulsions. The Address was dated January 1, 1828. Shinn issued an Appendix to his "Finishing Stroke" in rejoinder, and other masterful reviews were made by Union Societies, thus flooding the community, now the only impartial readers, with irrefragable proofs that "moral discipline" in the Church was based, not upon law and evidence, but upon power.

The Baltimore District Conference met, December 26, 1827, in the M'Kendrean Sabbath-school room, Lombard Street, with Rev. Joseph Frye, Presiding Elder, as President; and the appeals of the eleven suspended local preachers were to come before it. There were a number of colored members of the Conference, and it was ascertained by the Bond party that unless these voted the friends of the suspended preachers would have a slight majority in the Conference. It was therefore resolved, at any risk, to adjourn the District Conference and not suffer the appeals to be heard, but to force the appellants to bring their

cases before the Quarterly Conference, in which their opponents would have a clear majority. The rule made by the General Conference of 1824 as to the colored men voting, read, "Our colored preachers and official members shall have the privileges which are usual to others in the district and quarterly conferences, where the usages of the country do not forbid it." It was done in concession to the Methodist officials in the slave states, and such colored members in consequence had never voted in Maryland. The issue was made in the District Conference on a motion that the suspended preachers had no right to vote while their appeals were pending, and the Chair ruled affirmatively. An appeal was taken, and the vote stood as follows: Yeas—John Daughday, John Chalmers, Z. McComas, T. Perkins, L. Elbert, J. Shane, S. Williams, D. McJilton, E. Hall, S. Gore, N. Harden, Jacob King, T. Bassford, J. Lazenby, J. W. Harris, Geo. Summers, T. E. Bond, J. Watters, and G. Ridgely (nineteen). Nays—S. K. Jennings, A. McCaine, J. R. Williams, D. E. Reese, T. C. French, W. Kesley, L. J. Cox, T. McCormick, J. S. Reese, J. Robb, R. T. Boyd, W. Bowden, Slingsby Linthicum, L. Selby, B. Hood, J. Day, George Wells, N. Hoskinson, R. H. Merrikin, and John Sharpley (twenty). The nays composed nearly all the Conference in Baltimore, the yeas being principally from the county.

On the following morning, when the Conference assembled, the chair again pronounced against the right of the suspended preachers to vote; but, knowing that he was unsustained by the usage, it was predetermined to adjourn the Conference by counting the colored voters. Accordingly, a motion to adjourn was made—debate peremptorily cut off at the suggestion of Dr. Bond and sustained by the chair, and—the vote put while a number of members were remonstrating—declared carried; nine colored votes giving the yeas twenty-eight, as against the twenty nays of the white members. The negative at once entered a Protest, and when it was discovered that the Secretary, Chalmers, had made a minute that only fifteen voted negatively, a further certificate was filed, signed by twenty in denial. Several colored preachers did not vote, despite the ruling in their favor, knowing that it was against all Maryland usage that they should do so. It was afterward ascertained by the confession of one of them that Bishop George had advised that they vote to accomplish the object. The "Narrative and Defence" makes a different showing as to what was done; but as this involves questions

of veracity, the critical reader must take the evidence on both sides and judge for himself. None of the expelled laymen took an appeal, and on the organization of the Quarterly Conference the suspended preachers took no notice of it, taking the ground that the rightful judicatory, the District Conference, before which their appeal should have been heard, had been violently and unlawfully dissolved. In consequence the Quarterly Conference proceeded to consider their cases as though appeal had been made, and the charges sustained against the ten local preachers with the proviso: "unless he withdraw forthwith from the Union Society, and promise not to be engaged hereafter in any publication that inveighs against the discipline, or government, or speak evil of ministers; and signify his intention before the final adjournment of this conference."¹ None being present or appealing, they were recorded, Expelled. Alexander McCaine was Expelled, no proviso being made in his case. Subsequently James M. Hanson notified the laymen that they were Expelled.²

Prior to the meeting of the Quarterly Conference, the ten suspended local preachers sent a Protest to James M. Hanson, giving their reasons for refusing to appeal to that body; and a Reply having been published to the first Protest of the preachers, a Review of it was issued by "The Authors of the Protest." Re-

¹ See "Narrative and Defence," Jennings's "Exposition," *Mutual Rights*, for the evidence.

² The attempt has been made to justify the blatant record of "Expelled" (see note in previous volume anent it) on the ground that it was the common expression used by the Annual Conferences to cover all cases both of mal- and mis-feasance. It is largely true of the early days, but, as was shown in the first volume, at least two exceptions exist to this rule, one in the minutes of 1816, an expulsion with the qualifying note "for refusing to subscribe to the second article of the doctrines of our Church," and the other in 1826, which could not have been forgotten so soon as 1827, "Deprived of his official standing in the Methodist Episcopal Church," which exceptions in either case were manifestly made to shield the character of these two brethren with posterity that they were not excluded for immorality. But in the case of the Reformers, preachers and laymen, no such effort was made to protect them with posterity, though the admission was freely made that their moral characters were unimpeachable, by qualifying the term "Expelled," with any explanation. Indeed, it is quite clear from subsequent events that it was intended to smirch them, or at least to leave it open to inference that they were immoral as well as contumacious. It was a grievance under which they labored to the day of their deaths, and ever since, except it may be in the case of Rev. Thomas McCormick, who lived to be a nonogenarian in the Methodist Protestant Church. Late in life an event occurred that officially recognized him as a minister, as will be seen later. This act has never been condoned by the Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore, or by any of her historians, and until it is done, fidelity to the memory of these "Expelled" brethren demands that it shall not be forgotten by their posterity and the historians of Reform.

ferring to the allegations in the "Reply to the Protest," one paragraph will give the gist of the matter. They say "the brethren had been charged with 'evil speaking,' etc., and 'that they have yet to learn that they are not guilty of a violation of the laws of God and the Discipline.' It is true they were charged, but not with *immorality*, their prosecutors declaring on the trials that they had nothing against the '*moral or religious standing*' of those against whom they had brought charges. And we challenge the authors of the Reply to give to the public the *words and sentences* which our brethren have published in the *Mutual Rights*, that are 'violations of the laws of God and of the Discipline.' Until this is done, we say, the insinuation is utterly unworthy of public confidence. Baltimore, January 11, 1828." The Protests and the Replies having been published in the daily secular papers, the impression upon the Christian community of the city was so unfavorable to the anti-reformers, that now, for the first time, to shield the unwarrantable proceedings from general condemnation, these insinuations of immorality were interjected,¹ and were often repeated afterward, notably by Dr. Bond, as a justification of the excommunication of preachers and laymen who stood so high in the community for purity and integrity.

In these days of frequent interdenominational exchange of membership, the general level of spirituality in the Protestant churches, and the absence in the pulpits of sharp lines of doctrinal differences, it is impossible to appreciate what expulsion meant to these Methodists, most of them of many years' standing, from the only Church exhibiting the doctrinal teaching and furnishing the means of grace to which they had been accustomed, and without which religious life seemed impossible. Once more Paternalism had assumed its fearful prerogative of coercion, and made itself responsible for a new Methodist organization; and yet these brethren still refused to entertain such a purpose. Surely the ensuing General Conference would give redress and forestall further excisions and withdrawals. No longer welcome even as visitors at their old church homes, something must be done as an expedient to prevent social disintegration among themselves. The wise counsels of Snethen, Shinn, Stockton, and others of the leaders were never more emergent than now.

Dennis B. Dorsey received pecuniary assistance from a number of sources, and the Baltimore Conference itself allowed him the stipend usual to a superannuated minister for the first year,

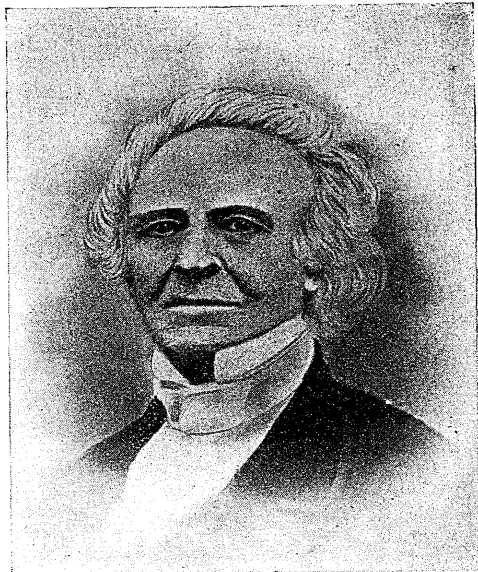
¹ See note 2 on p. 145.

it may be safely said not willingly, but the claim could not well be ignored for the nonce, and he promptly gave them public credit for it. The sum was less than a hundred dollars. He remained in Baltimore slowly recovering from his illness, and eking out a subsistence where the charity of his friends failed of meeting his requirements as a disabled married man. The expelled preachers and laymen were greeted with words of cheer from their fellow-Reformers all over the country. As presenting a fact not heretofore named, the Union Society of Kensington (a district of Philadelphia) passed resolutions denouncing the Baltimore expulsions, signed: John Vaughan, Chairman, G. J. Hamilton, Secretary, January 17, 1828. Nearly all the old Societies planted themselves firmly by a similar action, and a number of new Societies were formed under the impulse of the expulsions.

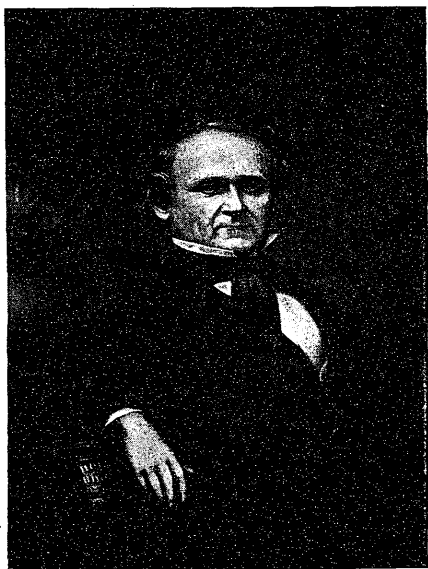
CHAPTER IX

Inchoate organization of expelled Reformers and their friends — Withdrawal of female members and their plea — More Union Societies — Emory's "Defence of our Fathers" — Bascom President of Union College, Pa. — The General Conference of 1828; prominent members; Dr. George Brown and Bishop Hedding; the true story — Reform and anti-reform contest in the General Conference on the appeal of Dorsey and Pool; guileful compromise proposed for restoration of all the expelled; what came of it — Dr. George Brown's graphic picture of the defensive speech of Asa Shinn of the Reformers before the General Conference; its marvellous effects; delay of the vote secured and another dark lantern caucus secured a bare majority denying the appeals; full account — Final disposition of the "suspended resolutions" on the eldership question — Emory's tergiversation — Change of the Restrictive Rule for altering the organic law.

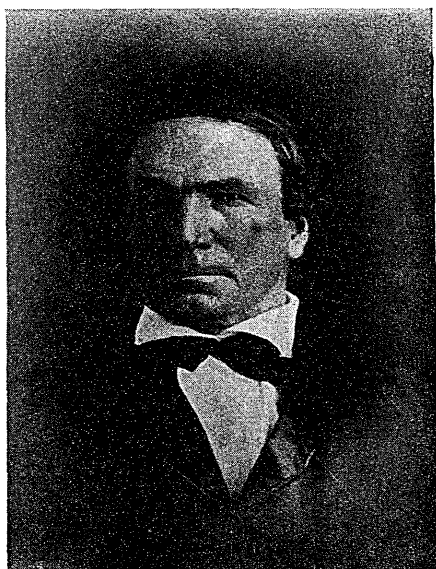
AFTER careful consideration the initial step for their social preservation as Methodists was taken by a number of the expelled Reformers and their friends, December 23, 1827, at a called meeting, probably at the residence of Dr. Jennings, as it was there the mothers, wives, and daughters of the expelled convened a week later for action. As the result of their deliberations the following Instrument was formulated, "under which the expelled members and ministers in Baltimore have united, in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation." It reads as follows: "We the undersigned, formerly members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the city of Baltimore, having been excluded from the fellowship of that body, by what we conceive to be an unjustifiable process, based upon insufficient charges, and those charges not sustained by competent testimony, have, for the present, agreed to unite together as a society of original Methodists, under the 'General Rules of the United Societies' prepared by the Revs. John and Charles Wesley. Our object is to wait and see whether the present abuses in the administration of the government will be corrected. If they should, and freedom of inquiry and public discussion be permitted in the Methodist Episcopal Church, it will afford us pleasure to return, provided we can do so without relinquishing



WESLEY STARR.



LEVI R. REESE.



JOHN S. REESE.

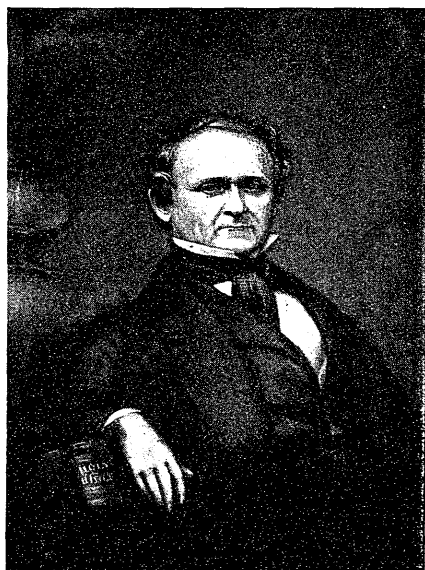
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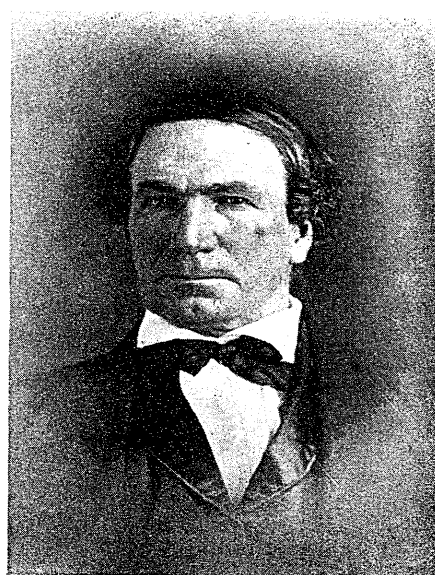
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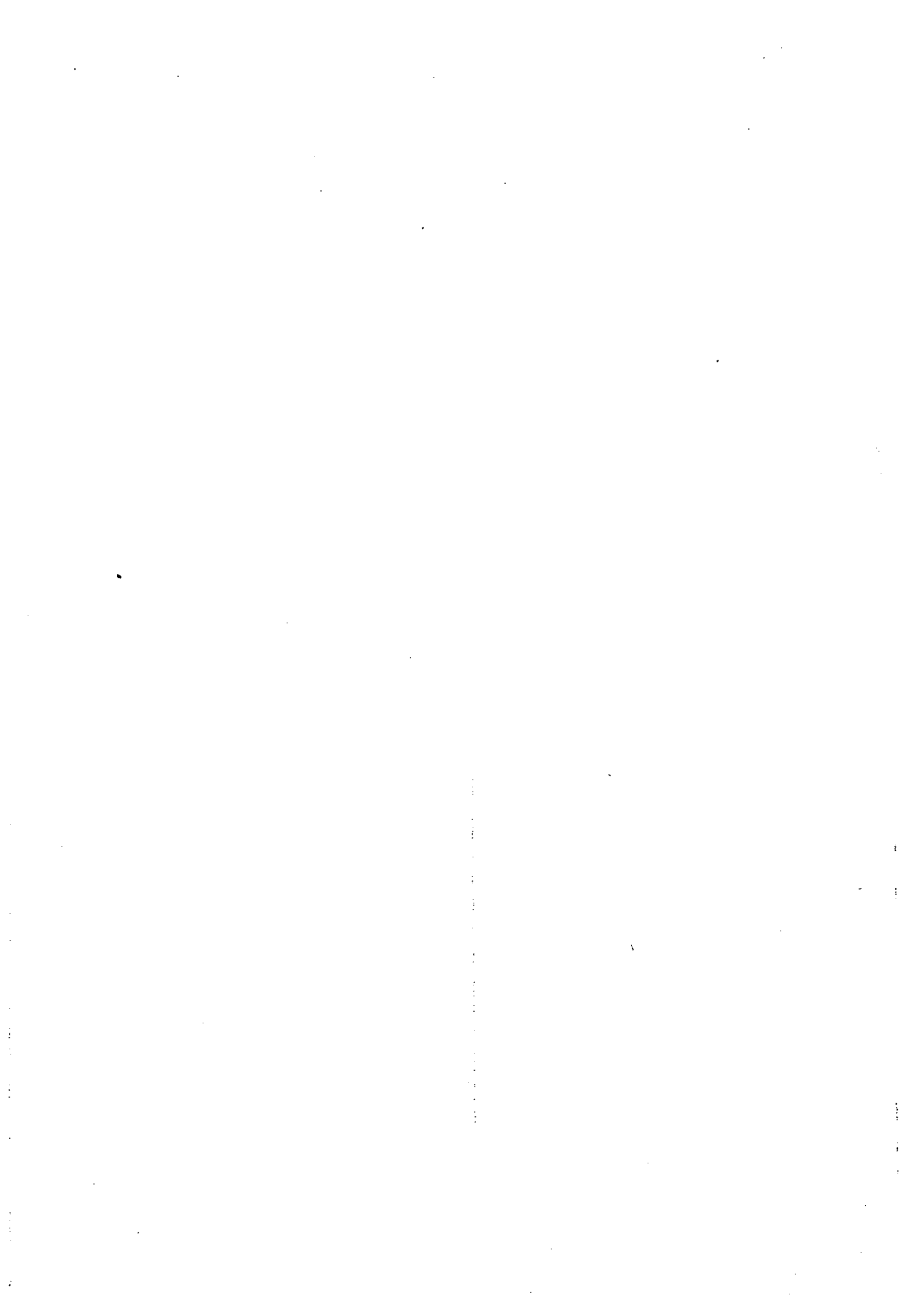
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LEVI R. REESE.



JOHN S. REESE.



the opinions for which we were excluded; namely, an honest, and, as we believe, an enlightened conviction that the present form of government in the Methodist Episcopal Church, so far as it precludes the grand principle of *Representation*, and confines all legislative, executive, and judicial powers to the itinerant ministry, is unscriptural and anti-Christian, and that reform in the government of said Church is necessary, in order to its essential and permanent prosperity. With these views we solemnly unite in the name of the Great Head of the Church, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, receiving the Holy Scriptures as our guide; and for prudential purposes adopting as an instrument of union the 'General Rules' of Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, with such subsequent regulations as our peculiar circumstances may from time to time require.

"John Chappell
John J. Harrod
Wesley Starr
John Kennard
William K. Boyle
Arthur Emmerson
Ebenezer Strahen
John H. W. Hawkins
Thomas Patterson
Samuel Krebs
Thomas Parson

Thomas Jarrett
John Gephart, Jr.
John P. Howard
Levi R. Reese
Lambert Thomas
Samuel Jarrett
James R. Forman
George Northerman
Samuel Thompson
Samuel Guest
John P. Paul."

A month later, January 26, 1828, "We the undersigned, elders, deacons, and licensed preachers, subscribe our names, respectively, to the foregoing instrument, approving the objects contemplated therein.

"Samuel K. Jennings
Daniel E. Reese
James R. Williams
William Kesley
Thomas McCormick

Luther J. Cox
John S. Reese
John C. French
Reuben T. Boyd."

December 31, 1827, "At a meeting of female members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, convened at the Rev. Dr. Jennings's, for the purpose of taking into consideration the most advisable course to be pursued by the wives and friends of those members of said Church who have been expelled, and of those ministers who have been suspended by the official members of the Baltimore station, for the sake of reform. On motion, re-

solved that the members of this meeting deeply regret the necessity of withdrawing from the Methodist Episcopal Church, yet from a conviction of duty we do hereby resolve to withdraw from said Church when our husbands, fathers, or friends shall have been expelled. A committee of nine was appointed to report at a meeting to be called to hear and act on it: Rebecca Hall, President; Mary Ann Woods, Secretary." January 7, 1828, another meeting was held, the report received, and a Declaration adopted, which rehearses the measures of expulsion; that they are impelled to withdraw solely by the existing difficulties in the Church, and that they have not been influenced to the course proposed by "our husbands, relatives, or friends." A Letter of Withdrawal was prepared and signed by these heroic and godly women to this effect:—

"REV. JAMES M. HANSON: We the undersigned, female members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the city of Baltimore, feel ourselves under the necessity of addressing you on a subject peculiarly painful. For a series of years we have been endeavoring in our humble sphere to serve God and make our way to heaven. And long since the Methodist Episcopal Church became the home of our choice, where we had fondly hoped to dwell in the peaceful enjoyment of the means of grace and the ordinances of Christianity to the end of life. In this Church our dearest Christian associations and religious friendships were formed and nourished. Our hopes, our fears, our wishes, all were identified with those of the Church of our choice. Around all her ordinances, her services, her ministers, our best affections were entwined; and for her peace and prosperity our daily prayers were offered to a throne of grace. This preference was not given to the Methodist Episcopal Church because we considered her government more perfect than that of others; for indeed we were no more careful to inquire into that subject than our preachers were to give us instruction in it; but our preference grew out of the purity of her doctrines, the piety of her members, the excellency of her moral discipline, and her itinerant plan. And though recent events have led us to examine more closely than heretofore the Methodist Discipline, and this examination has resulted in a conviction of its defectiveness in many particulars, yet we could have borne those comparatively trivial inconveniences, and could have lived happily in the bosom of the Church all our days, nor had we thought of forsaking her communion till death, but

for recent occurrences which have taken place under your administration and superintendence. But, Sir, to see a large number of our highly esteemed local preachers excluded the pulpits, arraigned, condemned, and excommunicated, and the seal of official silence set upon the lips which have so often conveyed heavenly consolation to our minds and hearts; to see our beloved class leaders torn from us, and deprived of their official standing, and a large number of our lay-brethren expelled without a crime; and to see the unwarrantable measures by which these distressing results have been effected, is too painful for us! In short, to find our dear companions, fathers, brothers, children, and friends treated as criminals and enemies, prosecuted, suspended, and expelled; denounced as backsliders and disturbers of the peace; and to be ourselves treated coldly and distantly by our former friends and by our pastors; and all for a mere difference of opinion about church government, is more than we feel bound in Christian charity longer to endure; and we therefore feel it our duty, in the fear of God, though with emotions of poignant sorrow and with aching hearts, to withdraw from the Church of our choice and fondest attachments. To this painful resort we are driven by the measures you have taken against our friends and brethren. To remain in the Church under the circumstances now existing, would be to evince a want of filial, connubial, and fraternal attachment to our persecuted friends and a want of self-respect. We therefore request you to consider us as withdrawn from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to furnish us a joint or individual certificate of our acceptable standing, as soon as convenient.

"Hannah L. Harrod
Catharine Mummy
Guinilda Mumy
Mary Kennard
Elizabeth Kennard
Sarah Krebs
Jane Thomas
Elizabeth Williams
Sarah Williams
Elizabeth Taylor
Mary Williams
Frances Williams
Catharine Williams
Hannah Jennings
Mary Owings
Elizabeth Crouch

Elinor Gephart
Maria Paul
Elizabeth Forman
Phillippa Starr
Rachel Hawkins
Elizabeth Baxley
Susan Guest
Sarah Emmerson
Isabella Northerman
Anna Jarrett
Ruth Reese
Rebecca R. Reese
Margaret Reese
Mary Reese
Margaret Patterson
Mary French

Sydney Boyd
Rebecca Jane Roberts
Lucy Fore
Mary Jane Thomas
Jemima Jones
Hannah Martin
Letitia M. Martin
Maria M. Martin
Maria Cox
Mary Meads
Mary Ann Woods
Catharine Wallace
Elizabeth Britt
Mary Ann Valiant
Elizabeth Valiant."

"(Sister Anna G. Chappell, the wife, and Sarah A. Chappell, the sister, of our aged brother, John Chappell, had withdrawn two days previous to the first meeting.)"

Nothing need be added to this touching story. All that expulsion meant to the laymen, withdrawal meant to these lay-women. They were marked Withdrawn, and were content with treatment as lenient.

At a meeting of Reformers April 1, 1828, the title of the Association under which they banded together was determined to be: "The Associated Methodist Reformers." Rules and regulations were adopted, one of which calls for citation: "On the admission of females, the female members shall be entitled to vote." In the old Church they had been class leaders, and consequently members of the Quarterly Conference under the law, though the writer meets no recorded instance where the recognition was demanded. Thus it is seen that in elemental Methodist Protestantism suffrage was without sex. It had been well, perhaps, if it had received Constitutional formulation afterward. It was not without advocates, but narrower views prevailed, as they did in other things, from which, if a departure had been made, it would have furthered ultimately the cause of Reform in Methodism. The reasons for the circumscription will appear later. The Associated members were 119 in number. Most of the names have been embalmed in the lists given, but in addition a number of others should be recorded: John, Catharine, Sarah, and Ann Guishard, John J. Thompson, Charles Looney, John Coates, John Fountain, Charles Watts, Mary Watts, Ann Murray, Sarah Peal, Mary Whiting, Elizabeth C. Henkle, Rebecca, Mary, and Frances R. Hall, Matilda Kennard, Frances Bisher, Ann Many, Ann Clark, Mary Looney, Sarah M. B. Sweeney, Ann Bell, Mary Fountain, Ann Hance, Susan Breden, Harriet Barnes, Hester Taylor, Lucretia Coates, Elizabeth Carter, and Mary Dennison.¹

At this stage it may be well to give two citations from an address which was intended to have been delivered defensively before the District Conference by Dr. Jennings, but he was forestalled by its unlawful adjournment. The first relates to the gist of the Reformers' offence, as the committee of prosecution phrased it: "But the prosecution insisted 'that every religious community has a right to form its own discipline,' and, said

¹ "Instrument of Association together with the General Rules of Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, and the additional regulations prepared by the Associated Methodist Reformers in Baltimore." Baltimore. Matchett, Printer. 1828. 8vo. 9 pp.

Mr. Israel, 'its members are not at liberty to disturb it.' Is the charge, in view of this particular, raised against us that we have denied the right every religious community has to form its own discipline? When did we do this? The truth is, this is the right for which we are contending. But they will say the charge is for 'disturbing it.' And have we disturbed it? According to their own showing it is by calling for a lay delegation; that is, for insisting on Mr. Israel's own true position, that 'every religious community has a right to form its own discipline,' that we have given them so great offence. But it was so alleged, that while we remain members of the church, we have no right to form and be members of the Union Society? This is a new charge. And we beg leave to ask what law has been broken by our becoming members of the Union Society? Is any law of the Bible or any rule of the discipline broken by it? Where shall we find such a law?" And second, as bearing upon the withdrawal of these women from the church: "Wretched indeed must be the state of a community when the fidelity of its members is constructed into treason against the body! One of the occasions stated by the prosecution for the adoption of their course against us is our unyielding adherence to the Church! Let it then be written with a pen of iron, *'they say they will not withdraw from the church!'* Where is the spirit of schism so often imputed to us? Surely, brethren, not on the part of the accused, but on the part of the accusers; . . . yes, brethren, our prosecutors have become our advocates; have acquitted us of the charge of schism, and assumed it to themselves. They are engaged in making a separation which is of no ordinary kind, a schism which is intended with the most unnatural violence to sever from the body many of its most devoted members."¹

This much of the argumentative literature of the Reformers as offsetting the large citation made of their opponents' method of reasoning. It is of a piece with the warp and woof of all that could be offered, from Dr. Bond to feeble champions, and must answer as an example of all. The justice of the cause so appealed to the conscience and honor of right-thinking Methodists, that other Union Societies were formed in the teeth of the expulsions

¹ An Address intended when written to have been delivered before the District Conference of the Baltimore District, by Samuel K. Jennings, M.D. Its object was to show that the prosecutions which had been instituted against the local preachers, etc., for publishing the *Mutual Rights*, etc., are unreasonable and unjust and ought to be dismissed. Baltimore. Printed by Samuel Moss. 1828. 8vo. 24 pp.

and in prospect of their own excommunication. On Great Falls' circuit, Baltimore County, Md., a Society of great influence was formed, with Charles Jessop, Esq., President; Rev. Daniel Chambers, Vice; Rev. Amon Richards, Secretary; Edward Hall, Treasurer; and Rev. Eli Henkle, E. Hall, and Samuel Willis, Corresponding Committee. February 14, 1828, a number of members of Ebenezer station, Washington, D. C., assembled at Wheat's schoolhouse, and organized a Union, with Rev. J. B. Ferguson, Chairman, and Peter M. Pierson, Secretary, with W. D. Aikin and Thomas Wheat as a committee. The Steubenville and Cincinnati societies were greatly augmented, and passed ringing resolutions of cheer to Dorsey and the Baltimore expelled. It may be that the bold front of the Reformers called for an intermission of trials and exclusions until after the General Conference; intimidation did not accomplish its purpose, so both parties largely held a truce and slept upon their arms until May, 1828, except that at the meeting of the Baltimore Annual Conference in April, 1828, at Carlisle, Pa., charges were preferred against Rev. W. C. Pool; he was tried and expelled, the methods employed not differing essentially from those in the case of Dorsey; but it linked his name with that of the latter immemorially as "martyrs for the principle of a lay-representation in the legislative department of the Methodist Episcopal Church government."¹

The expelled also addressed a Memorial to the Annual Conference in which they recite their case and ask the Conference to "interpose and restore us to the enjoyment of our former standing in the Church of our choice and our affections, and from which we have been unnaturally severed;" and that "justice and propriety demand your immediate investigation of the official conduct of the Rev. James M. Hanson and of the Rev. Joseph Frye, in reference to our particular cases." The Conference made answer by resolutions that as the appellants "did not obey the citations of the Church to appear before inferior judicatories . . . they are not entitled to come before higher judicatories, either as appellants or complainants," that "to sanction a contrary course of proceedings would be, in the judgment of the Conference, subversive of wholesome and sound discipline," and hence "decline to take further cognizance of the subjects." The answer bears the literary and other ear-marks of Dr. Emory, who took an active part

¹ Jennings's "Exposition," pp. 219-223, as well as the *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer* for 1828, give a full account of the particulars of Pool's trial and expulsion.

in the trial of Pool and in the review of the Memorial of the Expelled. Thus their appeal was summarily dismissed, no account being taken of the irregular methods of the prosecution and the reasons of the expelled for declining to appear before judicatories which had confessedly already decided their cases — indeed, no inquiry seems to have been made into the conduct of the prosecution whatever. The irregularities of the expelled exclude them from redress, admitting that they were irregular; the irregularities of the prosecution are not even inquired into, their irregularity being patent under the law.

But one other method was left them: an appeal to the General Conference, which was at once formulated. It is a calm, judicial, and respectful petition, in which they rehearse the whole story of the Reform with brevity, as steps leading to the unprecedented method of their investigation and expulsion. They ask with unanswerable force: "Who ever heard of the organization of a prosecuting committee in the Methodist Episcopal Church consisting of seven members? When was there ever such a convocation of members of the Church for the purpose of arraying themselves as prosecutors against another party in the Church? The measure was so new, and so inconsistent with all our former acquaintance with Methodism, that we were apprehensive our prosecutors had been encouraged thereto by some persons in high authority in the Church. . . . Finally, brethren, your memorialists respectfully represent to the General Conference that, as we have been expelled from the Church, contrary, as we believe, to Scripture and the Discipline, and which expulsion has been and is still painful to our hearts, we do hereby request your highly respectable body to take such measures as in your wisdom shall restore us to the Church of our former fellowship, and receive with us those who have withdrawn on our account, on principles which shall secure to us and the Church the liberty of speech and of the press, without sanctioning the licentiousness of either," etc.

Meantime the announced review of McCaine's "History and Mystery," by John Emory, made its appearance in November or December, 1827, and created a sensation in the Church as much more intense as its circulation under the official *imprimatur* of the Book Concern was necessarily greater than that of McCaine's pamphlet, which was confined to a single edition of probably not over one thousand copies, judging from its rarity to-day, as the opponents of Reform used diligence in destroying every copy they could control. It was hailed with delight by the supporters of

the old *régime* as vindicating the "Fathers" in everything against the alleged aspersions, slanders, misrepresentations, and perversions of fact made by McCaine, and it engendered a prejudice, not to say hatred, of his very name that followed him through life by those who had never read the "History and Mystery," and, perhaps, never heard of his masterful "Defence of the Truth," which about a year after he gave to the press, and which was so complete in its answer to Emory's "Defence of our Fathers" ¹ that he never attempted a pamphlet rejoinder. He offered some strictures and made the correction of a few errors in his "Defence" which were so palpable that his friends called for their elimination. This was done in an excusatory manner, not through the *Christian Advocate*, of wide circulation, but through the *Methodist Review*, 1830, p. 217, of very limited circulation, so that such answer as he essayed never became known to any considerable number in the Church, and justified the avowal of McCaine and his friends that the "Defence of the Truth" had never been answered, much less refuted. Nor was any serious attempt made to so collocate the facts of early American Methodism as to speciously accomplish what Emory failed to do; to wit, make it appear that Wesley was cognizant of and approved all the steps that led to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784, and that he "recommended" specifically to that Conference the "Episcopal form of government," until it was undertaken by Rev. Dr. Stevens in his "History of Methodism" ² in 1859. He devotes an entire chapter to it of seventeen pages, which was republished as an appendix to Tyerman's "Life of Wesley," issued by the Harpers in 1872, it being universally accepted as exhaustive of the argument on that side, and as offsetting Tyerman, who, without knowing anything of McCaine's "History and Mystery," thoroughly established the moral certainty that it correctly represents the facts in the case. McCaine was twitted because his "Defence of the Truth" did not appear in answer to

¹ "A Defence of 'Our Fathers,' and of the original organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church against the Rev. Alexander McCaine, and others, with Historical and Critical Notes on early American Methodism," by John Emory, New York. Published by N. Bangs and J. Emory for the M. E. Church at the Conference office, Crosby Street. Azor Hoyt, Printer. 1827. 8vo. 92 pp. It contains an Appendix, by N. Bangs, who took occasion to explain his views on Dr. Coke's letter, and his idea of orders in the M. E. Church as set forth in his "Methodist Episcopacy," issued about a year before against the opposition of Soule, then Book Agent, with Bangs as assistant, for reasons evidently that it makes admissions contrary to Soule's notions of Episcopacy.

² "History of Methodism," Vol. II. Chap. 7.

Emory for more than a year. The facts are that when Emory's pamphlet appeared, McCaine was in the South for his health, by order of his physician, and could not devote himself to an answer earlier; but this his enemies ignored.

Though the first volume has covered in divers places much of the staple of the controversy, it seems necessary, now that all three of the disputants, McCaine, Emory, and Stevens, have expended their strength, McCaine reviewing the case as late as 1850 in his "Letters on the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church," that a separate chapter should be given in this work to a fair analysis of the ancient contention; for though nothing really but a side issue in the controversy as to Lay-Representation in 1827-30, the truth of history demands that the issue having been raised, it should be settled for or against McCaine as the originator of it. It will best, however, preserve the order of events, if the remainder of this chapter be devoted to the General Conference of 1828, and so close this important epoch in the history of Reform.

Only one other fact seems needful before proceeding to this task. The Pittsburgh Conference had resolved upon establishing a college at Uniontown, Pa., and as the buildings were there already, under President Madison's liberality, these were accepted; and though Bascom was fully known as a pronounced Reformer throughout that Conference, so inimical to Reform in the main, he was elected President in 1827, and he labored hard to establish it for two years. As has been found, it was the method of the anti-reformers in the case of preachers of eminent ability to win them from their Reform attachments by promoting them, while weaker and unknown men were expelled for such an alliance. M. M. Henkle, the biographer of Bascom, gives unwittingly a reason for the non-success of Bascom in this enterprise, but which establishes the predicate that Reform was then a powerful factor in the Church. Henkle says: "The church controversy was just then at its height, and the dissentient partisans would not harmonize in supporting an institution which each party feared might fall into the hands of the other." He also gives the true reason for Bascom's resignation, "The want of adequate compensation had much influence in superinducing Bascom's resignation is highly probable;" and Henkle shows that from 1814, oppressed with debt for himself and his father's family, he was compelled to resort to devious shifts to extricate himself for long years afterward.

The General Conference of 1828 met in Pittsburgh, Pa., May 1, and was attended by Bishops M'Kendree, George, Roberts, Soule, and Hedding; religious services by the senior Bishop. There were strong men in the delegations, and a few of the pronounced Reformers were elected by reason of their personal popularity. It may be well to note the names of Nathan Bangs, John Emory, Heman Bangs, and Daniel Ostrander from New York; George Pickering, Wilbur Fisk, Daniel Dorchester from New England; George Peck, Morgan Sherman, and Seth Mattison from Genesee; Henry Furlong, Asa Shinn, Henry B. Bascom, Thornton Fleming, and Charles Elliott from Pittsburgh; Jacob Young, James B. Finley, Greenbury R. Jones, and James Quinn from Ohio; Peter Cartwright, James Armstrong, and Samuel H. Thompson from Illinois; Thomas A. Morris, Peter Akers, and Richard Tidings from Kentucky; James Gwin, James M'Ferrin, Robert Paine, and Ashley B. Roszel from Tennessee; William Winans, John C. Burress from Mississippi; James A. Andrew, William Capers, Lovick Pierce, and Samuel Dunwody from South Carolina; Joseph Carson, Peter Doub, and John Early from Virginia; Stephen G. Roszel, Nelson Reed, Joshua Wells, Joseph Frye, Henry Smith, John Davis, James M. Hanson, Beverly Waugh, Andrew Hemphill, Job Guest, Marmaduke Pierce, and Christopher Frye from Baltimore,—all now pronounced anti-reformers; Ezekiel Cooper, Lawrence M'Combs, Charles Pittman, James Smith, Joseph Lybrand, and George Woolley from Philadelphia.

The Episcopal Address notes "the great and extensive revivals of religion in the past three years," an unwitting testimony that the agitation of Reform within the Church had not deteriorated its spiritual power. The last year, "ending with this date, has been peculiarly distinguished by the abundant outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and the increase both in the ministry and membership." It does not occur to them that this may be a token of the Divine favor upon the movement to make its government more scriptural, rational, and in accord with Christian manhood; and the pertinence of this suggestion will appear when the church historians give these same things as infallible signs that when the Church was "defecated" of its Reform element, and later of its Abolition element, the Divine approval was thereby put upon the expulsive methods to shut them out. Inquiry is suggested as to the "right of all the members to trial and appeal, . . . sacredly secured by the acts of the General Conference of 1808," and whether there is anything in the Discipline "which may be

construed or applied so as to militate against such acts; and if so to remedy the evil." The reader will not understand that this proposal looks to better security for the membership, but it looks to the utter inconsistency of the fundamental of the Church law, that expulsion can take place only for immorality or such offences as are "sufficient to exclude the offender from the kingdom of grace and glory." The Conference is invited to look into the "administration of the government, to see if it has been in accordance with the strictness and purity of our system," — another menace to Reformers from the bench of bishops.

The case of Rev. George Brown and Bishop Hedding has been heretofore noticed. The latter charged the former with "injustice," "misrepresentation," and "vile slander" in his "Timothy" article in the *Mutual Rights* of 1826 upon the Bishop's Address before the Pittsburgh Conference. At its session in 1827 Bishop George acted as pacificator between them, and though Dr. Brown had the concurrent testimony of eighteen ministers and others who had heard the Bishop's Address and had read Brown's article in review of it, that no such charges could be made to hold against him, nevertheless Dr. Brown, to meet the pacific purpose of Bishop George, wrote a letter to the Pittsburgh Conference of 1827, in which he admits that he might have misunderstood the purpose of the Bishop, but firmly insists that he was not guilty of injustice, or misrepresentation, or vile slander in his article. After the decease of Bishop Hedding, Dr. Clark, his biographer, made a very unfair and exaggerated statement of the case, to the injury of Dr. Brown wherever Clark's account would be believed. Happily Dr. Brown lived, in his "Itinerant Life,"¹ to traverse calmly the whole subject and vindicate himself from the aspersions poured upon him. Hedding brought it, however, to the attention of the General Conference, through a report, which likewise misstates the kind of "reparation" Dr. Brown had offered, resolved that the Bishop was not "deserving of censure" in his Address, "but the circumstances of the case rendered it his official duty to deliver it." Hedding and Brown had been confidential friends, and these relations were resumed at the General Conference in Cincinnati in 1836. Dr. Clark may not have known of this, but his resurrection of the matter in the biography, and his mode of statement of it, were altogether uncalled for and unwarranted.

Dr. Bangs, in his "History," reviewing the Reform agitation,

¹ Pages 129-163. Also Clark's "Biography," and the General Conference Report on the subject.

referring to the Bond-Kelso section, was utterly misled in his averments that the leaders had once agreed to place their claims upon the ground of expediency alone, and that the strife occurred by forsaking this ground for that of right. Evidently he relied for his information upon Dr. Bond, for the whole course of the events, as has been shown, is that right and not expediency was the rallying cry of all true Reformers. His whole statement of the case is partisan in the extreme.

All eyes were directed to the General Conference of 1828. Not a few of the active participants in reform and anti-reform attended. Though the distance from Baltimore was two hundred and eighty miles, when travel was by post-chaise and over the mountains by the National Road, Dr. Bond was present to steer the proceedings against the Reformers, instigated by himself as their Mephistopheles. Shinn and Bascom were members. Dr. Sellers now lived in Pittsburgh. George Brown and Cornelius Springer, representatives of Reform among the ministers in the West, were also present. Roszel and Emory were members. They could not but meet, and meeting, pacification was again brought forward. Several weeks before the General Conference had convened, friends of Reform, and of the Reformers about Pittsburgh, gave the expelled brethren of Baltimore notice that they would inaugurate a movement for their restoration upon honorable terms. To this intimation Dr. Jennings made answer that such a restoration was desirable, if it could be secured, "together with such an acknowledgment of our rights and privileges as our friends may consider a satisfactory guarantee for our safety, and which, of course, will make our return honorable." Accordingly, a Memorial was prepared, dated Pittsburgh, May 19, 1828, and addressed to Rev. Daniel Ostrander, Chairman of the Committee on the Itinerancy, to the following effect:—

DEAR BRETHREN: The brethren who have been expelled the Church in Baltimore, will and do hereby concede that publications may have appeared in the *Mutual Rights*, the nature and character of which was inflammatory, and so far do not admit of vindication; that individuals and facts from want of proper information may have been unintentionally misrepresented. They regret these things in every existing case. They agree that the *Mutual Rights* shall be discontinued at the filling up of the present volume, in doing which they will avoid just cause of offence to any brethren. That Union Societies shall, by their advice and influence, be abolished, and no more be formed. These concessions are made through us in behalf of Reformers generally, to aid in the work of conciliation as conditions for the restoration of the expelled brethren in Baltimore, and elsewhere to the Church on terms respect-

ful to both parties. By these concessions they are not to be understood as relinquishing the freedom of speech and of the press, which they enjoy in common with their brethren, nor of peacefully assembling for proper and justifiable purposes.

[Signed]

We concur in the above.

A. SHINN.

H. B. BASCOM.

NICHOLAS SNETHEN.

CHARLES AVERY.

HENRY D. SELLERS.¹

As printed in the *Mutual Rights* for June, 1828, the word *may* is twice italicized, and the concluding sentence from THESE CONCESSIONS, printed in small caps; whether so in the original no means are at hand to verify. Considering the heat of the controversy and the wrongs under which they were suffering, much is hereby conceded; but after several days answer was returned that the "subject was not cognizable by the committee." Advantage was, however, taken of the concessions by Dr. Emory in his final elaborate report upon the whole subject, to make it appear that "the General Conference granted everything we [the Reformers] asked for; that they have proffered to us restoration on our own terms."¹ It will be seen from the resolutions passed by the General Conference that the terms are almost identical with those proposed by Dr. Bond, and afterward by him through Dr. Green; and that the former's adroit manoeuvring is seen in all this part of the report: the terms are unconditional submission with the right of the Church officials to discriminate among Reformers, undoubtedly for the guileful purpose of breaking their unity by receiving such as they would, but excluding the leaders. More than ever it was made apparent that no step taken was to be retraced, and that no wrong done was to be redressed; but a final manifesto issued that should crush out the element remaining and smother the very germs of lay-representation once for all. For the fairness and legitimacy of this inference, appeal is made to the candid reader, and for evidence nothing more need be offered than the Report and the Resolutions of the Conference, both from the pen of Dr. John Emory.²

Before considering them, happily the writer has it in his power to present a pen-picture of the scene in the Conference, which preceded their introduction, in the argument upon the appeal of Dennis B. Dorsey and W. C. Pool from the decision of the Bal-

¹ *Mutual Rights*, Vol. IV. pp. 321-327. Jennings's "Exposition," pp. 77-83.

² See Conference Minutes, or Dr. Bangs's "History," Vol. III. pp. 413-430.

timore Conference in 1827-28. Rev. George Brown, who was an eye and ear witness, graphically and — no one who knew him personally will doubt — truthfully depicted the scene. “Neither of these brethren could be present, so they had committed the management of their appeals to Rev. Asa Shinn, and, if I remember aright, Rev. Wilbur Fisk was appointed by the Conference to assist him. The case came on in the morning, and was opened by Mr. Shinn, who represented the appellants by reading the grounds of their appeal as set forth by themselves in writing. Then the members of the Baltimore Conference, according to the forms of law governing in such cases, responded, justifying the action of their Conference in the expulsions. This brought on the hour of adjournment for dinner. That day I dined with Mr. Shinn. He ate but little, conversed none, but his great soul was full of thought and prayer. At two o’clock the case was resumed, and there was a full house to hear Mr. Shinn make the closing argument. I sat back without the bar to take down in writing the main points of said argument. When Mr. Shinn arose and stood in silence for a few moments the whole assembly became very still. He was pale, calm, self-possessed, and very dignified in appearance. He commenced his argument with a clear, round tone of voice, evidently reaching every ear in the house. His exordium was simple, modest, chaste — going to show that all he wished for in behalf of the appellants was that *the truth might shine, that justice might be done*. The facts of the case and the laws of the Church were then most searchingly examined, and it was made distinctly to appear that the expulsions were without the sanction of the laws of the Church. He then made it clear, from all the evidence in that high court of appeals, that the charges against the appellants in the court below were not in themselves criminal actions. He then took the written appeal sent up by the expelled brethren, and argued the truthfulness and justice of the paper in all its parts. He then appealed to the justice and honor and impartiality of that high tribunal, and urged, with all the force of his logical energy, the restoration of the appellants to their places in the Church, and to the public confidence. In the peroration the speaker became overwhelmingly eloquent and swept defiantly over the enemies of mutual rights. The effect upon that great assembly was thrilling. The bishops, generally florid, now looked pale. Ex-Governor Findley of Pennsylvania, who sat in the gallery, wept like a child. Many members of the Conference felt like the Governor, so did many

spectators; and I found myself unable, some time before the speech was ended, to take any more notes.

"When Mr. Shinn resumed his seat there was a long pause — a time to take breath. The bishops and other leading members of the Conference looked wisely at each other. Just then a New England preacher, having seen me writing, came round to me, and said: 'Why don't the bishops take a vote? I hate Shinn like fire, but I never heard such an argument before in my life. If they will put the vote now the appellants will be restored, and the Baltimoreans defeated — and they ought to be defeated.' So thought I and many more besides that New England preacher. But the vote was not put as the law directed. Rev. John Early and other Southern preachers, without introducing any new question, were suffered to run a tirade against Mr. Shinn most of the afternoon for a piece in the *Mutual Rights*, published by him, entitled 'Sovereignty of Methodism in the South.' To this disorderly ramble Mr. Shinn made no reply, as it had no relation to the question before the Conference. Finally, the Chair announced that the vote would be taken in the morning. From that moment the Reformers had their fears of foul play. That evening at supper, at the house of John McGill, much was said of the argumentative eloquence of Mr. Shinn's speech that afternoon. Bishop Roberts, who sat at my side, said, 'Yes, that was true eloquence of the highest order.' He then added that 'he did not remember ever to have heard a speech surpassing Mr. Shinn's for argumentative eloquence.' At that table, however, no opinion was expressed as to how the vote would go the next morning. That night about eleven o'clock I met Mr. Bascom on the street, who said: 'There has been a caucus meeting to-night, and I have been eavesdropping them. They have secured a majority of twenty pledged on paper against the appellants.' I said, 'I did hope, for the honor of the Christian religion, that he was mistaken,' but he affirmed this was so, and said, 'you will see to-morrow morning.' In the morning when the vote was taken they had about that majority against the appellants that Bascom had reported. This whole affair led me strongly to suspect that Reformers were to have no fair dealing in that General Conference. In this case would the end sanctify the means, or the means sanctify the end? Were not both the end and the means wrong? The forms of law, in the main, had been allowed during the trial; but the ends of justice had been defeated by caucus management."¹

¹ Brown's "Itinerant Life," pp. 166-169.

The reader has not forgotten the dark-lantern methods, identical with these just disclosed, by which a full two-thirds majority, in 1820, in favor of an elective Presiding Eldership was changed into a majority against it. The pacific and lenient attitude of the General Conference under the searching logic and persuasive eloquence of Shinn had its marplot. Not a few of the same partisans were present, M'Kendree and Soule of the Episcopal bench, and their fuglemen in the delegations reënforced by Dr. Bond, a strategist tutored in all the guileful arts of political machination. A majority of about twenty pledged on paper under cover of the night, intermediate of a session. Why pledged on paper? For the same reason as in 1820 — that there might be no shirking, or, if so, their exposure to the Episcopal authorities and their quiet punishment afterward. It required a heroism of iron texture to withstand such menacing consequences; and yet, out of a body of 177 a majority of only about twenty could be commanded for the justification of the expulsion of Dorsey and Pool, carrying with it all the other cases constructively. It must be admitted that the result was an overwhelming disappointment to Shinn and his coadjutors. His effort had been exhaustive, not only of the subject, but of himself, which showed itself before the session closed in mental fag and aberration, superinduced by the early physical injury to his head already referred to, and which continued for about six months, withdrawing him from active ministerial life for the time. If never conclusively before demonstrated, the case in hand was a fitting illustration of Snethen's dictum, which needs to be repeated every time its demonstration occurs in the course of the Episcopal history, — "Power combined with interest and inclination cannot be controlled by logic; but even power shrinks from the test of logic."

Reserving an analysis of Dr. Emory's final report on the subject of Reform to the succeeding chapter, and in association with the McCaine-Emory-Stevens argument on the Episcopacy as in some sense kindred, and that the present chapter may not be unduly lengthened, a few other salient events of this General Conference shall be grouped in its conclusion. It is noteworthy that neither Bangs nor M'Tyeire gives the result of the "suspended resolutions" of 1820-24, but Dr. Tigert, from the Journal, provides the information. William Winans moved and William Capers seconded the following resolution: "That the resolutions commonly called the suspended resolutions, rendering the presiding elders elective, etc., and which were referred to this Confer-

ence by the last General Conference as unfinished business and reported to us at this Conference, be, and are hereby, rescinded and made void. Carried." The vote is not given, but it was probably a snap-judgment, as the next day D. Ostrander and T. Merrett "bravely brought forward the old measure; but it was promptly tabled, apparently without debate." The biographer of Bishop Emory says that it is not known how his illustrious father voted, "nor, if known, would it afford evidence as to the state of his opinion on the abstract question." Undoubtedly he was now in the direct line of promotion, and, as has been found and will again and again be found in these pages, it is as common as history that illumination should go hand in hand with preferment. "Men have a right to change their opinions;" certainly they have the right. If he were not a "Radical," this was the one point in Methodist reformation which his gifted son Robert makes plain on which he had not opinions only, but convictions. As opinions it can be understood how he could waive them; but it will ever remain to be explained how he got rid of his convictions on this occasion, and never once broached them again to the close of his brief, but useful life. Thus a reasonable ministerial right was smothered to its death, and not revived again until 1840.

This General Conference, on a paper submitted by Wilbur Fisk, changed one of its Restrictive Rules as follows: "Provided, nevertheless, that upon concurrent recommendation of three-fourths of all the members of the several annual conferences who shall be present and vote for such recommendation, then a majority of two-thirds of the General Conference succeeding shall suffice to alter any such regulations, excepting the first article." This made it possible for the legislative body of the Church to effect changes in its organic law, though by a circumscription which practically ignores even a two-thirds majority of the preachers (it leaves undisturbed their ancient right to exclusive legislative powers), without the call of a Convention of the Church; and for this no provision whatever was ever made, and yet these rules and regulations of 1808 are called a "constitution!" Again, the deadlock of the bishops in 1826, as to the appointment of a fraternal messenger to the Wesleyan Conference, divided as they already were upon the slavery question, was reported to this Conference. The same candidates over whom they wrangled were brought forward, and the contest was as close as when the bishops wrestled with them. On the second ballot, however, Capers received 82 and Fisk 72 out of 158 votes, so that

Capers succeeded by a majority of six, or two more than the number necessary to a choice, as there were scattering votes. He was warmly received in England and discharged his mission satisfactorily, but his election was unpalatable to the growing antislavery sentiment of the Northern brethren.

The Canada Methodist Episcopal Conference, after much discussion, was separated from the jurisdiction of the General Conference at their request. It was under Asbury's recognition, but in a foreign civil jurisdiction. It complicated the situation which Dr. Emory endeavored, with his fertility of invention, to solve by an ingenious "voluntary theory," which Dr. Bangs thinks put it "in a new and very clear light." Dr. Tigert is quizzically of opinion "that it was new, there could be little question; its clearness depends somewhat on the angle of vision." Distance and the slavery moot led to this disruption. They were allowed their "annual dividends" from the New York Book Concern. It was, in fact, a "secession," and Tigert says, "we are not aware that this hard and ugly word has ever been applied to it." No; it was reserved for the separation of the two African churches, the Bethelites and the Zionites, the Methodist Protestants, the Wesleyans, and the Church South. It was a memorable General Conference, and fitly closed its business by electing Nathan Bangs editor of the *Christian Advocate*, and promoting Emory from Assistant to Book Agent, with Beverly Waugh as his Assistant. Ex-Reformers were popular for promotion, that is, certain of them. The Conference adjourned May 24, 1828.

CHAPTER X

Report of the committee of the General Conference on the petitions and memorials for Lay-Representation written by Dr. Emory under Dr. Bond's promptings; analysis of it; Asa Shinn's motion to adopt; his after sane repudiation of it—Resolutions of restoration of the expelled and the withdrawn; artful exceptions in the phrasing to exclude leaders, etc.—A careful and thorough review of McCaine's "History and Mystery"; Emory's "Defence of our Fathers"; McCaine's rejoinders, and Dr. Stevens's famous chapter on the Ordination of Dr. Coke in his "History of the M. E. Church"; a candid synopsis of each of these arguments as the knotty and perplexing question of this ancient controversy; side lights thrown upon it; McCaine's thirty-seven reasons for his opinion never successfully controverted; Wesley's "Little Sketch" of government again considered—The so-called historical Preface to the Discipline of the M. E. Church must be amended or expunged, as demanded by the truth of history; already done in that of the M. E. Church, South—Dr. Stevens's whole argument invalidated by a single admission of his own.

THE petitions and memorials addressed to the General Conference of 1828 were not all in favor of Representation. Knowing that such would be there in large numbers, it was a part of the policy of the anti-reformers to send up counter petitions; and in some sections enough male members were found of the Yearley-Israel calibre to unite in such. They were never shown to be either numerous or influential; but even one enabled the Committee, of which Dr. Emory was Chairman, to say that they had considered these petitions "for and against a direct lay and local representation." The writer has just reread this elaborate and exhaustive Report, yet claimed to be "confined to a few leading topics," which made a sensation in the Conference and, afterward, throughout the Church, equalled only by the speech of Shinn, defensive. One thing is evident upon its perusal, that Dr. Emory either called into his council of preparation Dr. Bond, or he had ingeniously employed not a few of the points of the latter's "Appeal to the Methodists," inasmuch as it traverses much of the same ground. The acute legal mind of Emory runs through it in the sophistries and subtleties of its arguments, while in rhetoric the classic flow of its well-rounded sentences is captivating, and makes the worse appear the better reason. It should be

read by every one desiring to be informed as to the best that could be delivered antagonistic to Reform; space will allow but a condensed analysis.

It first takes up the question of Right, and declares it must be either "natural or acquired"; and the author makes it plain to himself and sympathizers that it is neither: the inference is, that joining the Methodist Episcopal Church strips a man of all that citizenship in a republic confers upon him. It had already been worn threadbare as an argument. But may be they "claim it against the judgment of a large majority," and that its concession would conciliate. This is combated by the assertion that no such effect would follow, as the opposition in the ranks of the laity was immensely against it and that of the most intelligent. The demands of the local preachers is shown to be incongruous with the "original economy of Methodism." The gist of it is that what has not been, should not be. Admitting that the memorialists are honest in not wishing to impair the "itinerant economy," they cannot tell what their successors might do. The reader can judge how conclusive this objection is on general principles. Under the head of the itinerants' personal interest the most remarkable of the averments is made. The admission is confessed that if these lay-rights were conceded it might advance their temporal support, but it "is not known to the present economy" (again, what has not been should not be); but listen: "The great Head of the Church himself has imposed on us the duty of preaching the gospel, of administering its ordinances, and of maintaining its moral discipline among those over whom the Holy Ghost, in these respects, has made us overseers. Of these also, namely, of gospel doctrines, ordinances, and moral discipline, we do believe that the divinely instituted ministry are the divinely authorized expounders; and that the duty of maintaining them in their purity, and of not permitting our ministrations, in these respects, to be authoritatively controlled by others, does rest upon us with the force of a moral obligation, in the due discharge of which our consciences are involved." It was of this particular deliverance that Dr. Brown witnesses: "A very learned and sagacious Catholic priest saw in this manifesto of the General Conference a family likeness, and published it in the *Catholic Telegraph* in Cincinnati, declaring that the Church of Rome never made a higher claim to spiritual and ecclesiastical power than this."¹

¹ "Itinerant Life," pp. 195, 196.

It was indeed the cap-sheaf of lordly assumption, and settled it with the Reformers that nothing could be expected of the ruling authorities of the Church; progression and not reaction along the lines of hierarchic presumption was the key-note thus set. The sentences criticised afforded the Reformers other epigrammatical slogans, which they were not slow in utilizing. The succeeding paragraph of the Report is a hair-splitting refinement in qualification of the bold declaration — even Emory felt that the ground taken was disputable. “The right of ecclesiastical expatriation from any branch of the Christian Church to any other which may be preferred, for grave causes, we have never denied. Nor can we keep, nor are we desirous to keep, any man subject to our authority one moment longer than it is his own pleasure.” If not an echo, it is a duplicate of Dr. Bond; it says, if you do not like our rule, leave it and us. It appears, therefore, that laymen and others have at least this right. O’Kelly and his adherents adopted this course, and were stigmatized as “seceders,” and he was pursued with rancor to his death. The claim is now made, that it was the distinctive governmental features that ensured the success of Methodism in the past; innovation had not been tried, and, therefore, should not be; “there is no prospect of gain that would justify the hazard.” It had often been urged before, and, antecedently, it is the only objection that has in it a grain of weight.

Paragraphs following “retort the insinuation of sinister motives,” and a sarcastic fling is made at those “who have deserted the itinerant fields” — Snethen, McCaine, and a few others who were now located; and the discussion is prolonged over the lack of precedents for the changes proposed either in England or America, aiming special invidious comment upon the inchoate proposals of the first Reform Convention, the paucity of its numbers in attendance, and the strange intimation made, that if the laity were accorded representation they would be conspicuous only by their absence in General Conference. The fact that the Reformers, out of deference and expediency, declined to send with their petitions a formulated scheme of reconstruction is turned against them; the General Conference, forsooth, had nothing to consider as to a plan, verily! Much meekness is claimed for not repelling with “strong expressions” the affirmation of Reformers, that they have been denied the liberty of speech and of the press under the provision of 1796, against “sowing dissensions and inveighing against the discipline” that

the law was applied only "in the sense of unchristian railing and violence. Any other construction of it we have never sanctioned, nor will we." It is Dr. Bond reflected, but it begs the whole question involved: Does the literature of Reform give evidence of such a violation of the law? It is the very issue, and posterity will never consent that liberty of speech and of the press was not infringed until the case is made against the Reformers. Only some ten years ago Dr. Augustus Webster entertained for a few days a distinguished minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who, observing in the doctor's library bound copies of the *Mutual Rights*, asked the privilege to take them to his room and examine them before he retired, as he had never before seen the much scandalized volumes. The next morning he returned them with the playful remark, that he could find nothing "railing" or "violent" in them. The incident was told the writer by the doctor himself.

A paragraph is used to show that the want of analogy between the government of the Church and the State so far from being an objection is a virtue, inasmuch as separation of the Church and State is a cardinal American doctrine, and to make the governments analogous would be the surest way to enable politicians to bring about such a union. This is so original that it must be passed without challenge. The presence of Union Societies in the Church is now discussed, and while no attempt is made to show that they were in contravention of any known section of the Discipline, nevertheless, as their purpose was to secure Reform by propagation of new principles of church government, they are to be unsparingly condemned for this reason; that is, what has been the polity shall continue to be, with coercion as the instrument, for maintaining uniform opinion.

Reserving to the close of this analysis the most remarkable of its declarations, astonishment must be expressed that Dr. Emory should have allowed himself to be betrayed into a reproduction of Dr. Bond's "purse-string" argument as evincing the control the laity have over the ministry; but he was at his elbow in the composition of the Report. Thus it is put: "the envied pittance of those who now devote themselves wholly to the work, and are absolutely dependent for daily subsistence on the mere voluntary contributions of those whom they serve" (a check on their power indeed!). So far as the writer has knowledge, however, it is the last appearance of a suggestion that outrages Christian honor and disciplinary Law, right-minded brethren recoiling from it in very

shame, except Dr. Bond — he kept on repeating it to the close of his last editorial term of the *Christian Advocate*.

It may be that the sarcasm of a concluding paragraph of the Report was not observed by the writer: "We might add much more, but the time fails us. We entreat our brethren to be at peace. It is our earnest and sincere desire." Robert Emory, in the "Life of Bishop Emory," says, "The Report was adopted without, it is believed, a dissenting voice, and that, too, on a motion of a distinguished leader of 'Reform.'" Bangs says, "nearly unanimously." It is true that the motion to adopt was made by Asa Shinn. It was a surprise to all but his near friends. It was evident that the intense mental excitement had unhinged his mind. It was the second lapse of the kind. The *Advocate* in publishing the Report italicizes the fact, "*on motion of the Rev. Asa Shinn.*" "Luther," W. W. Hill, in the June number of the *Mutual Rights*, uncovers it as a "pitiful stratagem," and adds, "should it please God to restore Mr. Shinn to health, he will no doubt give an exhibit of this extraordinary report." More than a year afterward Shinn, having fully recovered his mental poise, masterfully dissected the Report and made an endeavor to explain his motion without fully admitting the true cause of it. It was so cogent as a review that Emory, as editor of the *Methodist Magazine*, essayed answer to it, January, 1830.

Following the Report was a series of resolutions, also from Dr. Emory's pen, which were "nearly unanimously adopted" also. Who the bold dissentients were is not now known. There were not a half-dozen pronounced Reformers in the Conference. By methods already exposed they were left at home. The resolutions recite: "This General Conference affectionately advises that no further proceedings may be had in any part of our work against any member or minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, on account of any past agency, or concern, in relation to the above named periodical, or in relation to any Union Society above mentioned." The pen was scarcely dry, however, that wrote it before other prosecutions and expulsions took place, as will be seen in regular order. The conditions of restoration are embodied in the resolutions: "If any persons expelled as aforesaid feel free to concede that publications have appeared in said *Mutual Rights*, the nature and character of which were unjustifiably inflammatory, and do not admit of vindication; and that in others for want of proper information, or unintentionally, have yet in fact misrepresented individuals and facts, and that they regret these

things. If it be voluntarily agreed also that the union societies above alluded to shall be abolished; and the periodical called the *Mutual Rights* be discontinued, at the close of the current volume, which shall be completed" (it had three months to run), "with due respect to the conciliatory and pacific design of this arrangement; then this general conference does hereby give authority for the restoration, to their ministry or membership respectively, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, of any person or persons so expelled aforesaid; provided this arrangement shall be mutually assented to by any individual or individuals so expelled, and also by the quarterly conference and the minister or preacher having the charge of any circuit or station within which any such expulsion may have taken place; and that no such minister or preacher shall be obliged, under this arrangement, to restore any such individual as leader of any class, or classes, unless in his own discretion he shall judge it proper to do so; and provided also that it be further mutually agreed that no other periodical publication, to be devoted to the same controversy, shall be established on either side; it being expressly understood, at the same time, that this, if agreed to, will be on the ground not of any assumption of right to require this, but of mutual consent for the restoration of peace; and that no individual will be hereafter precluded from issuing any publication, which he may judge proper on his own responsibility." Any who had "withdrawn" were also to have the same opportunity to return. "One of the Expelled" subsequently drastically exposed these provisions as utterly impossible of compliance by any self-respecting Christian man.¹

It is needless to underscore the numerous provisos for emphasis and understanding. The terms are far more stringent than those proposed by Dr. Bond, through Dr. John S. Reese and, subsequently, through Dr. Green, as already recited. Two things are conspicuous: the humiliation of any Reformer asking restoration, and the reserve of the Quarterly Conference and the preacher in charge to discriminate between them, so that the leaders should not be restored, with a special eye to Alexander McCaine, for whom there was to be never restoration, with what justice shall be presently shown. Dr. Brown says he never knew an expelled or withdrawn member to accept the humiliating proposals. It was true in the West, and, with one exception, so far as the writer knows, true in the East also. However, a year or two later Rev. Daniel E. Reese accepted the terms, and in his old age

¹ *Mutual Rights*, Vol. IV. pp. 338-344.

was restored as a local minister in the Church. But Dr. John S. Reese and three younger half-brothers, Levi R., Daniel E., and Eli Yeates graced the ministry of the Methodist Protestant Church to the day of their respective deaths.

It is now opportune for a critical analysis of McCaine's "History and Mystery"; Dr. Emory's "Defence of Our Fathers," in reply; McCaine's "Defence of the Truth," in rejoinder as amplified in his "Letters on the Organization and Early History of the Methodist Episcopal Church"; and such fugitive observations as were made by Dr. Emory in the *Methodist Magazine*, on McCaine's rejoinder to his "Defence." Dr. Stevens's chapter in his second volume of the "History of Methodism," with the title, "Did Wesley design, by his Ordination of Coke, to confer on him the Office of Bishop and to constitute the American Methodist Societies an Episcopal Church?" is added, and all the literature on this special subject is recited.¹ Much of the ground defensive of McCaine's principal allegations has been gone over in the previous volume, to which the reader is referred, and need not, therefore, be here repeated. Much that is immaterial to the present purpose is included in these several publications, and must be passed with the briefest comment. The endeavor shall be made to sift out the essential differences, and show them, true or false, between these disputants. The whole must be rigidly condensed for this work, as the entire literature named is the equivalent of about six hundred printed octavo pages. It shall be kept, however, accessible to any inquiring reader who may doubt any assertion, or question any conclusion, of the writer in this criticism.

The contentions of McCaine in the "History and Mystery"

¹ "Wesley and Episcopacy. A collection of evidence, showing that John Wesley neither originated nor approved of Episcopacy in American Methodism," by D. S. Stephens, D.D., Pittsburgh. Methodist Protestant Publishing House. 1892. 12mo. 90 pp. Paper.

Assertions to the contrary having just been made in the *New York Christian Advocate* and the *Methodist Review*, the *Methodist Recorder*, D. S. Stephens, editor, controverted them. Whereupon the *Central Christian Advocate* challenged the editor to produce the "documentary evidence" that would support his controversion. The pamphlet named furnishes the evidence with an argument cumulative so masterful and complete that the editor of one of the associate *Advocates*, with a frankness that does it honor, admits that the case is made, that the argument is a finality on the subject. The reader who wishes to see the argument as spread over these volumes, and much amplified in many of its phases with additional features and indisputable facts, presented as under a focus of concentrated light, is referred to this pamphlet. It contains some collateral evidence not found in these pages.

may be briefly recited—the evidence upon which he depended has been already luminously presented in the previous volume. Firstly, he contends that, historically considered, an Episcopacy is a ministry of three orders, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. Secondly, that Mr. Wesley in appointing Dr. Coke a Superintendent under a form of ordination did not intend to constitute him a Bishop, episcopally understood, and that of consequence, the Conference of 1784 could not have followed “the counsel of Mr. Wesley, who recommended the episcopal mode of government” for the American Methodist Societies. Thirdly, his conclusion that “the present form of government was surreptitiously introduced, and was imposed upon the societies under the sanction of Mr. Wesley’s name.” To refute these allegations Dr. Emory set himself in the “Defence of Our Fathers”; and he reviews it in the order of subjects presented by McCaine. The first seventy-four pages of it are occupied in a denial of McCaine’s positions and a review of the evidences on which he relied. What he establishes is, that there are other forms of Episcopacy besides that of a three-order one; that ecclesiastical history anent bishops and presbyters being the same and differing orders is a muddle of contradictions; and that precedents are not wanting in justification of such an Episcopacy as was formulated at the Christmas Conference of 1784; that McCaine is in error as to the absolute rejection of Whatcoat as Wesley’s appointee as a coadjutor Superintendent; that he is also in error as to the punitive act of Wesley in leaving Dr. Coke’s name off the minutes of the British Conference for 1786, for his participation with Asbury in the Address to President Washington, which was not made until 1789; and that various forms of McCaine’s evidence are susceptible of a different construction. Through these fifteen sections of the “Defence” Dr. Emory does not hesitate to resort to the subterfuge that McCaine is “mistaken,” that he does not “understand,” that another view must be the correct one, without giving proof of it. He shows that McCaine, in asserting that the secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1792–94, amounted to twenty thousand, is in error, inasmuch as he gives a false summing up of the numbers in membership in 1791, while a correct recapitulation shows that an error of thirteen thousand was made by the Conference secretary, which has come down through all the minutes since uncorrected. He severely arraigns McCaine for following this Conference error. He occupies four pages in an animadversion upon the Washington Address matter,

and shows that Drew, Dr. Coke's biographer, whom McCaine followed, ought to be excused, he thinks, for his misleading association of these events. And, in the final chapter, he notes McCaine's "inconsistency" in the Plan he offered for the reconstruction of the mother Church, and a few other points.

About a year after, McCaine rejoined in his "Defence of the Truth"; and he gives an introductory chapter explanatory of his method in conducting his first investigations, and defensive of his moral character, which had been assailed in the most unwarrantable manner after the publication of the "History and Mystery." He gives the charges and specifications, under which he was called to trial by Hanson and Dr. Bond, for alleging that McCaine had "purchased copper, knowing it to have been stolen," etc. The case was ignominiously abandoned at the office of the civil magistrate as "unsustained." He also appends a certificate of recommendation, which was given him on the eve of his trip South for his health, signed by all the Faculty of the University of Maryland, and of the Washington College, as well as the judges of the City Court, of the District Court, the United States District Attorney, John Purviance, Esq., William Wirt, Attorney-General of the United States, Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, and John M'Lean, Postmaster-General. The latter was also a personal friend of Rev. William C. Lipscomb, appointing him to office in 1828, and was in social intimacy with Reformers, though he never took public ground in their favor. Yet this is the man thus recommended who was hounded as an outlaw in that day by anti-reformers, and of whom Dr. Bond said in the bitterness of his hostility, "if he were to sweep the streets of Baltimore he could not find a man under the influence of worse motives than I am." The venerable Rev. Thomas McCormick related to the writer as one of the incidents of the time, that Dr. Bond in a social gathering, the conversation having turned upon meetings in heaven, said, "There is one man I do not expect to meet there." Query being made, he answered, "Alexander McCaine."

"Alas! for the rarity
Of Christian charity
Under the sun."

In this introductory chapter the lion is at bay: "My character has been assailed from so many quarters. So many base stratagems have been resorted to, with a view of injuring my reputation, weakening my influence, and destroying my temporal

interests, that men who know the value of character will not, it is hoped, think I have transgressed the bounds of Christian moderation, in exposing these proceedings. . . . I write in justification of my own character and in defence of the truth, and shall leave an impartial public to pronounce the verdict."

McCaine's "Defence of the Truth" now claims as impartial a judgment as the writer is capable of giving, and it is hoped the reader will discover that he is in no wise disposed to extenuate its faults or compound its extremes, thereby giving greater weight to the things he does establish beyond reasonable contradiction, for these are the material matters after all. The first three pages are occupied with questionings of Emory's motives in writing the "Defence of Our Fathers," prompted by his defamation of McCaine, in that with "great unkindness I pursue Mr. Asbury in his grave." It must be confessed that McCaine's method of sarcastic personalities very much impairs his several controversial pamphlets. He aptly, however, turns Emory's equally personal and more than sarcastic reference just cited, by reminding him that the same charge was preferred against Wesley, "his sacrilegious hand violates the ashes of the dead," and traduces the character of Mr. Whitefield, "with ungodly craft he claws up the ashes of the dead."¹ He extenuates his fault in these personalities: "If the reader will pardon the appearance of egotism, I will tell him that since God was pleased to convert my soul, I have made it a rule not to say anything of a man in his absence that I would not say in his presence; that from that period until this, my heart has been free from the fear of man; and that I am not now conscious of having flattered a man in all that time; this is not the smooth way to heaven, but as far as I understand the principles and precepts of the New Testament, it is the way that is prescribed; and this is the way I choose to walk in." In his vindication he then cites from half a dozen letters addressed him by Bishop Asbury, from 1799 to 1815, the last less than a year prior to his death. Citations may be made as follows: "My confidence in you as a man of piety, honor, and conscience is hereby signified; I love you, I know — your honest bluntness I approve." For several years he had designated McCaine as the person among all the preachers as best qualified by his learning and ability to write a commentary on the Scriptures, to be called "The Focus." Hence this reference in 1815: "The focus upon the great book. Have you begun? begin book after book, gen-

¹ Wesley's "Works," Vol. X. p. 484.

eral history and contents; it has been upon my mind for years; but who should I fix upon; it is Alexander McCaine." Finally, July 15, 1815, having heard that McCaine had lost his wife, he suggests that he would accommodate him in an appointment so that he might work upon "The Focus": "I have been reading these fifty years, and have never seen what meeteth my mind, I mean an universal Focus taken from all authors worthy of notice."

McCaine never entered upon this work, for obvious reasons. One was, he found a skeleton in the Methodist closet, ten years later. The door had been closed and sealed by Dr. Coke and his loved Bishop Asbury. It was no agreeable discovery, as he recites, but without fear or favor he opened the long-sealed door, and suffered the penalty of all such indiscretions to the close of his life. The "History and Mystery" did it, and so incontrovertibly that reverent but ignorant and prejudiced Methodists, without challenge of the facts, denounced it as a work "written with all the malignity of which the human heart is capable." To Emory's insinuation that McCaine would not have had the effrontery to assert what he does in his pamphlet before the decease of Coke and Asbury, he answers: "Had I before their death the light on the subject which I now have, I cannot conceive any reason I should have been deterred from giving publicity to my views; but I had not. For I never examined the subject until lately, always receiving as true the statements published in the book of Discipline and Minutes of the Conference." These several citations will be excused as exhibiting the true relation of McCaine to the persons involved and to the subject discussed.

Seven pages of McCaine's rejoinder are occupied with Emory's first section "On Episcopacy," in which McCaine shows that they are at cross-purposes; Emory for diversion of attention bringing into the question points utterly irrelevant as to McCaine's contention, and serving only to cloud the real issue, which McCaine again states, to wit: "If the societies now constituting the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the exercise of their right to frame their constitution, preferred at their organization the *episcopal government*, in what light are the bishops of that Church to be considered? As mere presbyters, or as an order of ministers distinct from and superior to presbyters? This is the inquiry under consideration, and Mr. Emory knows it." The latter was the view of Coke and Asbury, and the prevalent opinion for

years after 1784, and indeed largely down to 1844. McCaine demonstrates that Wesley could not and did not so understand it, and that in this he does not "misrepresent him." This is the whole question, and to-day at least in the Methodist Episcopal Church no one is left seriously to doubt it;¹ the Church has officially passed upon it. So that one must be scored for McCaine as to this issue, despite the burdensome citations and learned inconsequents running through the first seventy pages of Emory's "Defence."

Having censured McCaine severely for omitting the name of an authority quoted, by asking, "Was it not because he was ashamed of it?" McCaine gives the name of Rev. Dr. Kewley and draws a parallel between their respective careers under which Dr. Emory must have winced; but as the matter is purely personal it may be dismissed. "Sentiments of Bishop White" is the next of Emory's sections. They seem to have been introduced to show that Dr. Coke is not responsible for the failure of the overtures made by him to White in 1791 for reunion, and that the Methodist Episcopal Church had the right to "revive such a superintendency as was practised by the apostles and by Timothy and Titus." He dismisses with a wave of his hand the insuperable obstacle that they were, as Wesley taught, "*extraordinary* teachers, whom Christ employed to lay the foundation of his kingdom." It is nothing to the purpose as to any "misrepresentations" McCaine made, and to expose these Emory wrote ostensibly. It is controversial dust, and excusatory of the anomalous Episcopacy of Methodism. "Mr. Wesley's Opinion" is next. Emory cites an opinion given by Wesley on another issue entirely in 1756, twenty-eight years before the Christmas Conference and its doings. The opinion was: "I still believe the episcopal form of government to be scriptural and apostolical, I mean, well agreeing with the practice and writings of the apostles. But that it is *prescribed* in the scripture, I do not believe." McCaine exhibits that its introduction as germane to the discussion was disingenuous, inasmuch as he clearly makes appear from the original reference itself that what Mr. Wesley meant in view of his oft-repeated declaration that "bishops and presbyters are the same order" was that of a government by presbyters, and an ordination by presbyters, something very different from Coke and Asbury's episcopacy. A second score for McCaine. The next section is "Ordination." It is a dialectical display between

¹ Professor Miley of Drew Seminary is an exception — *rara avis*.

these masters of fence and parry, and has no pertinence unless Mr. Wesley's intent in the ordination of Dr. Coke could be understood; but as this vexed question has never been settled on either side, it may be passed as a draw between them. He returns a “Roland for his Oliver” by citing the fact that Emory makes quotations without giving either the author or the page, one in this section in point, and McCaine justly observes: “This is the more reprehensible in him, because he is so lavish of his abuse of me for having once failed to give the name of an author from whom I made extract.”

“Ordination of Coke” is the fifth section of Emory's “Defence,” and McCaine occupies twenty pages of his rejoinder in an exhaustive analysis and refutation, and exposes at the same time a most disingenuous assertion of Dr. Bangs's. This matter of the ordination of Coke by Wesley has been so largely treated in the former volume that reference of the reader must be made to it, though McCaine elaborates this section, and leaves Emory's contention that it must have been to a “third order” without a foot to stand on, from his clear demonstration that, whatever else the ordination was, or, as Wesley himself denominates it, “appointment” of Dr. Coke as a “general superintendent,” it could not have been to a “third order,” without convicting Wesley of an insane and utterly irreconcilable contradiction of all his previous averments. McCaine's implied inference is that if Coke was not “set apart” to a “third order,” then the Episcopacy of Methodism in America is in no sense like Episcopacy as understood and taught by Episcopalians, but a mere “general superintendency” by a Presbyter set apart by a ceremonial (that Wesley probably used that of the English Prayer Book with verbal changes to suit the exigency as a convenience in Coke's case, and retained it in the abridged book sent for the adoption of the American Methodists, is nothing to the purpose), with the object of investing the *office* with clerical dignity. Such an Episcopacy McCaine did not challenge; such an Episcopacy is now the only one allowed by the official interpretation of the Methodist Episcopal Church; such an Episcopacy obtains in the Canada “Methodist” Church, in the Free Methodist Church; in the Methodist Protestant Church, diocesan in its character as a superintendence by Annual Conference Presidents, and in this a verisimilitude of the true-blue Episcopacy of the Protestant Episcopal Church; in fine, such an Episcopacy as is not disputed in any of the so-called “Non-episcopal” Churches, as it would be a mere higgling over words.

Another score must be made for McCaine; let the doubtful reader peruse the whole text. The disingenuous averment of Dr. Bangs's will be best considered in a foot-note.¹

"Dr. Coke's Letter to Bishop White" is next in order. McCaine gives thirteen pages to it; the letter, its analysis, his correspondence with White anent it, and his demonstration that Coke did not know of Wesley's death, as Emory asserts, when he wrote and despatched the letter,—all this is elaborately dissected in the first volume, in which this writer differs a little from the conclusions of McCaine, and to which he must refer the reader to avoid repetition. Another score must be made for McCaine. "The Prayer Book of 1784" comes next. The whole gist of it is that Dr. Emory essays to find, as it was recommended for use to the American Methodists, that of necessity this was Wesley's "recommendation of an Episcopal form of government." It is McCaine's task through ten pages to show that it does not afford a scintilla of proof, except the word "recommend" in Wesley's letter as to the use of the Prayer Book in given times and places. And to cap his argument he furnishes letters from three of the preachers who were members of the Conference of 1784; namely, Dromgoole, Ware,

¹ Bangs and Emory were associated as Book Agents at this time, and the former, that he might assist his chum in overwhelming McCaine, asserted in the *Methodist Magazine* for September, 1827: "How changed is the author of the 'History and Mystery' from what he was when he heard, read, approved, and recommended for publication at the Methodist Book Room the 'Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy.' He need not attempt to deny this fact, because it stands attested by his own signature as secretary of the book committee." Emory in the Preface to his "Defence of Our Fathers" echoes pretty much the same averment against McCaine. To show the shifts, and the writer is in this case constrained to say, the dishonesty, of his doughty opponents, he gives in a foot-note to his "Defence of the Truth," p. 55, a full account of the whole matter by a transcript of the book committee's minutes at the time; and the evidence is that all McCaine had to do with Bangs's "Vindication" was as secretary to the committee to record their action as follows: "1st, On motion it was resolved that the committee approve of its publication. 2d, Resolved that the above work be recommended to the book agents for publication. Signed as an 'attest,' Alexander McCaine," who was now in the employ of the Book Concern in a subordinate position. The date is September 8, 1820. This is the work before noted as objected to by Soule, who was then Book Agent, but which passed approval after reconstruction by Bangs, the ground of Soule's protest being that it was not fully in accord with his own cast-iron views of an Episcopacy. It was subsequently published and \$100 voted the author out of the profits of the Concern, said profits being sacredly devoted by its charter to the "superannuated and worn out-preachers, their widows and orphans." My pen has indited the offenders as dishonest, but the sober thought comes, as it never came to the maligners and traducers of these early Reformers, that may be it was not moral turpitude, but human infirmity and bitter prejudice.

and Forrest, who agree that it was not mentioned by Coke or Asbury as "recommending any form of government."

"The Prayer Book of 1786." In this McCaine is at his best and Emory at his worst; not that the first is the superior dialectician, but because McCaine so clearly has the case. The ground has already been traversed in the first volume, and no more than a condensed statement can here be made. McCaine reviews it under three heads. First, as to Dr. Coke's agency in the publication of this prayer book. The facts as to the edition of 1784, sent over "in sheets," as Emory says, have already been recited, so that the gist of the contention is in the query: second, why did Dr. Coke reprint it so soon after in England and at the press of "Frys and Couchman," and not on Wesley's press? The answer made in the first volume is the only one that can be made that will quadrate with all the facts; namely, the edition sent by Wesley, Coke had bound up with the Minutes of the Conference of 1784, writing the brief historical preface to the Discipline himself, with Asbury's sanction, in which not a syllable occurs intimating that the Church was organized episcopally by Wesley's "counsel" as "recommendation," and was intended for Wesley's perusal; and in it the word "Bishop" does not occur as synonymous with "Superintendent," as is made to appear in the edition of 1795, printed by Dickens. While there is no direct evidence, as the original minutes in manuscript from 1784 to 1794 are not in existence, those from which the edition of 1795 were printed probably going into the waste-basket of the printing-office, the general receptacle of "copy" and "proofs," yet it is amenable to reason that Dr. Coke, who had been cautioned by Wesley "in the most solemn manner" not to assume the title of Bishop in America, as Moore asserts, would not have presumed to so print the minutes of 1784 making the terms interchangeable, without having administered to him then and there by anticipation the stinging rebuke Wesley did administer in his letter to Asbury, when he at last was compelled to see that in this his instructions had been wantonly violated. Emory makes nine queries in an attempt to explain this matter, and resorts to a common subterfuge with him in knotty cases, in that he ushers them in with a "probable" or a "presumable;" two with an "if;" only one is set down as "certain," and that is not in dispute; that Wesley required a minute account from Coke of the American proceedings, a point covered in the first volume. Indeed, Emory utterly fails to explain, and offers but a single

suggestion of any weight; to wit, that the firm of Frys and Couchman was sometimes employed by Wesley to do printing, and instances the second volume of the *Arminian Magazine*. The plant of this firm and Wesley's was in the same building, and this convenience was no doubt under a pressure of work availed of at times; but the burden of evidence is that Wesley cannot be connected as assenting to this second edition of the prayer book for America, as he had undoubtedly sent over with Dr. Coke enough to supply the demand for a much longer period than six months; that Coke issued the second at his own expense, and sundry other facts, McCaine marshals; that the reason for this publication is found in the fact that it represents Wesley as approving by implication all that was done in 1784 as intended for the American market, and so carrying out the illusion that Coke and Asbury had followed Wesley's instructions in everything, an opinion, as found, which prevailed among the preachers until these discoveries of McCaine. The third point made by Emory is a challenge: "Where is the evidence that he [Wesley] ever disavowed them" (that is, the doings of the Christmas Conference)? McCaine answers: "To the most superficial reader it is plain that it is not by the *absence* of evidence of the disavowal of the 'proceedings of Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and the Conference of 1784' that Mr. Wesley's approbation of those proceedings, and his recognition of the title 'Methodist Episcopal Church,' are to be proved. As well might A say that his title to an estate was valid, because B could not produce a title to the same estate." The burden is not properly upon McCaine, but upon those, including Dr. Emory, who all along affirmed that he did so approve.

Under the succeeding section McCaine comments upon the unaccountable misrepresentation Emory makes; to wit, he had alleged that Coke's name was left off the British minutes of 1785, whereas his assertion was that it was 1786, and the fact is as he states: an error more gross than the one into which McCaine had fallen as to the statistical blunder of the minutes of 1791 of thirteen thousand members; and in his zeal to show that friendly relations existed between Coke and Wesley to the latter's death, he tells his readers that John Wesley stationed Coke with Charles Wesley in London in 1790, whereas Charles had died in 1788. When his attention was called to this blunder by Hon. P. B. Hopper, he squirmed under it, claiming that he could not account for it, as he had "the minutes of the British Conference open before me." He wishes the error to be condoned in him, but in

McCaine he is unwilling to condone an error into which the printed Minutes directly led him.¹ Under "Mr. Asbury" the discussion of his connection with the organization of the Church in 1784 is pursued exhaustively, but as all this has been weighed and analyzed in the former volume, no more need be said of it. "Testimonies of English Methodists" follows, but McCaine meets it with overwhelming counter testimony, the principal averments being amply sustained, that "there exists no document in which the words Methodist Episcopal Church were ever written by Mr. Wesley"; and that the British Conference never recognized the title until after the fraternal visit of Dr. Emory in 1820. Acknowledging his visit to the General Conference of 1824, they recognize the Church title for the first time; forty years after it was assumed by the Christmas Conference. Reflecting, as they must have done, Wesley's views, nothing more would be necessary to reasonable minds as irrefragable proof that he, and the British Conference after him, purposely repudiated the official doings of 1784 as connecting Wesley with them, either as giving "counsel" or "recommending" what was done. In all these points McCaine must be allowed scores against his opponent.

"Section XI., Dr. Coke," pursues the question of the Address of the bishops to Washington, heretofore fully considered. In this Emory has the advantage, inasmuch as McCaine allowed himself to be misled by the chronological disorder of Drew's "Life of Coke," the average reader inevitably associating the Address with 1785, instead of 1789, the true time. The writer has confessed, however, that McCaine, as an educated man, a school-teacher, and intimately acquainted with the history of the United States, ought to have known better, and the score must

¹ This apparently trivial matter assumes importance when the fact is stated that, originating in the printed Minutes of 1795, by Dickins, who overlooked as proof-reader this error of thirteen thousand in 1791, it was perpetuated in the Minutes printed in 1813, and carried forward into those printed in 1840, and so stands to this day. And as to Emory's blunder anent Coke and Charles Wesley stationed together in London in 1790, Emory in the *Methodist Magazine* was compelled to acknowledge it, with a promise that at some future time he would revise his whole pamphlet (how much it needed it has been shown); he did not live to do so. Curious to know whether any subsequent book committee had done it in the several editions of the "Defence of Our Fathers" which were issued, the writer recently purchased a copy of the edition issued under "Hunt and Eaton," only to find that this error is perpetuated, and no revision ever made of the pamphlet, so that the young preachers on trial of the Methodist Episcopal Church were taught it as a part of the "course of study," for some forty years, or down to about 1870, when it was dropped out, a modern race of Methodist preachers not appreciating the work of Emory so extravagantly lauded in his own day.

be given to Emory. McCaine wrestles with it, but appears to have been so befogged by it that no satisfactory solution is reached by him. A few facts are patent: Coke's name is found omitted from the British minutes in 1786 and in 1790. In the last case all parties admit that it was a punitive act of the Conference for British disloyalty in joining with Asbury in the Address to Washington of 1789. In 1786, finding his name also omitted, McCaine reached the conclusion that it was also punitive for the part he took in organizing the American Church, exceeding his authority, and disregarding the instructions Wesley gave him in the "little sketch" of government he had intrusted to him. It must also be admitted that leaving the name off the official minutes was by these early Methodist preachers accounted a punitive act; possibly it had exceptions, but none has been produced. So that the question crystallizes: Why was it omitted in 1786? Either McCaine's construction must be admitted, or the limping explanation of Emory must be accepted as satisfactory; what was it? That while his name does not occur in the official minutes for 1786, yet Wesley in the *Arminian Magazine* for that year mentions him as set down for "America," he having been appointed by Wesley to act as missionary to Nova Scotia, and "was not expected to return until the next year." It is needful only to repeat what was said when the subject was treated in the first volume, "the explanation does not explain." The case is a desperate one for Emory; he resorts to the subterfuge in order to make exceptions as punitive acts, the omission of Wesley's name by the American Conference in 1787, in the very face of the fact that this was manifestly punitive; the omissions of Asbury's name in 1778, etc., for "prudential reasons;" but it is not at all certain that this instance was not punitive as well, for his former high-handed measures, as the Conference was now controlled by the Gatch-Dickins-O'Kelly regulars on a Presbyterian basis.

Emory's effort to palliate the censure of the British Conference of Coke in 1790, by an ingenious but disingenuous piece of mosaic work of extracts from Drew, making but a printed page, having the appearance of a closely connected citation, while in fact made up of fragments woven together out of forty-three pages of Drew, though at the close of it Emory says: "Life of Coke," pp. 102-145, was also exposed, but the point made by McCaine is immaterial, and the argument may be considered a draw.

Under "Methodist Episcopacy" McCaine notes that there is nothing to observe not already considered except the remarkable dictum of Emory, "The Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church have no control whatever over the decisions of either a general or an annual conference," and floors him by citing his own contrary opinion in the famous address just before the Conference of 1820, "that a brother [Soule] just elected to the Episcopal office, and not yet ordained . . . should thus by a strong hand arrest the operation of resolutions . . . passed after long and solemn debate . . . concurred in by more than two-thirds of the general conference, and two-thirds of the episcopacy itself," etc. Under the title "Bishop" he notices Emory's quibble that the American Conference did not title Wesley as a "bishop," but as exercising the "episcopal office," already exposed in the first volume. Another score for McCaine. Three sections that follow before the recapitulation are so little to the purpose, and have been incidentally considered in the preceding ones, as well as in the first volume, that McCaine's Recapitulation may now be brought forward.

In this masterful Recapitulation, first of the "Defence of the Truth," he sums up twenty-four facts as established by it, and again challenges the proof that he had "misrepresented" any of them. He then sums up the whole argument in demonstration of his original allegation, that "Methodist Episcopacy was surreptitiously" introduced in 1784. In other places he denominates it a "fraud" and as "foisted upon the Church"; and if there can be extenuation of such bald, brusque designations, it is in Asbury's estimate of the man and his "honest bluntness." Yet to the Methodists of that day and every day since such appellations were and are extremely offensive, and to the large majority who then read and now read nothing but Bond and Emory, accounts for the fact that the deep prejudice then engendered has not yet died out of the Methodist Episcopal Church after seventy years against the leaders of Reform in 1827-30; against the "radicals" and Methodist Protestants of all after years. McCaine gives thirty-seven reasons for his belief, which have never been successfully refuted.¹ A number of them are not material to his argument,

¹ Rev. Dr. Collins Denny, of the M. E. Church, South, called my attention to an apparent confusion of McCaine as to Wesley's name being left off the Minutes from 1785 to 1789, and the statements of the Discipline for the same period. Wesley's name does occur in the Discipline in connection with the resolution of 1784 to obey him in all matters pertaining to authority. That resolution was expunged in 1787, and Wesley's name went out with it as already found. It was

though all of them are germane. To restate them would not only occupy much space, but repeat what has been traversed in this work and which it is assumed the reader has not forgotten. The material points may be summarized as follows: Mr. Wesley "set apart" Dr. Coke to be a "general superintendent" coördinate in authority with Asbury in the government of the American societies. He was induced to do this by the clamor for the ordinances in America, and the declaration that these societies "wished to continue under his care," as he recites himself in the preamble to Dr. Coke's "letter of appointment." He admits that the Revolutionary War had absolved them from their British allegiance and to the Established Church of England, leaving them, in his own words, "at full liberty to follow the Scriptures and the primitive Church." Dr. Phoebus, a member of the Christmas Conference, confirms this: "Mr. Wesley recommended to us the New Testament for our pattern." He farther says, "I have drawn up a little sketch" for the government of the societies, with Coke and Asbury as his subordinates, and this little sketch is the same in substance as the "plan of Church government" "Henry Moore" certifies he had prepared for this purpose.¹ He

restored in 1789, continued in 1790, and would probably have been continued longer if his decease in 1791 had not made it unnecessary for reasons already given. How much this affects McCaine's argument in this instance the critical reader can determine. Dr. Denny thinks it breaks down this part of McCaine's averments.

¹ Rev. T. A. Kerley, in his work, 1898, "Conference Rights," before referred to in a foot-note, says of this matter, "I have drawn up a little sketch," as found in Wesley's letter to the American Methodists in 1784, "that *it was the letter itself*," overlooking the fact that in this case Wesley, as a master of intelligent English, would have said, "I have drawn up *this* little sketch." It is not more puerile, however, than Dr. Emory's explanation.

In addition to this answer, held to be conclusive as to the averment that the "little sketch" and the Circular Letter in which the declaration as to it is found, are not the same and identical, the writer deems it proper to traverse it still farther. In a fraternal conversation with Rev. Dr. Collins Denny at my own residence in May, 1898, the same position was firmly taken by him as to the identity of the "Sketch" and the Circular, buttressed by the averment that "the burden of proof" was with those who denied it; that nothing could shake the position logically but the production by them of the "little sketch" itself. The writer answered that in his view the precise converse was the true position logically, and that it was for those who claimed the identity of the "sketch" with the "Circular" to prove it. And the grounds of this averment are in part: first, the Circular is an authentic document, and in the body of it averment is made by its author of the preparation of another document, "I have drawn up a little sketch." Second, as supported by Henry Moore, already cited in the first volume, where the question is also considered that "Mr. Wesley" "informed Dr. Coke of his design of *drawing up a plan of church government*, and of establishing an ordination for his American societies. But cautious of entering on so new a plan, he after-

had peremptorily and solemnly forbidden Dr. Coke to take the title of Bishop in the plan of government, thereby indicating not only that he had no idea that by his "setting apart" and "appointing" (he nowhere uses the term "ordain" in the connection) as a Superintendent that he was creating a third-order officer, or gave authority to Coke to constitute Asbury such an officer. He also armed Coke with a letter of authority, called his ordination certificate, and a letter to the societies for their "use" and to be "published" to this end. Coke, on his arrival in America, probably showed the "little sketch" of government to Dickinson, the first American preacher he met, who declared that it was authoritative and needed only to be promulgated and obeyed. After conference with Asbury at a private house at the Barratt chapel meeting, Asbury dissented to the plan of the "little sketch," and no doubt gave Coke some sound enough reasons for it, as the

ward suspended the execution of his purpose and weighed the whole for upward of a year." The italics are by the writer. See Moore's "Life of Wesley," American edition, 1825, pp. 272, 273. On the same page, 273, he quotes the Circular Letter, but gives no hint that it was "the plan of church government," prepared in 1783, or a year before the Circular letter. Third, the interpretation by which the "sketch" and the Circular are declared one is forced, and will not bear the light of common-sense English, such as Wesley or Coke would have used in such a case, as set forth in the first paragraph of this note in answer to Dr. Kerley. Fourth, the view is new with Drs. Denny and Kerley, no other Methodist annalist for a hundred years attempting so to explain it. Fifth, the Circular letter is not a "plan of church government . . . for his American societies," intended for the guidance of his "Assistants," Coke and Asbury, but a Letter to the Societies which he ordered printed and circulated among them. Sixth, all the collateral facts are against the logical probability that the "sketch" and the Circular are one and the same. Seventh, recent investigation has brought to light the fact that among the Notes to the Discipline of 1796, quoting from the tenth edition, 1798, page 49, top paragraph, the following statement is made: "When Mr. Wesley drew up a plan of government for our church in America, he desired that no more elders should be ordained in the first instance than were absolutely necessary, and that the work on the continent should be divided between them in respect to the duties of their office. The general conference accordingly elected twelve elders for the above purpose," etc.* The italics are by the writer, to point out the similarity of the language with Moore's account and Wesley's account in the Circular letter: "I have drawn up a little sketch," "drawing up a plan," "drew up a plan," etc. Evidently this reference in the notes, as cited, reveals one fact as to the "plan of government" contained in "a little sketch," as given from memory by Coke and Asbury, and as it is not found in the Circular Letter, it is proof conclusive that the "sketch" and the "Circular" are not one and the same. Eighth, and finally, it is antecedently a moral certainty that Wesley would have sent written directions, a true "plan of government," for the direction and control of his assistants, Coke and Asbury, as he sent the "Circular Letter" specifically for the information and direction of the Societies.

* Lee, in his "History," pp. 94, 95, says: "At this conference there were thirteen preachers elected to the Elder's office," and he gives their names. And so does Coke in his Journal. See Dr. Tigert's limited edition, pp. 13, 14.

latter confesses that he was compelled to concur in them, where-upon a brief council with ten of the nearest preachers was held, who were not told the contents of the "sketch," but were simply comforted with the assurance that Wesley had yielded at last to their solicitations as to the matter of the ordinances, and Asbury proposed a general conference immediately of all the preachers with the purpose of forming a Church.¹ Wesley never authorized nor dreamed of such a Conference to pass upon what he had done, as it did not for a moment enter into his plan to establish a Church of Methodists in America. Prior to the assembling of the Christmas Conference Coke and Asbury, at Perry Hall, concocted a Church organization, and opened their plan to the Conference after it had assembled. It was to be an American Methodist Episcopal Church, with three orders of ministers, under exclusive ministerial rule; and that it might have the semblance of Wesley's approval, the "little sketch" was suppressed, and finally destroyed, as it has never seen the light; Coke's letter of appointment was not made known to the Conference because of its clear implications that he could not have given "counsel" or "recommended" what was being done, but intended, as carrying out their wishes, to "continue under his care," that they should be an autonomy, but, like that of the English societies, absolutely under his control while he lived. The Letter to the Societies was suppressed in a whole paragraph of it relative to the use of the abridged Prayer Book he had sent over, because it also plainly implicated his own absolute control. Not willing to break utterly with Wesley, and fearing to return and render an account to him of these misdoings as to his purpose, Coke secured the consent of Asbury that they should be denominated "superintendents," not daring in this to openly disobey his instructions, which he undoubtedly made known to Asbury, as to the title of Bishop; and also to incorporate a resolution that during Wesley's life they would in matters of church government be controlled by him. All these allegations have already been incontestably proven in this work. Further, it is in proof that the historical sketch to the

¹ Six out of the ten of these neighborhood preachers dissented to Asbury's plan for an Episcopal government, but they agreed to a call for a General Conference. See the facts set forth in a series of articles, "Methodist Chronology," by "W. C. P.," (W. C. Pool) in second volume of *Methodist Protestant*, No. 34, for August 24, 1832, on page 268 of bound volume. The evidence is important as showing that the Episcopacy of Asbury and Coke was not only without Wesley's knowledge and consent at the time, but it was unacceptable to those preachers who were first consulted, at least a full moiety of them.

first Discipline makes no mention of its being formulated by Wesley's counsel and recommendation of an Episcopal Church, for the reason that such a bald misstatement would have been detected by Wesley when it came under his eye. The Minutes and Discipline, as published by Dickins in 1795, contain a very different historical statement as to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but this was four years after Wesley's decease. In fine, these several historical accounts were doctored by Coke and Asbury to suit the exigencies and make it appear to future generations that the Christmas Conference and its doings had Wesley's approval. The certificate of ordination of Coke was not exhibited until Drew, Coke's biographer, exhumed it from his posthumous papers; Coke, Asbury, and Moore suppressed their knowledge of Wesley's solemn charge to the first not to take the title of Bishop, the first two during their lives, and the last for forty years after it occurred. Add these allegations as matters of fact to those before given, and the reader has a catenation of proofs on which McCaine based his blunt declaration that the system of government inaugurated in 1784 was "surreptitiously" introduced by the prime actors in it.

The writer will put it again mildly, as a conclusion to which every impartial reader must come, that the proceedings were unjustifiable and unwarrantable in the premises. They are sufficiently grave to demand that the historical preface to the book of Discipline, if not entirely expunged in the interests of the truth of history, as in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, shall be so modified as to relieve Mr. Wesley of the imputation that he was the author of the church polity now known as Methodist Episcopacy.¹ The reader who would see the case categorically

¹ See Rev. Dr. Warren's article in *Methodist Magazine* for January-February, 1892, entitled "The Portico to Our Book of Discipline." It treats of the very section of the M. E. Discipline bearing upon this subject, and which he declares "misleads the reader," and proposed a substitute section which relieved Wesley of the unverifiable statement that he originated the Episcopal system in American Methodism. The ensuing General Conference, however, the matter not having been brought forward, did nothing toward correcting this canonized fable. It will yet however be done. Still it stands in the nervous words of Dr. Stephens: "as a matter of fact that this misleading declaration, false to fact and false to history, was embalmed in the place of honor in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. There it stands to-day, a fable apotheosized, a monumental testimony to the weakness of great minds, the canonization of error intended to mislead, the evidence of the unscrupulous ambition of the first American Bishops, and of the over-credulity of the early Methodist preachers."

stated is referred to McCaine's thirty-seven reasons at the conclusion of his "Defence of the Truth." Could Asbury have been content to wait, and meantime accept Wesley's plan for the seven years that intervened to his death, this scandal would have been anticipated; but he was impatient of Wesley's supervision, and made the coming of Coke the occasion to carry out the matured purpose of years,—his Episcopal headship for the American Methodists. That the same result would probably have ensued had he deferred action until after Wesley's decease may be admitted; the same force of personal magnetism and dominating will that carried the preachers with him under the exceptional circumstances named, would have carried in 1792, and forestalled the revolt and secession of O'Kelly. That there were not a few extenuations of Coke and Asbury's course may be admitted, and, in view of human infirmities, of ambition and errors of judgment, there is no need that moral turpitude should be imputed.

The reader is now prepared to consider, maugre the glamour of rhetoric and the confidence of unqualified asseveration, the case stated by Dr. Stevens, the third party to this controversy. His argument, though but an imperfect rehash of the exploded positions reviewed in these pages, has come down to this day; with Methodist Episcopalians entirely satisfactory. True, he directs his attack more against the Protestant Episcopal churchmen, who ridicule the pretensions of Episcopal Methodists, and not against the impregnable positions of McCaine. Indeed, it is doubtful if Stevens ever read McCaine, or a man of his average fairness would have been deterred from such overconfident dicta. Traversing it carefully, as the writer has just done, and he invites the reader to do the same (see "History of Methodism," Vol. II. ch. vii.), nothing is found new to the question not already covered. There is, however, one fatal admission which invalidates the whole: "If Wesley's strong repugnance to the mere name of bishop had been expressed before its adoption by the American Church, it would probably not have been adopted." The sufficient answer is, as shown, that three men possessed the fact at the time, and they suppressed it: Henry Moore, Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury. The logical inevitable is, that men who could and did suppress this one fact in the service of a common cause inimical to Wesley's intentions, could and did suppress all the other facts which render invalid Dr. Stevens's argument and that of every historian who has attempted to vindicate the

real authors of Methodist Episcopacy. He may be dismissed by repeating, as applicable to himself and those who think with him, his own summary disposal: "The man who gainsays such evidence must be given up as incorrigible. There can be no reasoning with him."

CHAPTER XI

Surcease of expulsions in Baltimore after Dr. Bond's return from the General Conference for strategic reasons, but extensively renewed elsewhere—Dr. Sellers's defection, and the effect of the action of the General Conference on Reformers of several grades—Dr. Buckley on "rights"; Alexander McCaine's settler for him and others; Buckley on "withdrawal" of the Reformers analyzed—Organization of Reformers in Baltimore, and purchase of St. John's church; the first realty,—First "Methodist" church of Pittsburgh; the whole history of the contention as never before presented—Reform in Cincinnati as early as 1822; Union Society of 1825; expulsions and Rev. Truman Bishop's untimely death; Asa Shiin formally withdraws from the old Church—Proceedings against Reformers in North Carolina; leaders in the movement on both sides—Lynchburg, Va., expulsions and organization of Reformers—Tennessee expulsions and organization of Reformers—The *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer*, with Dorsey, editor.

At the close of the General Conference of 1828, Dr. Bond returned to Baltimore feathered and flushed with victory over his quondam friends of Reform. Having achieved his object, the pacific strategy was once more resorted to, as no man knew better than he the intrinsic worth to Methodism and the high personal character of the men and women whose cause he had forsaken, and whom he well understood could not be browbeaten into submission. For the time the prosecutions ceased in Maryland. The position of the Church as defined by the action of the General Conference in its Report upon the Memorial of the Reformers could not be misunderstood, and the effect was as might be expected: it utterly discouraged the large latent element in the Church who favored Reform, but with bated breath awaited the turning of the scale. These, as well as many of stronger convictions, who could not face the cost of heroic struggle for a principle with all the odds against them, subsided and put away whatever evidence they had shown of sympathy with the movement.¹ Fifty years after, Bishop M'Tyeire, whose knowledge of

¹ A notable example was the case of Dr. Sellers, brother-in-law to Dr. John Emory. During the Reform years preceding 1828, no man in Maryland had more pronounced opinions than he, derived, it may be, from Dr. Emory, not, he says, as to the elective eldership, but lay rights. The tergiversation of Emory, how-

the subject was derived from partisan sources, and speaking from a point of view which limited his retrospection, yet more fairly presented than by the earlier historians of Methodism, says: "But now when the radical tendencies of these things were seen, the conservatives closed ranks and stood firm. . . . Thoughtful men must not be counted on to join in a theoretical and destructive reform because every pin and screw in the tabernacle that has sheltered them is not exactly to their notion."¹ In this he speaks as one of the "divinely authorized expounders" who alone have rights in the Methodist Church. Yes, the "conservatives closed ranks,"—having finally lost their own contention, being overweighted by the Episcopal power, the ministerial right to elect presiding elders,—they lost interest, and, indeed, were surprised, not a few of them, when the Church itself, as represented by its membership, was awakened to a consciousness that they also must, in the nature of the case and the New Testament precedents of church polity, have rights which they humbly petitioned might be restored to them. Yes, against these rights they closed ranks. Rights! they were nothing but the "pins and screws of the tabernacle that had sheltered them," and all this ado because it is not "exactly to their notion." Yes, it was, and still is, largely the cavalier treatment of a great fundamental principle of Representation.

Have the prevailing sentiments of a later day than M'Tyeire's changed any? Not a jot or tittle. There is something in the fumes of vested power that keeps the brains of otherwise clear-headed men fuddled when they talk or write on this subject in the Methodist Episcopal Church. As late as September, 1890, Dr.

ever, naturally affected him, so that on his removal to Pittsburgh in 1827 his active participation in Reform grew weaker, and after the action of the General Conference of 1828, he ceased to coöperate altogether. But there is no evidence that he changed his opinions. Even in the letter he wrote Robert Emory for the biography of his father, the Bishop, at the solicitation of Robert in 1839, he utters no word that can be construed into a change of sentiment on his part, but he distinctly states that lay-representation was the objective of his efforts at the time. Why, then, did he give over advocating the principle? For the same, and even stronger reasons, as he was allied to Emory by marriage, that induced hundreds of others to give over public coöperation. He found his family and social ties, his business interests, as a physician, and perhaps more than all, the seeming hopelessness of the struggle, under the combination against it, for some years to come, if ever. He bent to the storm, as did hundreds of others when called upon to face the tremendous odds against them, so that no estimate of the extent of Reform sentiments can be drawn from the comparative few who, "sink or swim, survive or perish," openly identified themselves with the Associated Reformers.

¹ "History of Methodism," p. 573.

Buckley, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, everywhere acknowledged as a representative man of his Church, thus discourses on the question: "The whole system of Methodism, like every other church government, is a compromise of natural rights for coöperation. Church government does *not* derive its *just* powers primarily from the consent of the governed, but from the Word and Providence of God. It can never consistently work direct injustice and oppression; but can and does require the surrender of all abstract 'rights,' the surrender of which is necessary to its existence, authority, and greatest efficiency. It derives its *working* power from the 'consent of the governed,' for if they will not consent they have power to 'go out from it.'" In the same connection, September 11, he also makes the bald declaration, "The Reformers of 1820 were allowed to withdraw, and formed a new sect." Dr. Bond was given credit, earlier in this volume, for having created all the arguments which have since become stock against the Reformers of 1820, and every year since. In the first of the citations made from Dr. Buckley he simply rehearses Dr. Bond, though it may be unconsciously. At the time this writer in the *Methodist Protestant* summarily disposed of the medley of misstatements and fallacies as follows: "Methodist Episcopacy was not a 'compromise of natural rights,' but a well-defined usurpation of them. See the facts of history anent it. The Word shows conclusively that the governed gave their consent and the just powers were derived from them. See the Acts of the Apostles. The Methodist Episcopal brethren lay great stress, when the anomalies of their government are under review, on the 'Providence of God' as responsible for them. That is to say, facetiously, they were not created by good men who loved the preëminence, but, like Topsey in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' they 'just grewed.' Their system has worked dire injustice and oppression; witness the private history of many an itinerant, and the whole history of the Reform movement. The argument of last resort of the anti-reformers of 1820-30 was, if you don't like it, leave. So says Dr. Buckley."

But that this matter of rights may be finally disposed of, let Alexander McCaine take Dr. Buckley in hand, as he did Drs. Emory and Bond, in his analysis of the Report of 1828. "If the preachers had this right 'it must be either a natural or acquired right. If a natural right, then being founded in nature it must be common to men as men.' According to this reasoning, if the preachers, 'as men,' had a 'natural right' to choose

for themselves what form of government they pleased, the members, 'as men,' had a 'natural right' to choose a form of government for themselves likewise. Nay, the members had as good a right to choose a government for the preachers as the preachers had to form one for the members. 'If it be alleged to be an acquired right, then it must have been acquired either in consequence of becoming Christians, or of becoming Methodists. If the former, it devolves on those Methodist preachers, or their advocates, who may assert that the preachers in 1784 had a right to choose the episcopal form of government for the societies to 'prove that this right is conferred by the Holy Scriptures; and it is also binding on them to prove that the Scriptures impose on' the members, 'the corresponding obligation to grant the claim.' The Holy Scriptures gave no authority to Methodist preachers, to adopt the episcopal form of government for the Methodist societies when the church was organized; of course no right can be proved from them. Or if the latter be alleged, viz., that it has been acquired in consequence of becoming Methodists, then it must have been either by some conventional compact or by some obligatory principle, in the economy of Methodism, to which as *then organized* the claimants voluntarily attached themselves. That the preachers derived a right to adopt the episcopal form of government from any 'conventional compact' no one will affirm; for no such 'compact' was ever made. Indeed, the societies were not even consulted, much less a 'conventional compact' entered into. That the preachers did not derive a right from any 'obligatory principle in the economy of Methodism' is equally evident. For it was the peculiar glory of Methodism, 'as then organized,' to receive into its societies 'all who desired to flee from the wrath to come.' If any were expelled from the fellowship of the Methodists, they were not thereby excommunicated from their own churches. Expulsion from the one did not imply expulsion from the other. These were the 'principles of Methodism as then organized,' and from these principles the travelling preachers derived no right to organize a church and adopt the episcopal form of government for the societies without their consent." This is an elaborate disposition of the whole matter of rights, and a demonstration offered, that antecedently nothing can be claimed for the preachers which cannot by analogical reasoning be claimed for the membership.

As to Dr. Buckley's second declaration, "The Reformers of 1820 were allowed to withdraw, and formed a new sect," except

the last sentence, it is neither true in whole nor in part. At the time of its publication, before the writer could put his editorial pen into it, Dr. J. J. Murray of Maryland, not given to rash and unbrotherly treatment of our Old Side preachers, felt impelled to its review, and it was published in lieu of an editorial answer. It is courteous, though searching, and, though marked copies were sent in addition to the regular exchanges of the papers, and request made in various subsequent numbers for retraction of the statement, no notice was ever taken of it. Now, while it is true that the next best thing for the offender, when detected in a misstatement, to a frank and honorable correction of it, is silence on his part, and as this was not the first offence, Dr. Buckley may credit his discourtesy with this perpetuation of his fault to posterity. Rare, indeed, have been the instances in which the press of our sister Church has corrected unhistorical averments as to the controversy of 1820-30. In most cases they are made through dense ignorance of the facts, while in others even charity will not allow an excuse. As to the misstatement itself, look at the naked facts. "The Reformers of 1820 were allowed to withdraw." Has it not been shown that instead they were expelled; and has it not been shown that those who withdrew did so without being "allowed" to do it? The only sense in which this could be true is that those so withdrawing were furnished, at their request, with certificates of membership or testimonials of good standing. It has been, and shall be more fully, proven, that in no known instance was this ever granted, though almost always requested. If these requests had been complied with, then with some shadow of truth it might be said "they were allowed to withdraw." But as the case stands, this averment of a high official of the Methodist Episcopal Church is neither true in whole nor in part. The only thing it evidences is, as nervously expressed by a recent writer, "the vitality of a historic lie."¹

The reverse effect of the action of the General Conference was also exhibited. "For the accommodation of themselves, their families, and such of their fellow-citizens as are desirous of worshipping God with them, the brethren have purchased St. John's church, in Liberty Street, a handsome and commodious house, in which they have public worship three times each Sabbath, and the Christian ordinances duly administered. . . . The attending congregation is large and respectable. The members of both Union Societies regularly attend and worship with their

¹ Exceptions to the rule noted later as discovered by the writer.

expelled brethren." The pulpit was filled by the expelled ministers and preachers, as well as by Snethen, Dorsey, Pool, and M. M. Henkle, when the last was in the city. This was undoubtedly the first piece of church realty held by the Associated Reformers. The "Methodist Church in the City of Pittsburgh," without the "Episcopal," was incorporated by the legislature of Pennsylvania, March 5, 1828, a case to be considered presently. The facts stated as to the purchase of St. John's are published in the *Mutual Rights* for May, 1828. How long it was before that date the writer has not been able to ascertain, but as the property was then, in fact and law, held by the Reformers, its priority can scarcely be challenged. They were regularly organized as a society of "The Associated Methodist Reformers" under the conventional agreement of November, 1827. At the June, 1828, meeting of the Society fifty-two were received, nearly all of them from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and most of them of long standing. Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey, William C. Pool, and William Bawden were received as members and ministers of the association. Daniel Gildea, whose license to exhort had been withheld by the Quarterly Conference on account of being a member of the Union Society, was received and duly licensed. He was a venerable man, and one of Wesley's converts. At the monthly meeting for July thirty-three more were received. These increased the association to over 214 members. "The expelled preachers stand higher in public estimation than they did previous to their expulsion. The citizens view them as good men persecuted for righteousness' sake; and the ministers of other denominations frequently call upon them to officiate to their congregations."¹

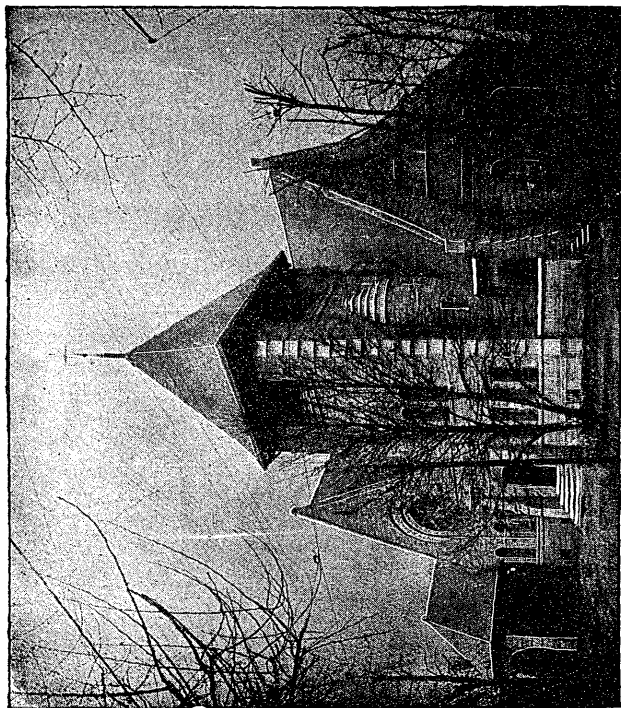
Everywhere the Union Societies resolved to continue their organization until the Convention, now called by the Committee, to whom it was intrusted by the November meeting, to assemble at St. John's church, Baltimore, November 10, 1828. Delegates were requested to report, on their arrival in the city, to James R. Williams, John J. Harrod, and Dr. S. K. Jennings, to be assigned to homes. It was a crucial period in Reform, everything depending upon the showing it would make at this Convention. The lines were closely drawn, and the whole power, patronage, and persuasive force of the Church brought to bear to prevent withdrawals by every intimidation and influence possible. It is safe to say that hundreds were so deterred. Baltimore Methodism, with its three thousand members, among whom Reform was

¹ *Mutual Rights*, Vol. IV. p. 393.

dominant in 1826-27, now showed but a few hundred who were ready to cast the die and accept the consequences of separation. True, nearly half of these were male members of long and high standing, and they carried with them the substantial sympathy of the Christian community. Everywhere the same general result was seen. Only those of heroic mould could face the sacrifice separation demanded, but, as will be seen, the numbers were respectable and the fidelity to principle marked. The fourth volume of the *Mutual Rights* concluded with the July number, and its salient contents have already been given. By a business compact among the Reformers of Baltimore, and patronage elsewhere, it was succeeded by the *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer*, under the editorial control of Dennis B. Dorsey and a committee of publication.

The scenes of active contention were transferred to Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee. Let brief consideration be given to these in order. There had been a strong and dominating Reform influence at the First Methodist church in the old First Street and new Smithfield Street churches (one in corporation), Pittsburgh, Pa., from an early period. At the time of the incorporation, March 5, 1828, seven of the nine trustees and a large proportion of the membership were openly in sympathy with the movement. August 4, 1828, the realty of the church, consisting of the old and new church with a cemetery property, was formally, on motion of Dr. H. D. Sellers, transferred to the new board of trustees, minus the word "Episcopal." The reason has been a question in dispute. Rev. Dr. Brown says, "It was most significantly left out of the charter, as indicating the reform sentiment prevalent when the instrument was obtained." But Rev. Dr. Charles W. Smith, in a sermon on the centennial of Methodism in Pittsburgh, says it was done to "give possible grounds for perversion of the trust." The question on its merits cannot be traversed here.¹ Litigation followed between the parties, into which the church was divided on Reform, with the

¹ See "Closing Services of the First Methodist Protestant Church, Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., May 11-15, 1892." Pittsburgh. 1892. 8vo. 145 pp. Cloth. Semi-centennial. The whole question as to the incorporation, and the division of the property, and the outcome of the controversy on Reform is here fully exposed, with a clear vindication of Charles Avery, the principal party to the act of incorporation as to the motives impelling him in his course, as well as of the Reformers of that day. The property built out of the proceeds of the one-half value has since been disposed of to such advantage that two churches have been erected out of it.



FIRST CHURCH, PITTSBURGH, PA.

result of a legal decision in favor of the Reformers. They, with unprecedented fairness and generosity, agreed to take one-half the value and surrender the properties to the adhering members. No such example was ever set by the anti-reformers, however equitable the claim might be to church property.

In June, 1829, these Reformers sent a call to Rev. George Brown, yet a minister in full standing in the old Church, to become their pastor under a formal organization of an "Associated Methodist Church." This led to his withdrawal from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and acceptance of the call. An effort was made to prevent his preaching in the Smithfield Street church, but a compromise was effected by which the two parties held Sabbath service twice a day at hours that did not conflict. But this state of amity did not long continue. The anti-reformers brought suit for the possession of the property, and while this was pending disgraceful scenes occurred. The anti-reformers took covert possession, removed the locks, and forbade the Reformers to enter. This trick was offset by a stealthy entry of the Reformers, ending in another compromise and mutual occupancy. The Reformers, that their title might not be invalidated, organized as the "Methodist Church in Pittsburgh." Much bitterness prevailed among the contending parties. On one occasion the Reformers' sexton, having made the preparation for the Lord's Supper, the Presiding Elder asked who had prepared it, and, on learning, said, "Take them away; we want none of your radical bread and wine." This same Elder, David Sharpe, at a camp-meeting communion service, after inviting Christians of other denominations, leaned over the pulpit stand, and said that the "rads and schismatic scamps, he did not mean to invite them." Meantime, the seven trustees and other Reformers were expelled by the preacher in charge, Rev. William Lambdin. The suit at law was not decided by the full bench of the Supreme Court until October, 1832, with the result already narrated. The Reformers numbered over two hundred. A statement says, "We have about 130 male members, among them 14 class leaders, 4 local preachers, and 7 trustees. There are many female members, the number not ascertained until they are arranged in classes." Many others afterward united with them, making a strong, compact church of great influence in the community.

As early as 1822 the Methodists of Cincinnati were aroused to the true nature of their church government by the arbitrary administration of the pastor, Leroy Swormstead, and his assist-

ant, John F. Wright, which led to a circular letter, August 9, 1823, strongly recommending the introduction of the representative principle into the polity. The charges which were preferred against Swormstead for maladministration were dismissed by the Ohio Conference. November 17, 1825, a Union Society was formed by the Reformers, and with it almost all the old and influential members united. In 1827, Rev. John F. Wright was sent, as preacher in charge of the station. The church had some years before been made a corporate body, and the nine trustees annually elected were advocates of the reformation. On the 17th of July fourteen members of the Society were met by a committee, appointed by the preacher, with a demand that they withdraw from the Society and cease to patronize the *Mutual Rights*. Charges were preferred, but so strong was the Reform element that efforts to expel them failed. They were suspended until the Quarterly Conference, when the accused demanded, as was their disciplinary right, trial before the Church. This was refused, and ten lay-members, after a mock trial before a committee of Wright's selection, were expelled.¹ After careful and prayerful deliberation, the Reformers, bereft of all hope of redress from the report of the General Conference of 1828, assembled, August 18, 1828, determined to unite with their expelled brethren, and formed an organization of 279. Fifteen classes were organized, and much sympathy was received from the religious community.

Rev. Truman Bishop, an itinerant of some years' good standing, who had retired on account of ill-health, resided in Cincinnati, and, though not a Reformer, was so impressed with the proceedings of the General Conference of 1828 that he openly expressed his dissent to the report of that body on Reform. The brethren held their services in a public hall and invited Bishop to preach for them. This he did, taking an oversight of them; and met one of the classes a few times in the absence of the leader. By his Conference brethren he was esteemed a holy man, while his abilities were above mediocre. At the Ohio Annual Conference he was charged with preaching for the Reformers and leading a class; and while, after much discussion, his character passed, a resolution was also passed admonishing him that he must no more preach for or assist the Reformers. Such an arbitrary interference with his rights as a minister he could not allow, and, in a dignified letter, he withdrew from the Church of his choice and early labors with the statement, in part,

¹ Williams's "History," pp. 241-260, for full text of these proceedings.

"Contrary to my former calculation I now retire from under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church (which is near and dear to me), for the reason that the command of the conference and the command of Jesus Christ given to me stand in direct opposition to each other." He was then chosen pastor, but the mental suffering and the treatment he had received, as his physicians testified to the best of their belief, induced a lingering illness, which ended fatally, January 12, 1829. As the new church on Sixth Street was not completed, his funeral took place in the First Presbyterian church, the pastor officiating. His decease was universally lamented, and emphasized the cause of Reform in the city.¹ The brethren subsequently invited Rev. Asa Shinn, who had now recovered from his mental fog and aberration, to take charge of them. He accepted the invitation and entered anew upon a ministry of great power in that city. Shortly after, he formally withdrew from the Pittsburgh Conference and fully identified himself with the Reformers. He once more resumed his powerful pen, and various articles in their periodicals were in proof of his complete recovery. He was now forty-eight years of age, and for a number of years thereafter bent all his energies in furtherance of Reform and the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church.²

Earlier in this History an account was given of the proceedings against Reformers in North Carolina. Eight lay-members had been expelled on account of their opinions concerning church polity. Twelve ministers had been cast out, seven of them after a mock trial, and five by the more summary process of being scratched off the records. Roanoke and Albemarle were the centres of agitation, and the documentary evidence preserved in Paris's "History" is among the most valuable of the Reform archives. Under the leadership of such men as Dr. Bellamy, Ivy Harris, W. W. Hill, Colonel S. Whitaker, James Hunter, Casewell Drake, Rev. R. Davison, William Price, and Lewellyn Jones, strong societies were organized, and the foundations laid for a Conference unexcelled for fidelity to principle and zeal in the cause of the Redeemer. The brethren were diligent in disseminating their purposes, and, having no periodical of their own, made use of the *Tarborough Free Press*, and by this means reached

¹ "The Remains of the late Rev. Truman Bishop," etc., by John Houghton. Cincinnati. 1829. 8vo. 80 pp.

² Brown's "Itinerant Life," and Bassett's "History," furnish many other valuable details for the West.

the eye of the Methodist community. But the charges and specifications against Reformers being everywhere largely identical and the proceedings summary, space cannot be given to the iteration for every section of the country involved, and for not a few localities nothing but bare mention can be made in these pages. Equally worthy, the salient instances must answer for illustration.

In Virginia, Lynchburg and Northumberland County were other fields of expulsion and secession. The amity proclaimed by the General Conference was understood practically as applying to Baltimore only, and that for strategic reasons of Dr. Bond. Elsewhere, as found, no attention was paid to it, and mayhap none was intended. Certainly the fell purpose to "expel Reform out of the Church" was exhibited wherever the sentiment had secured a menacing foothold. A meeting of Reformers was held in Lynchburg, September 18, 1828, at which resolutions of sympathy and approval were passed over the course of Reformers in Baltimore, and delegates appointed to attend the November Convention. It was attended by a large number of the most respectable citizens, being a public one, and was conducted in an orderly and dignified manner, as became the object. Speedily thereafter the preacher in charge, Rev. W. A. Smith, cited to trial two local preachers and nine laymen for "endeavoring to sow dissensions in our church by inveighing against the discipline." The laymen were official members, and, after the same mockery of trial as others had experienced elsewhere, they were expelled. Their appeal to the Quarterly Conference only led to a confirmation of the action of the committee. Soon thereafter about fifty withdrew from the Church. The women, to the number of thirty-seven, imitating their sisters in Baltimore, addressed a letter to the pastor, setting forth their reasons, and withdrew in a body. Among the laymen expelled were the Chairman, Christopher Winfree, and the Secretary, John Victor, of the meeting referred to as "inflammatory." Revs. William J. Holcombe and John Percival were the expelled local preachers. Subsequently others withdrew, until the number associated under an instrument prepared was sixty-two. A subscription of \$2000 was at once secured to build a house of worship, if the Convention should determine to organize an independent Church. The Christian denominations of the city opened their houses, and the Reformers had regular Sabbath service, with their local preachers officiating, as well as social means of grace. In this, as in almost every other instance, the Reformers constituted the cream of the Metho-

dist Church, an allegation not disputed even by their own historians. The expulsions in Northumberland County did not take place until after the Reformers' Convention of November, 1828, but considered in this connection by association. Shortly after the Convention Rev. Benedict Burgess, a worthy and acceptable local minister of many years' standing, who had attended it, with Thomas Berry, John Lansdale, and others, were catechised by the preacher in charge, Rev. T. C. Thornton, and, after public service, the people were detained, and he announced that the "following names are to be considered as having withdrawn from the Methodist Episcopal Church"; and then read out eight or ten names. Whereupon, subsequently, twenty-one united under the Conventional Articles.

In Tennessee the Presiding Elder, Gwynn, who had expelled Reformers, and whose cases on appeal were favorably acted on by the Annual Conference, after the General Conference of 1828, in August, notified the Methodists that the Conference had determined to extirpate Reform, and if, after the ensuing quarterly conference, Reformers in his district did not withdraw from the Union Society, surrender their support of the *Mutual Rights*, and submit implicitly to church authority, they would no longer be considered members. Under this menace, fourteen members signed a paper requesting the preacher in charge to give them letters of dismissal. The request was denied, whereupon, August 30, about sixty members united and formed a union with the "Reformed Methodist Society," which had been previously organized in New York, as found, and of which this was a local Tennessee branch. The union was formed at Union Camp-ground, near Unionville, Bedford County, and delegates were appointed to the ensuing Baltimore Convention. The Birch Grove brethren who sign the article giving these facts in the *Mutual Rights* for October 6, 1828, are William P. Smith, Richard Warner, and W. W. Elliott. In this case, as in others recited, the writer deplores the fact that other names are not now found among accessible records as worthy of embalmment in the good and heroic cause.

The first number of the *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer* was issued as the successor to the *Mutual Rights*, September 6, 1828, so that there was an intermission of but two months in the publications. It was a bi-monthly folio sheet of eight pages, under the editorship of Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey, at No. 19 South Calvert Street, price one dollar. It preserved the reputation of its predecessors in Reform for high literary character and me-

chanical finish. All the prominent writers reappear under their old incognitos, and its early numbers are filled with discussions and propositions as to the Convention and its probable outcome. There are also numerous communications giving information of expulsions elsewhere than already named, in the North as well, manifesting the purpose of the Episcopal authorities to "expel Reform out of the Church." There are notices of camp-meetings, held under the auspices of the Reformers, which were very successful in conversions, one at Hibernia woods, adjoining the homestead of Hon. P. B. Hopper in Queen Anne's County, Md., and of which he sent a description to Dr. Bangs, editor of the *Christian Advocate*, with a request to publish, which, of course, was not done. There were sixty white conversions and additions, a number of others having left the ground before the invitation was given. The notice to the *Advocate* was sent in grim humor and solemn travesty of the accusation against Reformers so freely bandied that they were "backsliders" and "evil spirits" whom God had forsaken to their erring ways. Rev. Eli Henkle held what he called a "Local Preachers' Camp," in Baltimore County, Md., which was very successful. He and his brothers, Saul and Moses M., were gifted and active preachers in Reform in these days. The editor of the *Star of Bethlehem*, published at Taunton, Mass., in the interest of the "Reformed Methodists," noticed fully in first volume, made inquiry through it as to the plans and objects of the Baltimore Convention. It may be observed in passing that a considerable numerical accession was made to the Methodist Protestant Church from 1830 to 1832 from these brethren, a whole conference, known as the Rochester, in western New York, uniting their fortunes with the new organization, though, as is the universal result of all attempted Unions, not a few were recalcitrant and sloughed off into other churches.

It would require a volume if the local history of all the Union Societies and the expulsions and withdrawals were recorded in this work, extending as they did from Burlington, Vt., to New Orleans, La., and west to the fringe of settled territory. Salient instances, deemed at the time worthy of special mention, have been rehearsed for the purpose of pointing the fact that in every instance expulsion preceded withdrawal in refutation of the unhistorical averment that the Methodist Protestant Church was a "secession." One instance, that of Georgetown, D. C., is reserved by reason of its striking character and illustrative force, occurring after the November Convention, to which a future new chapter shall be devoted.

CHAPTER XII

Vindictory comments on M'Tyeire's reflections upon Bishops George and Roberts—Second Convention of Reformers, November 12-22, 1828; roster of members in full, but fifteen absentees out of one hundred and ten; Hon. P. B. Hopper elected President, but declines; Rev. Nicholas Snethen then chosen—Seventeen Articles of Association agreed to; full text with comments, the fifteenth and seventeenth specially noted as bearing upon Slavery and the Local preachers; organizing agents appointed to travel in the two years intervening up to November, 1830, when it was resolved to hold a third General Convention to adopt a Constitution and Discipline for the new Church; a committee appointed to prepare: Williams, Jennings, McCaine, Harrod, and Davis—Proposal to have a General President rejected; action since on the subject.

IN the new *Mutual Rights* for September 20, 1828, appears the notice, "The Rev. Enoch George, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, died on the morning of the 23d ultimo, at Staunton, Va., after a most distressing and painful illness of about twelve days." Bishop M'Tyeire, in his "History of Methodism," p. 573, says of the contentions of 1820-28, "Bishop George in judicial weakness, and Bishop Roberts by amiable irresolution, in the primary movement let the ship drive." It is M'Kendree and Soule who are complimented by him for the "resolute means they used to save the constitution." It was his point of view, but it does grave injustice to George and Roberts. The evidence is abundant that both these men, while loyal to their high office, made earnest endeavor to hold an even balance in the controversy, and the only judicial weakness and amiable irresolution they exhibited was in their unsuccessful purpose to hold in check the overbearing and arrogant attitude of their senior colleagues. Their official rulings, whenever the Reformers came under them, were generally honest and just, the latter contending that the Discipline did not warrant the trial of members by any court of appeal composed of the same persons who had given verdict against them in the primary instance,—a principle which was constantly violated in the trials and expulsions of Reformers, as has been seen; and he assigned Lambdin to the Pittsburgh church, with the pledge from him that he would not take a partisan position between the Reformers and anti-reformers, a pledge he broke so soon as he was in charge. Well had it been for the

subsequent peace and organic unity of American Methodism if the counsels and moderation of such bishops had prevailed, and it is that their memories may be rescued from the odium thus cast upon them that this space is surrendered to them.

The advertised call for the Convention of November, 1828, is in proof how circumspectly and slowly the Reformers acted in the grave emergency, and how little ground there is for the slur upon their memories that they were ambitious and anxious to make opportunity for secession and the organization of an independent Church, than which nothing can be farther from the truth. The call says: "The committee are therefore of opinion that it is proper and necessary that a general convention should be assembled to deliberate upon the course which is now to be pursued by the friends of reform, . . . whether the contemplated convention shall determine to organize for an independent existence, to continue their struggle against these lofty pretensions, or peaceably to surrender their rights and give up all for lost; . . . the committee wish it understood, however, that they in no case advise a separation from the Church, until the sentiments of the reformers generally can be known, in the contemplated convention."

This, the second Convention of Methodist Reformers, was held at St. John's church, Liberty Street, Baltimore, Md., November 12 to 22 inclusive, 1828.¹ It was opened with religious services and a sermon by Rev. Nicholas Snethen, after which Rev. Dr. Jennings was elected Chairman *pro tem.*, and W. S. Stockton and Everard Hall, Esq., Secretaries. The credentials of members having been examined, the following were found to have been elected:—

VERMONT

Rev. Justis Byington

NEW YORK

Rev. Daniel Bromley

Mr. Josiah Wilcox

¹ As to the sources of information anent this Convention it may be observed that the original draft of the proceedings, consisting of forty-four cap pages with paper cover, is now before the writer held in trust by the Book Concern of Baltimore, and attested by Nicholas Snethen and the secretaries. By order of the General Conference of 1854, Rev. W. H. Wills was employed to make a transcript of the proceedings, as well as of the Convention of 1830 and the General Conferences down to 1854 inclusive, which was faithfully performed, and this volume is also before the writer, held in trust in the same manner. The *Mutual Rights* also contains a full copy of the proceedings. The Articles of Association were ordered published by the Convention with a roster of the members, and a copy is before the writer.

PENNSYLVANIA

Rev. Dr. Thomas Dunn
 Mr. John Mecasky
 Mr. William S. Stockton
 Rev. Isaac James¹
 Mr. L. Tooker¹

Rev. Charles Avery
 Rev. Joseph Smallman
 Mr. Charles Widney
 Rev. Jeremiah Browning

MARYLAND

Rev. Dr. Samuel K. Jennings
 Rev. Alexander McCaine
 Rev. John S. Reese
 Rev. James R. Williams
 Mr. John J. Harrod
 Mr. John Chappell
 Mr. Ephraim Smith
 Mr. John Kennard
 Mr. Wesley Starr
 Mr. Henry Willis
 Mr. Samuel C. Owings
 Mr. Henry Yeater
 Mr. Richard Ridgley
 Mr. John Rose
 William Copper, Esq.
 Rev. Daniel Chambers
 Mr. Samuel Willis
 Rev. Nicholas Snethen
 Rev. Daniel Zollickoffer
 Mr. Elias Crutchley
 Mr. Joshua Smith
 Mr. Edmund Rockhold¹

Mr. Samuel Geyer¹
 Mr. Henry C. Dunbar
 Mr. Hugh M'Mechen
 Mr. Beale C. Stinchcomb
 Rev. Benj. Richardson
 Rev. Isaac Webster
 Mr. Joseph Parker
 Mr. Amon Richards¹
 Mr. William Bradford
 Mr. Resa Norris
 Capt. John Constable¹
 Mr. John Turner
 Rev. S. Linthicum
 Thomas C. Keaton¹
 Mr. Peregrine Mercer
 Mr. John Greenfield
 Rev. Eli Henkle
 Hon. Philemon B. Hopper
 Rev. Thomas Reed
 Rev. William T. Ringgold
 Thomas C. Browne, Esq.
 Dr. Thomas W. Hopper

DELAWARE

Mr. A. S. Naudain

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. Gideon Davis
 Mr. John Eliason
 Mr. William King
 Mr. Joel Brown
 Mr. Wm. C. Lipscomb

Mr. James C. Dunn
 Col. William Doughty
 Mr. Richard Holdsworth
 Mr. Thomas Jacobs
 Rev. William Lamphier¹

VIRGINIA

Rev. Dr. John French
 Mr. Tildsley Graham
 Rev. John M. Willis

Rev. John Percival
 Mr. John Victor
 Rev. Dr. John B. Tilden

¹ These were not present.

VIRGINIA (*continued*)

Mr. James Taylor
 Rev. Thomas Blunt
 Everard Hall, Esq.
 Mr. John J. Burroughs
 Rev. William H. Coman
 Dr. Robert Musgrave¹
 Rev. Dr. C. Finney

Mr. John S. Denson¹
 Mr. George W. F. Dashiield
 Rev. Ed. Drumgoole, Jr.
 Rev. Thomas Moore
 Rev. Benedict Burgess
 Mr. William W. Ball

NORTH CAROLINA

Rev. Dr. Josiah R. Horn
 Rev. W. W. Hill
 Speir Whitaker, Esq.

Dr. John F. Bellamy
 Rev. Joseph B. Hinton¹
 Rev. Israel B. Hutchins

OHIO

Rev. James Towler
 Rev. William Young
 Mr. Ezekiel Hall

Rev. William H. Collins
 Rev. William B. Evans
 Rev. Jacob Myers

TENNESSEE

Rev. Dr. Wm. B. Elgin
 Rev. Thomas Potts¹

Col. Richard Warner¹

ALABAMA

Rev. Armstrong J. Blackburn
 Rev. Payton Bibb¹

Dr. Meek¹

NAMES OF DELEGATES FROM THE METHODIST SOCIETY OF NEW YORK

Rev. Dr. James Covell

Rev. A. G. Brewer

FROM NEW JERSEY

Rev. Thomas Davis
 Rev. Samuel Budd

Rev. Daniel Ireland
 Rev. Taber Chadwick¹

Rev. A. Jump and Rev. T. Melvin in attendance from Caroline County, Md.

Thus it will be seen that out of 110 elected, there were but 15 absentees, which, considering both the expense and the difficulty of travel in that day, is an extraordinary exhibit. It will also be seen that, though over one-third were from Maryland, the number was not out of proportion to the Union Societies and the general influence Reform exerted in this State. It will also be seen that a number of lawyers, designated at that time by the affix of Esq., were members, while the laymen as a class were of the best in the membership of the old Church, and the ministers, though largely local, were conspicuous for ability and influence

¹ These were not present.

in their respective neighborhoods. Two sessions were held, from nine until one, and from three until five, and toward the close night sessions also, though earlier, preaching and prayer service was held at night, and a day of fasting and prayer appointed for the second Thursday of the Convention. Thus these godly men strove to keep in Divine touch while discharging their weighty responsibility. At the afternoon session of November 13, an election of President by ballot was ordered, and on counting the votes Hon. P. B. Hopper of Maryland was found to have a plurality. "He arose and expressed his gratitude for the honor intended him, but begged leave, for various reasons, to decline; his resignation was accepted." On a second trial Rev. Nicholas Snethen was duly elected. Thus it will be seen that, as in the first, so in the second Convention, a layman was honored, precedents which were many years later revived and followed. The sessions for about one-half of the time were held with closed doors, the fear of obtrusion deterring what was a clear sentiment of the body, which finally obtained on motion of J. J. Harrod.

A report on the action of the General Conference of 1828 was submitted and approved from Gideon Davis, an able document, to be found in full in the *Mutual Rights* of December 5. The committee to submit plans for Church organization reported, and manuscripts were submitted from Gideon Davis, James R. Williams, S. K. Jennings, and Alexander McCaine, which were read; and finally the Convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole on all the papers offered. As the outcome of their deliberations, seventeen Articles of Association were agreed to, and formally adopted, with a Preamble, which is here given in full. It was from the facile pen of Dr. Jennings.

Whereas, the friends of a fair and equal representation in the Government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, when they have insisted on the necessity of a modification in the polity of the Church, which should recognize this fundamental principle, the only safeguard to the liberties of the people; and when they have submitted respectful petitions and memorials to the General Conference, praying for the admission of the principle, have been met in a manner which has encouraged and prepared the friends of absolute power, to request and urge them to withdraw from the fellowship of the Church, and to threaten them with excommunication, if they should refuse to comply;—And *whereas*, many of our highly esteemed and useful members in the Church,

by an unjustifiable violence, have been excluded from the fellowship of their brethren, and have been thereby compelled for the time being, to form themselves into religious fraternities, for purposes of Christian fellowship;—And *whereas*, all the Methodists of the United States, and perhaps of the world, have been united together in their visible fellowship, under the general rules of Mr. Wesley, which express the only condition and legitimate test of membership;—And *whereas*, in violation of good faith and brotherly love, by an exercise of power, not authorized by the word of God, other tests have been set up for the support of that violence, by which many valuable brethren have been unlawfully excluded, as aforesaid;—And *whereas*, these measures have been so conducted, that we are justified in believing it to have been the intention of the General Conference and the anti-Reformers under their influence, to punish all the avowed friends of representation, and intimidate any who may feel inclined to favor that principle;—And *whereas*, the late decisions of the Baltimore and Ohio Annual Conferences, as also the ultimate proceedings and report of the General Conference, in relation to this subject, have placed every friend of representation in the Methodist Episcopal Church, in such a situation that their opponents have it completely in their power to compel them to renounce their principles, or be excluded from the fellowship of their brethren;—And *whereas*, Ministers favorable to the principles of representation, in sundry places, are no longer admitted to ordination, or to occupy the pulpits in the Methodist Episcopal Church, to the great grievance of many;—And *whereas*, the opposers of representation appear to show no concern for the spiritual welfare of those whom they have excluded as aforesaid, or of those who on account of such exclusions, have considered themselves called on to withdraw out of the reach of their violent measures, but hold them up to public view, as evil-minded persons, and prophesy evil things concerning them, notwithstanding the fact, that those who have had the best means of knowing the injured brethren, have unabated confidence in their moral and religious integrity, and in common with all the admirers of steady adherence to principle, do actually applaud their firmness, in holding fast the principle of representation, although by so doing they have been subjected to such heavy pains and penalties;—And *whereas*, the report of the General Conference, above referred to, not only has sanctioned their unjust proceedings, but in effect asserted a divine right to continue to legislate and

administer the government of the Church in this oppressive manner:—Therefore, we, the delegates of the friends of a REPRESENTATIVE FORM OF GOVERNMENT in the Methodist Episcopal Church, elected and appointed by them to meet in Convention in the city of Baltimore, in November, 1828, with a due regard to the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, as recognized by the Constitution of the United States, and the several States in the Union, in common with other Protestant churches, do in behalf of ourselves, our constituents and our posterity, in the fear of God, solemnly PROTEST against the right of the General Conference to assume such power, or to institute or sustain any such violent proceedings to which it necessarily leads; and we do hereby acknowledge and sustain the right of those brethren who have been excluded, and of those who have on their account withdrawn as aforesaid, to unite and form themselves into communities; and we do this the more willingly, because in so doing, they will now of necessity meet the demand which has been so often made by their opponents, to exhibit a plan explanatory of the changes which they desire, and what they intended to avoid till driven to it by necessity, to demonstrate by its practical operations, the expedience of a REPRESENTATIVE Methodist Church Government, and do therefore adopt the following Articles of Association for the government of such Societies as shall agree thereto, under the appellation of “ASSOCIATED METHODIST CHURCHES.”

The seventeen Articles of Association are thus summarized by Bassett's “History:”—

Article 1st. Adopts the Articles of Religion, General Rules, Means of Grace, Moral Discipline, and Rites and Ceremonies in the main of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Article 2d. Provides that each church shall have sole power to admit serious persons into full membership, and regulate its temporal concerns.

Article 3d. Declares the right of property as vested in the respective societies, who are to elect trustees.

Article 4th. Provides for the fair trial of accused persons, and the right of appeal.

Article 5th. Provides for constituting a Quarterly Conference in every circuit and station, and defines its prerogatives and duties.

Article 6th. Provides for the organization of one or more Annual

Conferences in each state, composed of an equal number of ministers and lay-delegates.

Article 7th. Provides that each Annual Conference elect its President and Secretary.

Article 8th. Provides that each Annual Conference adopt its own mode of stationing the preachers.

Article 9th. Defines the duties and rights of the President.

Article 10th. Further defines the powers of the Annual Conferences.

Article 11th. Contains regulations for its itinerancy and its ordinations.

Article 12th. Annual Conferences to fix times and places for their sittings.

Article 13th. Travelling preachers subject to the appointments of Conference, and entitled to the same allowance as provided in the Methodist Episcopal Discipline.

Article 14th. Defines the duties of preachers in charge.

Article 15th. Requires that "Nothing contained in these Articles is to be so construed as to interfere with the right of property belonging to any member, as recognized by the laws of the state within the limits of which the members may reside."

Article 16th. Provides for holding a General Convention in Baltimore on the first Tuesday in November, 1830, composed of ministers and lay-representatives elected by the Annual Conferences.

Article 17th. Accords certain rights and privileges to supernumerary and superannuated preachers as to service and compensation.

The fifteenth article was inserted on motion of Speir Whitaker, Esq., of North Carolina, after amendment. There was no concealment of its purpose: the protection of slave property in the Southern states. The motives of the author need not be impugned. By him it was intended as a peace measure so far as the infant Church was concerned. In all the states of the South civil law had placed the question of manumission under restrictions, which no ecclesiastical manifesto could change in the least degree, hence their introduction was seen to be a strife-enkindling motion whenever obtruded upon its legislative assemblies. Methodism was, so to speak, a Southern religion. In the mother Church the vast preponderance of its membership was in the South, and of the entire Reform Convention all but eighteen hailed from slave territory. Viewed from the writer's distance

of time it was, however, a futile measure. So far as it might be utilized as a definition of property rights between the citizens of the several states, it was a nullity, a harmless declaration. It was reënacted in a modified form in 1830 as part of Article 7th. "But neither the General Conference nor any Annual Conference shall assume power to interfere with the constitutional powers of the civil governments, or with the operation of the civil laws; yet nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to authorize or sanction anything inconsistent with the morality of the Holy Scriptures." (See Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church, 1830.) The qualification was an insistence of the anti-slavery element in the Convention of 1830, and was accepted by the Southern element, each side being satisfied with the implication of personal judgment as to the morality of slavery or any other question. In this form it has remained in the Constitution of the Church to this day, the Union Convention of 1877 allowing it to stand, though not without dissent from some of the representatives who remembered the object of its original introduction. The sober view obtained, however, that to strike out then would revive a controversy which had been settled by the arbitrament of the Civil War, and as an unnecessary reflection upon its original supporters. It was subsequently successfully used as a safeguard against politico-moral legislation by the Annual and General Conferences. It was a futile measure, moreover, as it did not accomplish the object of its enactment in the almost continuous agitation of the slavery question, and tentative efforts to repress the institution by ecclesiastical action, ultimating in the "suspension of official relations" of all the Conferences in the free states with those in the slave after the General Conference of 1858. Slavery ceased to be profitable in the Northern states soon after 1800, and in proportion as it did so, and the slave-trade was declared piracy by act of Congress, thus ending the commercial ventures of New England ships,¹ the conscience of the people became more and more sensitive to domestic slavery in the South; and as found in the mother Church, as well as in

¹ It is noteworthy that the Convention to form a Constitution in Philadelphia in 1787 submitted this question to two committees respectively. The first reported that the slave-trade should be "legalized perpetually." Three of the committee were from the North and two from the South. The next committee reported that "the slave trade should not be extended beyond 1800," and of the eleven, six of the committee were from the South. The period was finally fixed at 1808, the prolongation being secured by votes of Northern members. See M'Tyeire's "History of Methodism," p. 386, foot-note.

the new, it grew to such protesting proportions that everything as to the embarrassing environment of civil laws, State and Conference boundaries, which were plead by the Southern brethren, was of no avail; the question culminated in a political party, as all moral questions in this country must, to insure successful legislation, and the issue was finally joined in battle array. It was a burden upon their consciences, and they applied the precept, "Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him." Like the "scarlet letter" A, that burned upon the bosom of Hawthorne's Hester Prynne, so this letter S burned upon the bosom of the Southern Conferences, and they felt complicity in it, and it must out. Thus much of review of a vexed question in its initial act and in anticipation of the after struggle, which may be more briefly disposed of as a dead issue in the Church.¹

Article 17th originated with Dr. Jennings, and was an expression of his contention for the local ministry, so near his heart. Some other proceedings need mention. Agents were appointed for the several states, as propagandists and organizers, who rendered effective service in the two years up to 1830. A committee was appointed to "prepare a Constitution and book of Discipline, and a Hymn-book, to be submitted to the convention to be held on the first Tuesday in November, 1830, in the city of Baltimore." The committee named was: James R. Williams, S. K. Jennings, Alexander McCaine, John J. Harrod, and Gideon Davis. "The Methodist Societies' organized in New York, New Jersey, and elsewhere" were extended a welcome on adopting the Articles of Association with consent of the Annual Conference interested. J. J. Harrod offered the following: "*Resolved*, that a General President be and is hereby considered necessary to travel at

¹ In this late day, 1898, it will do something to protect the memory of such men as Speir Whitaker, Alexander McCaine, and others, of the period of 1820-30, as to their views of American domestic slavery, to cite from a speech of the late Mr. Gladstone, of England, made in Parliament within this same period, as to slavery in the abstract. His father was the owner of a large plantation in Demerara, worked by his own slaves, whom his son "believed was a thoughtful, religious, and good man, and that his slaves were the happiest and most contented of the race." The citation is from an article eulogistic of William E. Gladstone in the *New York Christian Advocate* of May 26, 1898, and is as follows: "As regards the absolute lawfulness of slavery, I acknowledge it simply as imparting the right of one man to the labor of another, and I rest upon the fact that the Scripture—the paramount authority for such a point—gives direction for persons standing in the relation of master to slave, for their conduct in that relation; whereas, were the matter absolutely and necessarily sinful, it would not regulate the matter."

large through the Conferences, and that he be vested with power to transfer any preacher or minister from one to any other Conference when he considers the interests of religion will be promoted by the transfer, provided the minister or preacher consents to the same.” It was lost. The Convention was unprepared for it, and the Church has never yet felt prepared for it, though there has been a wide difference of opinion as to its expediency. Of one thing there can be hardly a doubt: such an arrangement, under proper limitations as to magisterial powers, would have been effective as promoting connectional solidity and uniformity of administration; but the extreme of supervision, the wheels within wheels of the mother Church, so often crushing remorselessly the personal rights of ministers and the autonomy of churches, made even the shadow a portent of evil to these enfranchised brethren. The most that has been secured was by effort of the writer in the Union Convention of 1877, which makes the President of the General Conference its connectional head until his successor is elected, with purely ministerial powers. It supplied a serious connectional deficiency. The *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer* was indorsed as the organ of Reformers, and patronage solicited. Nicholas Snethen was requested to address the Convention before adjournment, and he complied. After continued sessions through eleven days, “the Convention adjourned, *sine die*.”

CHAPTER XIII

An Independent Methodist Church; who is responsible? — Unparalleled conduct of Reform ministers consenting to part with power; these leaders named in part — The Property question fully analyzed and considered in every view of it; property is empire; the philosophy of it, etc. — The Georgetown, D. C., case of Reformers as a type of others considered in detail; original facts — The propagating Agents and their work everywhere; Reform crippled for want of preachers; inchoate societies die out — Reform camp-meetings — Bond resumes open opposition to Reform in Baltimore; the *Itinerant*, with an analysis of it fairly put for its three years' existence — Two schools of Reformers: the McCaine-Williams party and the Snethen-Stockton party, and what they wished.

AN Independent organization of Methodists — with whom does the responsibility lodge? Both parties were governed, it must be conceded, by conscientious convictions of necessity in either situation. On the part of the Reformers nothing can be more evident. Its leadership expelled, their friends and adherents could not do otherwise than withdraw and stand by them. Wedded to every feature of Methodism except its government of Paternalism and exclusive rule of the ministerial class, legislative, judicial, and executive, they must continue to be Methodists, so that provisional organization was a necessity of the situation, retaining all of Methodism save the exceptionable features of its polity. It was an excised branch of the mother tree. The entailed Paternalism of Wesley's Deed of Declaration, and the same principle foisted upon the American societies, must bear the responsibility of this the second division among them. "The power party," so-called, that is, the ministry, exercised authority as it was "received from our fathers"; their rights were vested. That they were self-created and self-imposed was a question into which few were disposed to look closely. Voluntary surrender of any part of this authoritative heritage was denied by the whole history of human nature thus invested. Surrender under duress simply meant stern resistance to demand. "The institutions of the Church as we received them from our fathers" made a strong government. The strength gave its efficiency. The efficiency must not be sacrificed to abstract right or demonstrated expedi-

ency. It had created an ideal of its own; it must not be marred, as Bishop M'Tyeire puts it, by "constitution-mongers." As one of the class, Rev. John A. Collins, said in a subsequent General Conference, the innovations proposed would "run the ploughshare of destruction through our entire system." It was an honest opinion, shared, not by his ministerial brethren only, but by a large number of the membership schooled in such views by their much loved pastors. They viewed therefore with alarm the assertion of a submerged laity, who pressed Scripture and reason and Protestant ecclesiasticism into the contention for Christian rights in opposition to priestly rule. Scripture, reason, and the example of other denominations made such headway in the seven years from 1821 to 1828, in revolutionizing sentiment in the membership, winning here and there one of "the divinely authorized expounders" and maintainers of "moral discipline among those over whom the Holy Ghost has made them overseers" to liberal views, it was evident that, unless arrested, seven years more would reverse the pyramid, now upon its apex, to its natural position of standing upon its base. The Reformers advanced, keeping within the hedge of disciplinary law in their overt acts. It must be arrested, and as they would not, warned by the example of O'Kelly and company, and the "Reformed Methodists" of the Stillwell school, of 1820-25, secede, the one conceded right of all dissentients, except the peaceful ones, to pray, pay, and obey within the Church, nothing remained: "Reform must be expelled out of it." In their view of it, it was a necessity. Every organized form of society, civil or ecclesiastical, has the reserved right of self-preservation. The Methodist Episcopal Church of that day exercised it, and it need not be criticised. Self-preservation, however, by excision must be according to law. Here the expelled Reformers made their exception, and impartial history will yet sustain them. Recall all the instances and the testimony, and the verdict must be: they were thrust out!

Two vital considerations might as well be disposed of in this argumentative connection. The unparalleled fact that ministers engaged in this struggle for lay-representation in the Church were willing not only to surrender power for its accomplishment, but were bold to demand that their peers should do likewise. The contentions for the right of appeal and for an elective eldership were within the ministerial class. It has been discovered how nearly unanimous they were at different periods in the demand for either, until over-

borne by episcopal power. It was the awakening these discussions produced as to rights at all existing in the organized American Methodist Church, not inherent in the episcopacy, that led thoughtful men to inquire into the origin of authority, and the lay-movement was inaugurated in public form by W. S. Stockton. That any should have been found in the ministry accessory to the views presented is the exception of history. That quite a large number were won over is what might have been expected of intelligent and liberty-loving Americans, though so few finally found themselves either so situated in temporals, or heroically firm, as to withstand that power over the will which comes of extraneous control of one's sustenance in the crucial hour. That the hundreds of the former should have dwindled into the few of the latter only makes the historian's duty the more imperative that pedestals shall be erected on which they shall be elevated for the admiration of all lovers of fidelity. Nicholas Snethen, Asa Shinn, Alexander McCaine, Dennis B. Dorsey, William C. Pool, Eli Henkle, Frederick Stier, Thomas F. Norris, George Brown, Truman Bishop, Adjet M'Guire, Joseph Snelling, W. W. Hill, James Hunter, Samuel L. Rawleigh, Avra Melvin, Cornelius Springer, Justis Byington, William W. Wallace, Thomas Dunn, Zachariah Ragan, Elisha Lott, of the itinerants and ex-itinerants must be accorded places. Historic justice shall yet be done them. Snethen in his sententious wisdom averred: "Those who have nobly contended for liberty, though not always successful, have always been the favorites of fame." The list of expelled and withdrawn local ministers and preachers is a long one, the larger number in Maryland, but found also in various sections, and to them over-commendation cannot be awarded.

After the Convention of 1828, the Union Societies were organized into "Associated Methodist Churches," and the Agents, travelling everywhere, collected the dispersed Reformers, and nuclei of churches were formed in many places. Their urgent primary want was preaching and the ordinances. Not a few of them, in response to the call for such service, yielded, often abandoning promising and lucrative professional and other occupations, as doctors, lawyers, tradesmen, and farmers. In the provisional Conferences organized prior to 1830, the ministerial locality were enrolled as clerical members. They displayed great activity, and often developed into most acceptable preachers and pastors. Like early English and American Methodism, the new

Church was fostered and kept alive by consecrated lay-preachers and a devoted locality. Their names shall receive honorable mention in proper connections, and thus rescue their memories from the swift oblivion coming to many facts and persons of this early reformation. Even the records are perishing. Speaking of the volumes of the *Wesleyan Repository*, Snethen said in 1835: "These volumes have now become scarce, even where they were circulated. It is doubtful whether by the time an impartial history can be written a whole set can be found." In this again he exhibited his phenomenal knowledge of men and things. Perhaps not half a dozen sets exist to-day.

The other consideration is the property question according to its tenure in the Methodist Episcopal Church. More than anything else, perhaps, it deterred the Reformers from independent organization, so long as it was possible to remain under the shelter of the old roof-tree. The subject was discussed in the first volume. It was emphasized by the Reformers, and was one of the "misrepresentations" and "slanders" with which they were charged. It goes for the saying, that it is the very sheet-anchor of arbitrary and irresponsible government. Rome discovered the secret hundreds of years ago. All property rights are vested in the clergy of that Church. Its only parallel in Protestantism is found in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its paternity in Methodism is due to John Wesley.¹ It developed in him and his American successors in this regard the mental hallucination of denying the fact. Snethen in contrast adduces the case of the Apostles when the primitive Church had "all things in common," who refused to be the custodians, but insisted that seven of the brethren of honest report should have the possession and the right of distribution. He wrote of it: "We have said that Mr. Wesley was rich in Church property; and that he knew and felt he was so. We say the same of our Superintendents; they, too, know and feel that they have a hold on the public property, in virtue of the absolute prerogatives of their office, sufficiently firm to

¹ It is remarkable that Wesley, in sober commentation on the appointment of the deacons by the Apostles, Acts vi.: 3, "Whom we will set over this business," says, in contradiction of his own policy: "It would have been happy for the Church, had its ordinary ministers in every age taken the same care to act in concert with the people committed to their charge, which the apostles themselves, extraordinary as their office was, did on this and other occasions." The contradiction is somewhat relieved by the fact that he never intended in Europe or America to organize a Church. His Methodists were mere "societies" within a Church. See Wesley's "Notes," *in loco*.

enable them to dispossess any preacher whenever they may think proper. It is to no purpose to say that they cannot convert this property to their own private use. There is no reason to suppose that they would do so, if they had the title in fee. Kings are not wont to use the property of the crown for their own private benefit, or, in other words, to impoverish themselves as kings, in order to enrich themselves as individuals. It is not to be supposed that the holders of absolute power will be less ambitious than prodigal or covetous monarchs. The glory of superintendents is proportionate to the amount of property they have in their possession. Every house that is built, and every collection that is made, adds to their consequence, by increasing their influence. Poor bishops of rich dioceses are not common; and poor universal bishops are less so. The travelling preachers also, while their imaginations are dazzled with the idea of their share in the title of property secured by deed to the General Conference, feel rich, and look down upon the poverty of local preachers; their exclusive right to seats in the conferences is, indeed, so flattering to their vanity, as in most instances to blind them to the actual state of things. Few of them can be brought to reflect steadily upon the fact that they are little more than trustees for the bishops, who, so soon as they are elected and inducted into office, are no longer responsible to them. The power or privilege of electing to an absolute office for life is the most dangerous that can be vested in any body of men. The importance such electors are prone to attach to themselves is pleasantly ridiculed in the story of the cardinal and the pope. The cardinal, when he wanted a favor, reminded his holiness that he had made him pope, who, wearied at length with this importunity, replied, 'then let me be pope!'" In this Snethen had a sharper nib than usual on his pen; but it was the fact, after all, more than the trenchant rhetoric, that led those who were too prejudiced to be candid to denounce it as false, and even blasphemous.

It is incredible that for long years it was disputed, though nothing is heard of it in these days. As late as 1855-56 the venerable W. S. Stockton felt the necessity of restating the property question philosophically and predictively: "The government of the Methodist Episcopal Church is based on property; much of it is owned, and all of it controlled, by the itinerant ministry, whoever may constitute it for the time. Is it any wonder that those who would be governed by choice, truth, and common con-

sent should object? If a class of men should monopolize all knowledge as well as property, the empire of the class would rest both on property and mind. Dominion itself is property. The sovereignty of the people of the United States is their property. Dominion in itself, wherever found, is property. Dominion is property even without land. But the dominion of which we are treating is founded on real property in lands, money, and goods, over which the subjects of the government have no direct control, nor is it intended that they shall have, otherwise than in the appropriating of certain proceeds contributed by the people themselves. The people of the Methodist Episcopal Church will not be allowed any proprietary rights in pulpit patronage, nor in the periodical press, nor in colleges, chapels, parsonages, nor votes in General or Annual Conferences. Their privileges as contributors to the funds of all kinds will be continued, and the privileges to debate and vote on propositions of appropriation will be added to the privileges of giving; but, mark it well, the people will not be allowed to have any part in the dominion founded on property. Not only a proportion or the balance of property in all the particulars above stated will be retained by the bishops and elders, but it will all be retained. Nothing can prevent this but a revolution; that would transfer dominion from property to mind. Mind would restore the true proprietary rights." He crystallized the whole argument in this pregnant sentence, "Empire follows property, whether lodged in one, or few, or many." As a philosophy, his positions are incontrovertibly true; as a prediction, fulfilled, though forty years have rolled away since he made this record, except that the irrepressible demand for lay-participation in the government has been reluctantly conceded in an emasculated lay-delegation in the Church, North, and accepted as a necessity of the situation in the Church, South. By all the courts of law, both in England and America, Roman Catholicity, Wesleyan Paternity, and Methodist Episcopacy, as to proprietary rights exclusively in the clergy, walk hand in hand, isolated from every other form of Christian ecclesiasticism.¹

¹ Not content with a steel-ribbed church law, as to the holding and entailment of property, as early as 1824-25, the Methodists of New York, prompted by the secession of the Stillwell party, made application to the legislature of the state for an Act of Incorporation to make still more secure their realty holdings, thus exhibiting a quasi trend for national recognition, such as no other denomination had ever asked. The application was earnestly opposed by the "Reformed Methodists" of that day, and they excited such an opposition to the scheme, as a squinting toward union of Church and State, the politicians raised such a

It is admitted this question is pertinent: Is it the contention that connectional religious denomination should have no security for the inviolability of property beyond the will or whim of the autonomous congregation? The answer is prompt: It is not. The contention is that it should not be so vested as to overawe contention for all other rights of empire as well, and this is decisively the case with Catholic Rome and Parental Methodism, and is so in its intent. The contention is that those who create property should hold the proprietary right in it. Where, then, is the security against alienation? In the equities of the common law derived from the English Constitution, and by which American jurisprudence is governed in all cases made and provided. These equities, in numerous cases decided, are in the general principle that associational property inheres in its title in any who retain fealty to its original purpose, and under it Protestant denominations commonly, and the Methodist Protestant Church specially, have been as secure in their realty as a true equity could demand. The latter has had recreant "church stealing" pastors and revolutionary societies,¹ but it is an open question whether with the security of the common law it has lost more property than the mother Church, despite its iron-clad deeds and power of precipitate ejection. In not a few cases that deed, because of the empire it gives over all other rights as

prejudice against it that the measure failed. Again, as late as 1840, the M. E. Church, through its proper officials, made a like attempt in Massachusetts to secure State recognition of its property rights, but it also failed for like reasons. The significance of such efforts cannot be disregarded, inasmuch as no other denomination has thought it desirable to subsidize the civil law in its property behoof by special enactment.

¹ The sufficiency of the common law, and the Discipline of the M. P. Church to secure conferential and connectional rights against revolutionary invasion received as late as September, 1897, an illustration under the administration of President Sheppard of the Pittsburgh Conference, as detailed in his annual report as follows: "Early in September I was called by Rev. B. F. Saddler, the regular appointed pastor of the Mt. Zion Circuit, to Burnside. There I found the quarterly conference of the circuit and Rev. William Bryenton, an unstationed minister of the Pittsburgh Conference, in rebellion against the stationing authority of the conference, refusing to surrender the pulpits and properties of the circuit to the regular appointed pastor. After a careful hearing of the matter, and upon the officials of the circuit declaring publicly that they would not obey the authority of the conference, I immediately took the proper legal steps to secure the properties to the church and to protect Brother Saddler in the exercise of his duties. The matter was heard before the court of Clearfield County, and a decision was handed down, fully establishing Rev. Saddler in charge of the circuit, giving him the use of all properties and the right to the pulpits of the circuit, thus establishing fully the contention of the Discipline, that the conference has power to station its preachers."

well, has been evaded, a strong and wealthy laity thus silently protesting against the usurpation which makes trusteeship a nominal holding. This leads back to the thought that suggested this exhaustive disposition of a vital difference between the Reformers and their quondam friends. To go out was to go empty-handed, stripped of all claim to realty they had in full proportion assisted to acquire. To go out was to seek shelter in the courtesy of other denominations, or public halls and schoolrooms, and then slowly, and with an amazing self-sacrifice, build anew; for there is no recorded instance in which, however equitable the claim, the mother Church ever allowed it to those it had thrust out. There were a few cases in which the Reformers swept so nearly the whole membership and congregation, as at Uniontown, Md., under the lead of Rev. Daniel Zollickoffer, that the few old Church adherents withdrew, and it has remained extinct to this day. At Hampton, Va., it having been found that a large majority of the members were among the original subscribers to the church property, and now pronounced Reformers, they took possession of it. In many other places conflict was precipitated by one party or the other seizing the church, and excluding the other by changing locks and barring doors and windows.¹

¹ A striking example of a church law that invests the officials and ministers with the exclusive proprietary right in realty of every kind has recently been disgracefully exhibited in the division of the denomination known as "The Evangelical Association." Methodist in doctrine and usage, they organized after the model of the Methodist Episcopal Church in polity. The disastrous division was directly assigned to a difference among the bishops, separating the preachers and people into a Bishop Esher-Bowman and a Bishop Dubs party. After much confessional wrangling, litigation was evoked by the Esher-Bowman party to eject from the churches the Dubs people and preachers, and as they had the same kind of an iron-clad property law as in the M. E. Church, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania decided that the adhering Esher-Bowman section were the legitimate official representatives. It happened that in Pennsylvania and Iowa specially, the Dubs party was in many cases unanimously, and in many others, by large majority, adherents of this Bishop's side. In both States, however, the Esher-Bowman section, armed with this legal ouster, proceeded to eject their opponents, though in many places they had no membership left holding with them. In Iowa, sixty ministers were Dubsists, and only six Esherites. But the six under Esher elevated two of their number as presiding elders, and they at once entered legal proceedings to recover from the sixty all the church property. At a place called Lisbon, finding that they could not establish a rival church there, they offered to sell the congregation their own property, *de facto*, for which they had expended \$4500, its worth being \$9000, for \$1500. In not a few places these Christian elders seized the property and closed it up, as they had no adherents in the place. How much farther these churchmen Shylocks will press their advantage remains to be seen in the face of a court of public opinion, which must denounce these unchristian proceedings. The Dubs party have organized a General Conference,

Shortly after the adjournment of the Convention, at a monthly meeting of the St. John's Baltimore association, they adopted the articles and organized as the "St. John's Associated Methodist Church."¹ On the return of the delegates who represented the Reformers from Georgetown, D. C., three of the number, William King, Gideon Davis, and W. C. Lipscomb, were accused by Samuel M'Kenny and others in the Quarterly Conference, of "speaking evil of ministers" in their attendance upon the Convention. Rev. Norval Wilson was the preacher in charge and in full sympathy with the proceedings of the anti-reformers. A resolution was passed, the Reformers present declining to vote, requesting the pastor to remove these three from their official positions. It was agreed to by a strict party vote, and the pastor announced that they were so removed. This was Friday evening, November 29. After the adjournment an informal conference of Reformers took place. A meeting was called for the Tuesday night following, permission having been granted by Rev. Stephen G. Balch and the trustees of the Presbyterian church to assemble in that church. After due consideration it was determined to withdraw and form an "Associated Methodist Church." A paper, hurriedly prepared, was signed to this effect by twenty-two males and fifteen females. On the following Sabbath they had public service at the Lancasterian schoolhouse in the morning and at Christ Protestant Episcopal church at night, the use of it being granted by the rector and vestry, a tide of sympathy having at once set in for the Reform party. Others joined them until they numbered fifty, and steps were at once taken to build a church.

Nowhere perhaps was more bitterness evoked. M'Kenny, a lawyer and most influential member and citizen, took the rôle of

and will carry with them a large section of the membership. Warned by this disaster, they revised their Discipline so as to make it conform nearly to that of the Methodist Protestant Church in its principles, and so barred out the possibility of another rupture by a difference among life-tenure bishops, with an empire in property. The new organization will be known as "The United Evangelical Church," by a decree of their General Conference, which assembled at Naperville, Ill., November, 1894.

¹ See "An Act of Incorporation of the Associated Methodist Church of the City of Baltimore," one of the "Associated Methodist Churches," adopted January 19, 1829. Baltimore. Printed by William Woody, 1829. 24mo. 20 pp. At a meeting of the male members in St. John's Church, Liberty Street, the following were named as the first board of trustees: Thomas Mummy, John Chappell, Rev. James R. Williams, Rev. Thomas McCormick, John J. Harrod, Lewis D. Lewis, George Evans, Ephraim Smith, and George Northerman.

Dr. Bond in this local division. John Dickson, a brother-in-law of W. C. Lipscomb, one of the disciplined, and others of good report and social standing, led in the prosecuting spirit; and no one may doubt either the sincerity of their piety or their convictions upon the subject. M'Kenny issued a pamphlet of twenty pages, in which he gave an account of what was done in the Quarterly Conference and the reasons for it. It was answered by the disciplined Reformers, King, Lipscomb, and Davis, the literary work being from the facile pen of the last named, in a pamphlet of twenty-nine pages. Others followed on both sides, until the religious community knew not what to believe, so diametrically opposite were the statements. The excitement in Methodist circles was intense and the social estrangement complete. Families were divided, and the parties passed each other on the street without recognition. It is not contended that the Reformers had grown wings and were angelical in their intercourse, but there are some sober facts that cannot be denied in this special case. The flat denials and affirmations of the several parties were such that, in the interest of a common religion, outside Christians endeavored to interpose and settle it. This led the Reformers to propose that the questions of fact should be submitted to arbitration, they to select two and the anti-reformers two, and the four a fifth. It was addressed to Samuel M'Kenny; but he declined, in behalf of his friends, to have the trouble thus composed, and it makes the averment necessary that he had misstated the facts and garbled the proceedings. This unhappy state of things continued for a number of years, until the Christian community, scandalized by the unseemly dissension, again endeavored to interpose and secure at least a truce.¹ Accordingly, Rev. Dr. Stephen G. Balch, Presbyterian, and the rector of Christ Protestant Episcopal church selected two each of their most respected members as a committee of mediation. A carefully prepared letter was addressed simultaneously to both parties, setting forth the moral damage inflicted by the continuous strife, and asking for a cessation and a reconciliation, at least, as to their respective outward, social intercourse, and denominational recognition. It was sent June 1, 1832, and, on June 2, the Reformers promptly

¹ The inspiration of this movement was the fact that prior to 1829, the several Protestant churches of the town had a union prayer-meeting. On the organization of the Associated Methodist Church they were invited to participate in the meeting, whereupon the Methodist Episcopal Church withdrew from the union. They refused to worship with their quondam brethren. See letter of Gideon Davis in *Methodist Protestant*, October 21, 1831.

assembled and consented to any compromise the mediators might arrange. M'Kenny and his associates waited until June 21, when they answered, taking the strange ground that they were the injured parties, and had the only grievance, which they recited in detail from their point of view. They declined the mediation, except on condition that the Reformers, following the Saviour's advice in Matthew, would confess and repent of the wrong-doing without reciprocation on their own part. It ended the correspondence, but threw the sympathies of the whole community to the Reformers; so that they speedily finished their new Congress Street church, without debt, grew rapidly in numbers, and took position as the rival Methodist Church of the town.¹ Like scenes were frequent in not a few other sections, where the sentiment was so nearly equally divided as in this place.

Immediately after the Convention of November, 1828, the agents appointed in the several States displayed great activity, and by their efforts, often rendered at much personal sacrifice, not only the existent Union Societies were saved from disintegration, but many small groups of Reformers were organized and placed under the care of local preachers or some gifted class

¹ Any one curious to verify these facts can do so by consulting the archives of this church, always accessible, in which the whole original correspondence is preserved as well as a circumstantial record made on its official minutes of all the early proceedings, and from which the writer gathered his information by personal inspection. The writer has also some facts from his venerable mother-in-law, Mrs. Henry Weaver, now in her eighty-fifth year, who recalls the scenes of 1828 distinctly, as a young girl and member of the Methodist church. The division not appreciated in its principles by the younger members, she relates how they would meet in groups after Sabbath service, and weep over the situation so full of strange Christian inconsistency to them, and menacing their youthful friendships as well. The late venerable Francis A. Baker, brother to Mrs. Weaver, also related to the writer that he well remembered going with his mother to the Methodist Church one Sabbath in the winter of 1828, after the division. The pastor, Rev. Norval Wilson, arose to conduct the service, but before he could complete the reading of the first hymn he was overcome with emotion, and sat down. Matthew Greentree, a located minister, was sitting in the chancel, and went to Wilson, then a young man, and after consoling with him, he arose and went through the service without public explanation. Mr. Baker associated it, however, with the division. The pastor, looking over his congregation, and finding the places of many of his former official members vacant, no choir leader, as Lipscomb, who so acted, had withdrawn, and over twenty of his principal male members not in their places, he was distressed to tears over the situation. It is also a part of the record that before the division the contention between the Reformers and the anti-reformers was so bitter that when Lipscomb, the leader in the choir gallery, began to sing, the anti-reformers downstairs attempted to sing his choir down, alleging that they would not sing after a "Radical." These melancholy facts are rehearsed as illustrating better than arguments the controversy and the length to which crimination and recrimination was carried.

leader. Many of these inchoate societies afterward perished. They were frequently isolated; it was impossible to supply them in time with preaching or secure shepherds to watch over them; while the whole social power of the old Church was brought to bear in their extirpation. In the West, George Brown in Pittsburgh, Asa Shinn in Cincinnati, Cornelius Springer near Zanesville, W. B. Evans in the vicinage of Harrisville, and Josiah Foster on the Ohio circuit, did valiant service, and made frequent incursions to other sections in response to call for organization of Associated Methodist churches. There was a strong Union Society at Steubenville, and one in Washington, Pa.; at both places churches were organized. Brown's "Itinerant Life" and the *Methodist Correspondent*, established in the interest of Reform at Cincinnati, November 15, 1830, are fruitful of information, and can be profitably consulted by those who wish particulars of the heroic struggle.

The work of the Agents and the progress of Reform over many states would require a volume for recital. Brief sketching must suffice. Dr. John French, one of the ablest and most self-sacrificing of the early ministerial Reformers, did yeoman service for the cause as one of the Agents for Virginia. In the eastern section he organized a number of societies, and, finally concentrating at Norfolk, built a stately church, and gathered a strong membership; but involved himself financially to such an extent in his zeal for the cause, that he never recovered. He merits embalmment in the amber of sacred remembrance. The Agents, and other leaders, made a specialty of camp-meetings, often with great success, and gathering the first fruits of evangelistic labors. A society was organized at Rodman, western New York, October 8, 1828, Joseph Whitehead, Chairman, and John B. Goodenough, Secretary. At Suffolk, Va., Rev. Dr. Finney was active, and, October 7, a meeting of Reformers elected delegates to the ensuing Convention. Also at Xenia, O., a like meeting, with Robert Dobbin, Chairman, and Saul Henkle, Secretary. At Alexandria, Va., a society was formed, and Rev. William Lamphier and Thomas Jacobs were leaders and delegates to the Convention. In Philadelphia two societies existed, and though no large numbers withdrew, partially for the reason that the Reform sentiment, while general among both preachers and people, they did not coalesce with the Baltimore brethren for various reasons, and were leniently dealt with by the authorities; but they sent Dr. Dunn, Dr. James, and Messrs. Mecasky, Stockton, and

Tooker to the Convention. In New Jersey the "Reformed Methodists" had organized in anticipation, and were finally absorbed, sending delegates to the Convention. At Coman's Well, Va., October 27, the meeting appointed delegates: Richard Latimore, Chairman, and W. H. Coman, Secretary. At Autaga, Ala., a society was formed, C. T. Traylor, Chairman, and S. M. Meek, Secretary. At Magathy, Md., a society, Charles Waters, Chairman, B. G. Boon, Secretary. Near Middletown, Hyde County, N. C., a camp-meeting was held, October 16, 1828, with congregations of over one thousand, and one hundred and twenty white conversions. The preachers were Barclif and Norman, ex-itinerants, and Brooks, Giles, Pucket, Floyd, Miller, and Hill, local. The revival continued for months after in the county. Request was made of the *New York Christian Advocate* to publish the good news. Of course no notice was taken of it. After the Convention the organizations were more numerous, as it was the first expression of organic perpetuation of Reform. Churches were organized in Washington, D. C., a secession from the old Foundry church, afterward First church on Ninth Street, now Central, and at the Navy Yard in east Washington. At Chestertown, Kent County, Md., a strong society was organized. At Ruddle's Mill, Ky., a society was formed. The Greenville, Ala., society adopted the Conventional Articles, John Cook, Chairman, Green Vickers, Secretary. At Madison, Ind., the largest town then in the state, a Reformer writes: "We are waiting for a preacher; as soon as we can be supplied with a good one, we are willing to step out of the old Church into the new. This is the largest town in Indiana; Reform has got a good foothold here, and it is absolutely necessary for us to have a good preacher; for we expect the old side will send their best preachers here in order to defeat us." This was a typical case. In scores of instances such buds of promise never matured — the reasons are obvious; with this latent sentiment it is not rash to say the Church was saturated, but by a strange perversion of the facts such failures were heralded as retractions of Reform opinions rather than the absolute inability of the Reformers to man the work presenting on every side. Not only so, but wherever tentative organization took place, at once the whole machinery of a powerful Church was set in motion to crush it. These are facts. How far it was justified by the principle of self-preservation depends upon the means that were employed. In a large number of cases they were certainly against all warrant

of Christian propriety, and in not a few were shameful violations of the social compact and of business comity.¹

Another aspect of the general subject demands brief treatment. It is exhibited by a letter of a western Pennsylvanian to the *Mutual Rights* of this period, who had attended a two days' meeting of Methodists, "where very little had been heard concerning reform; and that he conversed freely with the Methodists on the subject, and found no opposition to the conventional articles." He adds, "The fact is that there would be few opposers of reform, if the subject could be fairly set before the people." The view is correct and in accord with the facts; but in addition to the policy of suppression, wherever it was possible to make it effective, the policy of silence was studiously enjoined that the very existence of Reform might not be advertised, it being intended that the action of the General Conference of 1828 should be a finality to the Reformation. A notable instance of this policy of silence was in the announcement of the *New York Christian Advocate*, shortly after, that its columns could no longer be used for the controversy on either side. It was bad policy to advertise its twenty thousand readers that the "pestilent thing" still lived, in every number. It was for this reason, probably, that Dr. Emory's final strictures on McCaine were published in the *Methodist Magazine*, read chiefly by the preachers. The outcome of this action will be presently seen, when return is made to the Baltimore Reformers and Dr. Bond. A secession took place in Appling, Ga., February, 1829, of some sixty members, and a society was formed. Rev. Moses M. Henkle writes from Springfield, O., on church building and the progress of Reform in that state. Nearly twenty camp-meetings were announced, to be held by Reformers in different parts of the county, for the summer and fall of 1829.

The first volume of the *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer*

¹ There were numerous instances of "boycotting" of Reformers in their business wherever it could be done to any effect. The writer will confine himself to a single case as illustrative because it has been verified by living witnesses. At Carlisle, Pa., a small society of Reformers existed as a part of an adjacent circuit. One of their number, staunch and unflinching in his adherence, was Samuel Hill, a baker. His former customers, most of them Methodists, finding that he could be moved no other way, resolved to move him out of the town by withholding their former patronage of his bakery. They succeeded in starving him out, and he removed to Baltimore, where the Reformers were strong enough and ate bread enough to keep him in business until 1842, when he peacefully departed this life. His widow survived him many years, and was personally known to the writer.

closed with perhaps three thousand subscribers. It had been ably conducted, the principal contributors being Snethen, Shinn, "Erasmus," and James R. Williams in a serial, "History of Reform," afterward enlarged to book form. Much of its space was occupied with local Reform intelligence, and refutation of allegations, diligently circulated and multiplied, that Reform was dying or dead. The new hymn-book, authorized by the late Convention, was compiled and published by J. J. Harrod, who sustained to the Reform movement, as Book Agent and publisher, the same relation that John Dickins did to the Methodist Church as the father of its Book Concern. It was a small 24mo volume, but answered the purpose for some years.

A summary of camp-meetings, held under Reform auspices during the summer and autumn of 1828, will preserve important historical dates and indicate the zeal of the brethren. The first was held near Centreville, Md., in Judge Hopper's Hibernia woods, early in August, 1828, heretofore noticed. The second was at Coman's Well, Sussex County, Va., October 22-27, seventeen white conversions, with large attendance. The Union Camp, near Unionville, Tenn., September 26, had eighteen conversions, and an attendance of from two to three thousand on Sabbath. Henkle's local preachers' camp, in Baltimore County, Md., October 16, with thirty-five conversions. Near Middleton, Hyde County, N. C., October 16, large congregations and great spiritual power, with one hundred and twenty conversions under Rev. W. W. Hill. This, it will be remembered, was prior to the provisional organization under the Conventional Articles of November, 1828.

Returning to Baltimore, challenging always preëminent notice as the cradle of American Methodism, and the birthplace of Methodist Reform, the thread of narrative is resumed. Dr. Bond, it was found, had returned from his pacificatory work at the General Conference of May, 1828, at Pittsburgh, and at once entered upon earnest efforts to separate the Reformers from their leaders, and so throttle, by social disintegration, what he so far failed to accomplish by "writing it down." With his profession upon his hands he yet displayed unusual activity; and but for the stigma attaching to his methods, the old *régime* of governmental Methodism is more indebted to him for the partial arrest of Reform than any man in its history. He took up again the rôle of intermediary, and, adopting a current phrase of the day, he boasted that he was "Jack o' both sides." He now had the

backing of not a few influential laymen, who, counting the cost of a crisis now imminent, and by natural disposition inclined to "let well enough alone," became active in conservative labors. Adroitly sinking, for the time, the question of lay-representation on its merits, Dr. Bond played upon the Church loyalty and preacher-love of the people by making odious use of McCaine's "History and Mystery" and used Dr. Emory's "Defence of Our Fathers," while McCaine was in the South under physical disability, which prevented the appearance of his pulverizing rejoinder in the "Defence of the Truth" until early in 1829. The issues thus raised were effective weapons in Bond's dexterous hand; as it is in accord with all that is known of human nature in acrimonious controversy to be passionately precipitate and partisan; so that there was little calm examination of these issues on the line of evidence; nor were they regarded as of primary importance by the Reformers themselves.

A new opprobrium was invented. The "McCainites" were hissed as vile traducers and infamous slanderers of the "fathers," whose names sat reverently upon the lips of pious Methodists. McCaine, as these pages have clearly shown, was amply vindicated; but it seemed most untimely for lay-representation to reveal the skeleton at this juncture. It affrighted the average Methodist, who closed the whole question by shutting his eyes to it. They redoubled their spiritual labors, and five or six hundred were added to the several city churches; this was claimed as divine approval of the old system, and the pretence might have carried conviction with it, but for the offsetting fact; the city Reformers were also having revivals, and everywhere, as exhibited, conducting most successful evangelistic work. But when the second volume of the *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer* appeared, enlarged and more vital than ever; and the second Convention of Reformers, in Baltimore, in November, was assured; and all attempts to break the solidarity, or check the growth, of Reform proved abortive, — different tactics were resorted to by the "Bondmen," so called. The bimonthly appearance of the *Mutual Rights* and the closure of the *Christian Advocate* to the discussion put anti-reformers at a serious disadvantage. The exigency was met in Baltimore by the *Itinerant or Wesleyan Methodist Visitor*. It was a quarto of eight pages, bimonthly; and the first number appeared November 12, 1828. Melville B. Cox is named editor. He was an itinerant from Virginia, of respectable abilities, and a

former advocate of Reform measures.¹ The volumes are now under the eye of the writer,² and he finds in the Prospectus confirmation of the policy of Dr. Bond as just described. Proposals, it seems, for such a periodical were issued before the late General Conference; but the conciliatory (?) measures of that body and the overweening confidence of the episcopal authorities that Reform had been dealt a finishing stroke, led to a suspension of the purpose for six months. The editor sounds the key-note in this charge, "The writers for the *Mutual Rights* continue to assail, with unrelenting severity, and to misrepresent, with studied ingenuity, whatever is done by our Church to preserve us in the unity of the spirit." Such "evil speaking of ministers" was certainly equal to anything the Reform literature ever produced. Dr. Bond appears in the first number in an elaborate article on "The Convention," that is, the ensuing Reform Convention, signed "C"; and, under this incognito, he continued to write voluminously, and, as a matter of fact, controlled the editor and the conduct of the paper. The article named was his last attempt to be conciliatory. One acquainted with his style has but little difficulty in identifying his writings, commanding as he did an abundant rhetoric, and a perspicacity that always made his meaning plain, and a speciousness of argument that quite satisfied the average reader. A bundle of the first number was sent to the Convention for distribution, "in brotherly kindness and politeness," as a writer signing himself "Justice," says in the next number, who complains lugubriously that the Convention met this piece of effrontery with four motions: one that the papers lie on the table; another that no notice be taken of them; a third that they be burned instantly; and a fourth, which was the one adopted, that they be left in the house, subject to the will of any one; quite as polite a disposition as an open insult could be expected to receive even from Christian gentlemen. Imagine a bundle of the *Mutual Rights* sent to the late General Conference for distribution and recognition! But then, these brethren commiserated the benighted condition of

¹ This he denied, but so did Dr. Bond, to the amazement of all who knew his antecedents. In later years, he utterly repudiated the accusation as boldly as Peter denied all knowledge of the Saviour. It was not, however, it may be charitably assumed, an equivocation, but a mental reservation. They meant that they were never Reformers like Alexander McCaine, for instance, and this was true, both as to the extremes to which he went, and the ability he displayed.

² Kindly loaned the writer by the Methodist Historical Society of Baltimore, to whom he is also indebted for access to other sources of information.

the "disaffected spirits." Christian Keener, before honorably named, came to the assistance of Dr. Bond in a long series of articles styled, "A Defence of Methodism." They were in good temper and of marked ability, traversing the whole question and making the most of the "well enough" view possible. He wrote under his own signature, about the only instance of the kind in the *Itinerant*, though the *Mutual Rights* had been severely arraigned for its anonymous correspondents. Running parallel with this series Dr. Bond, as "C.," reviewed the Report of the late General Conference on Reform, and entered into a sarcastic analysis of the Conventional Articles. They furnished him ground for invidious comparisons and suppositious inferences. The gravamen of his criticism was that the framework was loose and the details unfinished. No allowance was made for the merely provisional nature of the Articles. Not a few of the Reformers were no better satisfied with some of them than Dr. Bond professed to be. And it may be in place to state that while the Reformers were a unit as to the principle of Representation, the mode and degree of it was an open question anent which they differed. In fact, there were two parties of them in the leadership, what may be called a Williams-McCaine party, who were for as much reproduction of the Old Church polity as was not inconsistent with this principle, holding rigid views as to connectionalism and itinerancy; and a Snethen-Stockton party holding to a bold departure from the ancient polity with fuller Annual Conference autonomy, congregational rights, and a flexible itinerancy. This view will be more fully treated when the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church are considered. It was also reviewed by Dr. Bond, as well as Dr. Jennings's strictures, afterward issued, in book form, in his "Exposition." Dr. Bascom's "Summary of Rights" was also elaborately reviewed by "Inquirer." In addition, the periodical was the vehicle of counter blasts and contradictory statements from correspondents at nearly all points where Reform was organized.

It was continued for three years, accomplishing a great deal as a conservator of episcopal authority; but its patrons gradually tired of the thrashing of old straw. Midway of the first volume Cox's name disappears as editor; and after this it was impersonal, Dr. Bond coming into still closer touch with it, and in the last number he makes a personal explanation as to his relations to the controversy and an acknowledgment of his authorship

of so much in it. The *Itinerant* had had a faithful ally in the *Georgia Christian Repository* for a year or more. The *Itinerant* discharges its Parthian arrow at Reform in the jubilate: "The existing state of things did not any longer require a paper devoted to the defence of our ecclesiastical economy. They consider the war as ended in the total discomfiture of the enemy." The Chinese used to defeat their enemies by a clamorous beating of tomtoms, fireworks, and painted dragons. It is the object of this History, sixty-five years later, to exhibit "the total discomfiture of the enemy." The writer's apology for devoting so much precious space to this periodical in a fairly impartial brief of its contents, is to mark contrast with the scant notice of Reform periodicals by the historians of the Old Church. The last number of the *Itinerant* bears date October 26, 1831.

CHAPTER XIV

Election of representatives to the Convention of 1830 by the Annual Conferences as formed; history of their formation from 1828 to 1830 with rosters of original members; interesting facts connected therewith — Evans's "Questions and Answers on Church Polity," known as "yellow jackets" — Snethen as a travelling organizer in his old age — Camp-meetings — A few exceptions to the rule of withdrawals without certificates — First Auxiliary Superannuated Society, the Phœbian of St. John's Church, Baltimore — Vitality of Lay-Representation as a principle shown; extenuation for the hundreds who lapsed from the cause under crucial tests of the time — Success of the new Church despite all hindrances proven by the figures — Ordination papers and their validity in separatists — Bascom prepares for the Constitution of the new Church his Summary of Rights; its mishap, and the Elementary Principles substituted — Appendix I, first volume.

ARTICLE 16th of the Convention of 1828 requiring that the representatives to the Convention of 1830 should be elected by Annual Conferences, immediate steps were taken to organize such wherever practicable. Accordingly, on the 19th of December, 1828, the expelled and withdrawn ministers, and the lay-delegates deputed by the societies of North Carolina, assembled at Whitaker's chapel, Halifax County, and organized by electing Rev. E. B. Whitaker, President *pro tem.*, and Rev. Miles Nash, Secretary. The only accessible records show that it was composed of eight ministers, seven of whom had been expelled for their Reform principles from the mother Church, and one, W. W. Hill, who, though tried, made such a convincing argument in his own defence that the committee acquitted him. He subsequently withdrew. The seven other ministers were James Hunter, E. B. Whitaker, William Bellamy, Henry Bradford, Miles Nash, William Price, and Abriton Jones. There were also five licensed preachers in attendance and twelve lay-delegates. All were from the Roanoke Union Society except the preachers, the Granville Society not having had time, owing to the short notice of the meeting, to elect delegates. W. W. Hill was elected President and travelling Agent for the state, and at once entered upon active labors. Such are the meagre details of the first organized Conference of three circuits.

The ministers, preachers, and lay-delegates from the Maryland Union Societies assembled at St. John's church, Baltimore, April 2, 1829, to organize an Annual Conference.¹ After provisional formation, on the second day an election by ballot of a President resulted unanimously, save one vote, for Rev. Nicholas Snethen; William H. Bordley, Secretary. The following appear to be enrolled as members:—

MINISTERS

Nicholas Snethen
 Alexander McCaine
 Samuel K. Jennings, M.D.
 James R. Williams
 Dennis B. Dorsey
 Thomas McCormick
 John S. Reese, M.D.
 Luther J. Cox
 Daniel E. Reese
 Jonathan Forrest
 Eli Henkle
 William C. Pool
 Benjamin Richardson
 Isaac Webster
 John Davis
 William Kesley
 J. B. Fergusson
 John C. French
 Frederick Stier
 William W. Wallace
 Joseph Scull
 Kendall Cropper
 John Fernon
 David Crall
 James Hanson
 Reuben T. Boyd
 William Bawden
 Charles Jacobs
 Thomas Dunn, M.D.

LAY-DELEGATES

John Chappell
 George Evans
 Wesley Starr
 John J. Harrod
 John Rose
 Richard A. Shipley
 George Northerman
 Robert B. Varden
 John H. Kennard
 Thomas W. Hopper, M.D.
 Hon. P. B. Hopper
 William Harper, Jr.
 William H. Bordley
 James Parrott
 Rowland Rodgers
 Abalard Stevenson
 Christopher Owings
 Jasper Peddicord
 Thomas Mummy
 John Eliason
 George Collard
 James Moore
 Daniel Peregoy
 Dennis A. Smith
 John May

¹ See manuscript minutes of Maryland Conference in first volume of its Minutes in custody of the Baltimore Book Concern. There are three partly volumes of these Minutes, all of which were printed, save those of the first Conference. Though so ordered, no copies are extant, and it is evident that the order was not carried out.

Also "History of the Maryland Annual Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church," by J. T. Murray and T. H. Lewis, Baltimore. W. J. C. Dulany, agent. M. P. Book Concern. 1882. 12mo. 124 pp. Cloth.

The business of the Conference most important as establishing precedents, was the motion of L. J. Cox to organize auxiliary societies for the support of superannuated ministers, etc., throughout the Conference. The motion of Dr. Jennings was to invest the President with the appointing power, subject to the revision of a Committee of Appeals. "On motion, it was unanimously resolved that we are as much as ever opposed to slavery." This action appears to have been taken by common consent, even such proslavery men as McCaine making no objection to offset the proslavery construction put upon the fifteenth Conventional Article by the anti-reformers in Maryland. Of those enrolled, Jonathan Forrest, Nicholas Snethen, and Alexander McCaine had long and honorable records as ex-itinerants. The Conference adjourned April 7, to meet March 31, 1830, at the same place. On the same day this Conference organized, April 22, 1829, a second Conference assembled in North Carolina, at Sampson's meeting-house, and Paris says: "At the opening of this session, several ministers gave their names and were received as members who had not had opportunity of attending the first session; . . . a fourth circuit was added to the previous number." Arbitrary proceedings in the western part of the State led to other enforced withdrawals. The preacher in charge of Guilford circuit, after service at Moriah chapel, took Col. William Gilbreath aside and admonished him that he "must neither read nor patronize the *Mutual Rights*." He indignantly answered, "What I buy and pay for is my own, and I will read as I please"; whereupon the preacher said, "I will give you four weeks to consider about quitting the *Mutual Rights*, and if by that time you do not discontinue it, I will have you expelled from the church"; to which Gilbreath rejoined, "You need not give me five minutes, for I will read, and also circulate it, if anybody else wants to read the work." It was an illustration of Dr. Bond's averment, that "a man may be a good Christian and not a good Methodist." Gilbreath consulted his brethren of the chapel, feeling alarmed for the rights of himself and brethren as Christians, and on the 7th of the ensuing month of May called a meeting of the members, Rev. John Coe, Chairman, and Joseph Gilbreath, Secretary, and after considering the menace of the preacher, which they set forth in resolutions, also resolved, "That we consider it a duty which we owe to ourselves and our posterity to withdraw from the Methodist Episcopal Church." The society thus organized consisted of thirty-four members, so that when the circuit preacher

reached this appointment on his next round he found but two of the flock in his church. The Rev. John Coe took temporary charge of them. Similar proceedings led to the withdrawal of Alexander Robbins, John Wilburn, and Alson Gray, local preachers, and a society of sixteen members was organized at Liberty, so that from the three, Moriah, Bethel, and Liberty, six circuits were subsequently formed in western North Carolina. Alson Gray took the field and was indefatigable as an organizer. A memorable instance was that at Sandy Ridge, where he formed a class of three women,—Mrs. Lindsey, and Mrs. Anna and Harriet Chipman,—who after more than a year's prayerful fidelity were rewarded with a gracious revival, and their numbers were greatly augmented, so that this class in 1844 had grown into a society of 170 members.

April 19, 1829, a Conference was held in New York, at the Sullivan Street church, of "Methodist Reform" preachers and delegates, claiming to be an adjourned meeting of an earlier date, called, as Secretary, by Aaron G. Brewer, one of the ministers originally of the Stillwell Reformers, but who had now divided, one section adhering to him and his friends, and another, holding stricter itinerant views, inclining to the Associated Methodists. A call appeared in the *Mutual Rights* for November, 1829, to all "Associated Methodists" and "Reformed Methodists" of "New York and eastward" to assemble at Sullivan Street church on the third Thursday in April, 1830. It was signed by Isaiah Sickles, Robert McGee, George Thomas, Aaron G. Brewer, and George Philips. They met accordingly, and after organizing by calling George Thomas to the chair and George Smith, secretary, the following were recognized as members. Elders: George Thomas, James Jorman, George Philips, Asahel Gilbert, Jonas Hobbs, Levi Bronson, John B. Taylor, Joseph Carwine. Deacons: Daniel D. Tompkins, William Clayton, Gershom Howland, Thomas K. Witsel. Lay-representatives: Matthew Vogal, James Fowler, George Smith, Ephraim Barness, Nathaniel Hopper, David Holmes, W. McCutchen, Joseph Weeks. George Thomas was elected President. The stationing power was placed with two ministers and two laymen, with the right of appeal to the preachers. Three were received into the travelling connection: Joseph Carwine, Albert Piercy, and Joseph Lowe. Aaron G. Brewer's name does not appear, as he had meantime removed to Georgia and had become associated with the Appling County society in February, 1829, and thenceforth took a most active part in the Associated Methodist churches.

The first Virginia Conference organized at Lynchburg, Va., May 1, 1829, in the Presbyterian church. Nicholas Snethen was present as a visitor and preached the ordination sermon. From the plan of appointments it appears that Alexander McCaine was elected President, with J. B. Tilden, George Reed, Miles King, B. G. Burgess, William Pinnell, Richard Latimore, William M. Coman, Dr. John French, and John Percival, ministers. No list of delegates is accessible. Three camp-meetings were held in Virginia during the ensuing summer: at Coman's Well; near Blount's meeting-house, Isle of Wight County; and one near Norfolk. The first South Alabama Conference organized May 1, 1829. It was attended by sixteen preachers, whose names are not obtainable from the records. Rev. Britton Capel was elected President, and Seymour Powell, Secretary. The work was laid off, and preachers appointed, among the number Peyton Bibb. A second Conference was held September 16, 1829, which reported 881 in membership in society. It was convened near Smith's Ferry, in Perry County.¹ A call was made for the organization of a Philadelphia Conference June 25, 1829, by Dunn, Cropper, Dickens, and Webb. It assembled in "Keyser's church," October 8-10, 1829. Nicholas Snethen was elected Chairman *pro tem.*, but presided during the whole session. The venerable John Smith, an honorable ex-itinerant from Delaware, was elected Conference President, and the appointing power was placed in his hands, subject to an appeal from the preachers. Eighteen

¹ A "History of Methodism in Alabama," by Anson West, D.D. Nashville Pub. House, M. E. Church, South. 1893. Large 8vo. 755 pp. Cloth.

A very thorough work, devoting to the Methodist Protestant Church much larger space than historians of the M. E. Church allow, and containing some facts which the writer of this "History of Reform" has found nowhere else. Chap. 17, covering pp. 404 to 426, as also chap. 38, pp. 740 to 755, are given to the Methodist Protestant Church. Portions of it are laboriously argumentative to show its polity in the weakest light, with some facts which need not be gainsaid as to the tendencies of extremes in its system. Altogether, however, those who wish intimate acquaintance with the organization of the Church in Alabama cannot afford to overlook these chapters as furnishing much information, which it is impracticable to incorporate in this "History of Reform." Its flippant criticisms can be excused in such a loyal Methodist Episcopalian as Dr. West. He furnishes information on a few points. The first Annual Conference was held at Rocky Mount, and he says that it is certain that Revs. Peyton Bibb, Britton Capel, Arnold Campbell, Peyton S. Graves, Samuel S. Meek, Elijah Meyers, Eli Terry, and probably Joseph Walker, were present. He also informs that as early as 1823, in Dutch Bend, Autauga County, a meeting was held composed of local preachers who memorialized the General Conference of 1824 for larger recognition, and initiated Reform in the state.

ministers and fifteen licensed preachers, with the laity, composed the Conference, but their names are not accessible. There were representatives present from the Reformed Methodists of Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and the western section of New York. From the plan of appointments a list of preachers present is partially supplied, as well as indicating the territory covered by the work in its inchoate condition: Philadelphia, Thomas W. Pearson; Kensington (Philadelphia), James W. Holmes; Darby (Pa.), Thomas L. Coates; Sussex (Del.), Hiram B. Harold; New Castle (Del.), Samuel Budd; Monmouth (N. J.), George A. Raybold; New Hanover (N. J.), James Brindle; Barnesboro (N. J.), William Stevens; Trenton Station (N. J.), John S. Christine; Sharptown (N. J.), Thomas Cheeseman; Andes (Pa.), Thomas West; Salem (Pa.), Joseph Barlow; Havanna (N. Y.), John G. Wilson; New York, Thomas G. Witsel; Missionary in New Jersey, James Chester. Strong resolutions were passed against intemperance, and in favor of Sabbath-schools; also in support of the *Mutual Rights*. The committee signing this report was Thomas Dunn, Joseph Cramer, Ebenezer Cropper, W. S. Stockton.

As early as 1826 "Reformed Methodist" societies were formed in Rutherford, Bedford, and Williamson counties in Tennessee. At a delegated convention of these societies, held at Unionville, August 30, 1828, of which Hayman Bailey was Chairman and Richard Warner, Secretary, these societies consolidated and resolved to coöperate with the Methodist Reformers in Baltimore and elsewhere, and W. B. Elgin represented them in the General Convention of November, 1828. They accepted the Conventional Articles, organized a Quarterly Conference, and supplied the field with preachers until an Annual Conference could be organized. The first Tennessee Conference convened at Union Camp-ground, near Unionville, Tenn., October 8, 1829. The only information concerning it is communicated to the *Mutual Rights* by Thomas Potts and James L. Armstrong, Corresponding Committee, December 5, 1829. Nineteen members were recognized, eight ordained ministers and eleven laymen. Three other preachers were entitled to seats but absent, and seven others under license within the Conference bounds, which now included all the Southwest to Texas. Thomas Potts was the Superintendent of Union circuit, and probably the first President of the Conference. Dr. James L. Armstrong was the leading layman. The second Conference was to be held at "Ebenezer, in Rutherford County, near Hoover's

Gap."¹ There were twenty conversions at the accompanying camp.

The first Ohio Conference, which included all the western territory occupied by Reformers, assembled in Cincinnati, October 15, 1829. The following is the roster of ministers and laymen, a number of whom were not present:—

MINISTERS

George Waddle
John Wilson
James McKoy
C. Springer
Evert Richman
Joseph Thrapp
James Flemming
Jeremiah L. Leslie
William Hamilton
Benson Goldsbury
Daniel Inskip
William Hughey
Allison G. Keys
Edward Kearns

Hector Sandford
Saul Henkle
Jonathan Flood
Ambrose Jones
Moses M. Henkle
James Towler
Adjet McGuire
Robert Dobbins
Joel Dolby, Sr.
Reuben McDaniel
Asa Shinn
John Price
John Haughton
David English

¹ A year later Dr. Armstrong, in furnishing minutes of the Conference of 1831, states that an abstract of the Conference of 1830 was furnished the *Mutual Rights*, acknowledged, but never published. It was in this way that these records are irrevocably lost.

The Tennessee Conference of September, 1831, was in "Bedford" county, and therefore probably at the Union Camp-ground near Unionville. The writer, on a visit to this Conference, had pointed out to him by Rev. Dr. B. F. Duggan, the old barn in which the first "Union Society" was organized, on the outskirts of the town. The Conference of 1831 reorganized under the constitution, and from the full minutes furnished by Dr. Armstrong in both the *Correspondent* and *Methodist Protestant*, a list of ministers and laymen is given, most of whom were probably in the original body, and it is here preserved in honor of these outpost pioneers of Reform: President Richard W. Morris, Oswell Potts, James Ray, James Williams, Samuel Elliott,* B. S. Ragsdale, Allen Blankership, Conellum H. Hines, Charles L. Jeffries,* Joseph Walker,* William B. Elgin,* William Peck,* John Cox,* Thomas D. Stanley, Hayman Bailey, David Goodner, Thomas S. Stillwell,* James Edmondson, Thomas Potts, William Potts, and John McClure*; lay delegates: Thomas Burgess, Richard Warner, George Jones, James L. Armstrong, Joshua Hooker, Mark Whitaker,* Bailey Chandler,* Silas Tarver,* Edward D. Tarver, Micajah B. Procter,* John Martin,* William Sanson,* and Elijah Renshaw.* Resin B. Collins and James D. Hines, from southern Kentucky, were received, also a letter from Jacob Sexton, Arkansas Territory, asking to be received with thirty members, also a like request from East Tennessee. The membership reported was 417. "A Missionary and Preachers' Aid Society" was organized. The next Conference at Civilorder, Bedford County, first Wednesday in December, 1832, James L. Armstrong, Secretary.

* Absent.

MINISTERS (*continued*)

Jesse D. Dorman
 William B. Evans
 Amos Chitwood
 William B. Collins
 Joseph H. Overstreet
 Benjamin W. Johnson
 James Sims
 George Brown
 Charles Avery
 William Stevenson
 James Meendon
 Josiah Foster

Lewis Browning
 Jeremiah Browning
 Charles Scott
 George Palmer
 Jacob Meyers
 Levi Reeves
 Samuel Thompson
 James Paris
 James Ward
 Roddick H. Horn
 William Reeves
 Joel Dolby, Jr.

LAY-DELEGATES

R. Thompson
 Joseph Grubb
 Robert Curran
 Olcote White
 William Camp
 Henry Nash
 John Johnson
 Joseph Rockhold
 John Adair
 William Henton
 Joseph Whitridge
 Archibold McConkey
 Joseph Newlove
 Nathaniel Cartnell

Stephen Bell
 Obed Waln
 Amos Metcalf
 Phillip Hare
 John Horne
 William Young
 Ezekiah Hall
 William Disney
 Moses Lyon
 Robert Monroe
 James H. Wallace
 Henry C. Dorsey
 Joseph J. Amos
 Christopher Wallmsley

It was "resolved that W. B. Evans's 'Brief View of the Government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, set forth in Questions and Answers,' be approved and recommended by this Conference, and that another edition be published forthwith." This little pamphlet has a history which may be covered at this its first mention. It was a clear and concise showing, and a few years after a supplement was issued by Rev. John H. Honour of South Carolina in the same form, setting forth the polity of the Methodist Protestant Church in contrast, with a brief outline of Reform history and Dr. Bascom's "Summary of Rights." A copy now before the writer is one of the ninth edition, 1844, and makes a 24mo paper-covered booklet of fifty-four pages. Numerous editions were issued, and it had a wide influence as an educational pamphlet where Reform was little known. From the accident that it was issued in yellow paper covers, it came to be nicknamed

by the brethren of the old Church "the yellow jacket," in travesty of its biting logic and convincing facts. It is estimated that one hundred thousand copies were issued by the Baltimore Book Concern. In later years, when the bitterness of the contention had subsided, its circulation was no longer pressed by the Reformers, until in still later years the continued misrepresentations of the origin and the principles of the new Church by the press of the old-side led to Paris's "Manual," and within fifteen years to Dr. L. W. Bates's "Contrast." Notwithstanding these issues, the writer's sober judgment, reinforced by that of many others conversant with the past forty or fifty years, is that it has been a fundamental error of the Reformed Church that the press was not extensively availed of and large expenditure made to set before Christians of every name in dispassionate argument the history and issues of 1820-30 in Methodism. While there is nothing so disreputable, or that should be utterly frowned out of existence, as Church proselytism, if this denomination had a right to organize under the necessities of expulsion and persecution, and its principles are worth the sacrifice of its noble Fathers and Founders, then no labor can be too great to vindicate their memories and perpetuate their principles in a distinct denomination. It may be truthfully said, to the lasting honor of the Reform Methodists, that it has not been a proselyting body. Dr. Bassett, who was closely connected with it in the West from before 1828, bears this testimony: "The writer never knew an instance in which our brethren sought to effect secession from the old Church," and in the writer's nearly fifty years' connection with it no such instance is recalled in the East and South. If such cases can be historically proven, they must be the exceptions to a certified rule. The Ohio Conference invested the stationing authority in the President, Asa Shinn, with Cornelius Springer and George Brown. Eight preachers were elected deacons, and nineteen deacons elders, so great was the demand for properly authorized ministers in the new and enlarging work. John Houghton was elected Secretary. The numbers reported in membership about two thousand. It was recommended that Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois be set off as Conferences so soon as the resident quarterly conferences shall take the necessary action.

The Rochester Conference of the "Methodist Society" met in Ontario, Wayne County, N. Y., February 13, 1830. In committee of the whole it resolved to adopt the Conventional Articles of the Associated Methodist Churches. Dr. James Covel was

elected President and Orren Miller Secretary, and the body adopted the name of Genesee Conference. The appointments were divided into Rochester, Conhocton, Genesee, and Oneida districts. The membership is reported at 442, though a number of the circuits made no report. Orren Miller was a preacher in the old Church since 1811, and, entertaining Reform principles, awaited an opportunity for church connection akin to them. In 1821 he entered the "Methodist Society," and in 1824 organized the Rochester Conference. The preachers stationed for 1830 were: R. Andrews, Z. Covell, J. Fister, N. Palmer, D. P. Ketchum, Dr. J. Covell, O. Miller, J. A. Miller, S. Brownson, E. Brownson, T. Buck, Joseph Jacobs, B. Landon, H. Sheffield, T. Freeman, Colburn Blake, S. Pierce, C. Mars, J. West, J. Heath, and J. Donald, missionaries; G. E. Steadman, D. Washburn, O. Medary, without appointments. The next Conference to meet at Ogden, Monroe County, first Thursday in February, 1831.¹

The first Vermont Annual Conference, according to previous notice, assembled at Shelburne, February 19, 1830, and Luther Chamberlain was elected President and Chandler Walker, Secretary. The preachers present were: Luther Chamberlain, Nathaniel Gage, Chandler Walker, David Ferris, and Thomas A. Carpenter. The laymen: Daniel Norton, Solomon Holcomb, Edward Farrington, Nathaniel Stockwell, and Abner Croff. Next Conference to meet at Monktonborough, last Tuesday in May, 1831.

The first Georgia Annual Conference was held in Newton County, on the 22d of July, 1830. It elected Eppes Tucker, an ex-itinerant of the old Church, President, and Harrison Jones, Secretary. The following are named by Paris as ministers: Eppes Tucker, Aaron G. Brewer (who took an active part in bringing about the absorption of the New York "Methodist Society" with the Associated Methodists, and on removal to Georgia, pending

¹ This has also been designated as the First Annual Conference, but as the Rochester Conference of the "Reformed Methodists" complied with the only condition precedent, the adoption of the Conventional Articles to become a Methodist Protestant body, they acted as such, and should be recognized as the first Conference. The ministers present at the conference of 1831 were Isaac Fister, Salmon Brownson, James Heath, Nelson Palmer, Orren Miller, J. A. Miller, Elias B. Dare, Henry Lyon, and Zenos Covell. The laymen were Reuben Moffat, Robert Graham, Edmond Wanray, Washington Rathburn, Jacob Bigelow, James Stevens, Eden Foster, David P. Green, and Samuel Strowger. The deacons were Robert Andrews and Thomas Buck. Orren Miller was elected President, and Zenos Covell Secretary. The number of members reported was 411, with no returns from Bennington circuit and Utica station.

the transition, took a most prominent part in the new Church, and for many years was abundant in labors for the cause of Christ and Reform Methodism), Jesse Morris, R. W. W. Wynne, James Lowery, R. P. Ward, Ethel Tucker, Robert Walker, Charles Williamson, Harrison Jones, John A. Russell, Robert McCorkle, Thomas Gardner, Henry Saxon, B. Sweringen, James Hodges, Abraham Lucas, William Pentecost, J. R. Swain, and C. P. Witherpoon. There were twelve lay-delegates in attendance, but their names are not given. There were laid off eleven circuits and one mission. A. G. Brewer was appointed Conference missionary. A camp-meeting was held in connection with the Conference. About a dozen churches were soon organized in different counties, some as early as 1827.

The second Virginia Conference was held May 20, 1830, in Suffolk, and continued five days. The following ministers, recognized as members, were probably also members of the first Conference.

MINISTERS

Alexander McCaine
John French
Miles King
Benedict Burgess
W. H. Coman
Richard Lattimore
Horatio E. Hall
Crawley Finney
Charles Roundtree
William Pinnell
Ira A. Easter
John M. Willis
John Blount
Jacob M. Jennings
John G. Whitfield
R. B. Thomson

LAYMEN

Robert H. Gray
George Percival
William S. Slater, Sr.
Samuel Berry
T. Graham
J. J. Burroughs
Lewis F. Cosby
John L. Diggs
Elijah Phillips
David Armistead
John Phillips, Sr.
Matthew Powell

J. J. Burroughs was appointed Secretary, Alexander McCaine Chairman, until the election of Dr. John French, President. The Conference by resolution suggested the formation of a Book Room, and to place the official organ under the General Convention with the election of an editor. There were seven circuits and one station, Lynchburg, to which Alexander McCaine was appointed this year.

The Alabama Conference held its second session near Smith's Ferry, Perry County, September 16, 1830. Britton Capel was

re-elected President, and Seymour Powell Secretary. The following ministers were recognized as members, and were probably also members of the first Conference session:—

MINISTERS	LAYMEN
Britton Capel	David Graves
Peyton S. Graves	R. S. Livingston
Elijah Myers	Abner McGee
Eli Terry	Benajah S. Bibb
Peyton Bibb	Larkin Cleveland
William Rice	Stephen Pierce
Joseph D. Lee	Mark Howard
James Sharp	Robert Mayes
George A. Campbell	Samuel Shaddock
William Cole	Benjamin Dunn
James Holley	Seymour Powell
Benjamin Dulaney	James K. Benson
Samuel Oliver	Edward H. Cook
John B. Purdew	Absalom Carter
Samuel H. Meek	John Cook
James Meek	James D. Stanton
John Meek	James M. Powell
Wiley J. Stanton	C. S. Traylor
John McCormick	Thomas M. Smith
	Peter Loper
	Edward H. Cook

Jacob Dorley and Elias Carroll were received as travelling preachers. The work was divided into five vast circuits.

At the second session of the Tennessee Conference, held on the second Thursday in September, 1830, the records give as preachers: R. W. Morris, President, O. Potts, T. Burgess, B. H. Ragsdale, W. M. Elliott, H. Bailey, and T. L. Potts, who received appointments. Four new circuits were formed and the members reported 345.

Thus an effort has been made to preserve from oblivion the preachers and laymen who were foremost in the formation of the new Church in active labors. A few incidental matters need mention to cover the two years from the Convention of November, 1828, to that of November, 1830. The reader will recall the presence of the venerable Nicholas Snethen at various Conferences, notably at Lynchburg, Va., and then as far north as Philadelphia. Recalling his asthmatic ailment and other infirmities, such travel by the slow post-chaise of that day, and largely at his own charges, is an indication of the zeal and fidelity

of this ministerial father of Reform. Alexander McCaine in the South was indefatigable, answering all calls and serving wherever his presence was demanded. The mention is deserved, and besides it serves to refute the calumny of Robert Emory in the "Life" of his father as to McCaine, in the crucial period of 1829-30. His filial zeal betrayed him into the false statement: "The party which McCaine had attempted to promote became ashamed of their champion; and he himself shortly after retired from public view, to repent, we would fain hope, of the wrong he had done to the living and the dead, to individuals and to the Church."¹ Camp-meetings were frequent both North and South. Six were held in Maryland during the summer of 1830, and all of them eminently successful. New "Associated Reformed churches" are announced with phenomenal frequency, considering the difficulties under which in every instance they were formed. Not a few were isolated, and in consequence of the impossibility of keeping them supplied with preaching, after heroic struggle were compelled to disband. A church of over 300 white and some 150 colored members grew up in the city of Louisville, Ky.; but, after various mishaps, suitable pastoral supply being chief, it disorganized, and for half a century the new Church was unknown, until within a very recent period a reorganization has taken place.

An instance has been discovered by the writer in which the pastors of the old Church consented to give certificates to withdrawing members, and it is noted in the interest of impartial history. Dr. John French organized by invitation a church of thirty-two members in Boston, September, 1830, and says: "I am informed that the stationed preachers here conduct with great propriety, and grant certificates of dismission freely to all that ask for them."²

¹ During McCaine's missionary travels in the South in 1830, arriving at Columbia, S. C., while the legislature of the state was in session, he was invited to preach, on a Sabbath night, by a formal and unanimous resolution of the House, which he accepted. There is said to have been no precedent for this action. It helps to counteract the vilifications of the *Itinerant*, some of whose correspondents hounded his tracks at this very time.

² This is the exception to the rule noted in a previous part of this History as to Dr. Buckley's averment and the "withdrawal" of members from the M. E. Church in the early days, certificates being refused them. Since this exception was discovered and here acknowledged, another has been made by Rev. Dr. George Brown, in his "Itinerant Life," p. 425, referring to the fifty ladies who withdrew in 1827: "All these Christian ladies obtained certificates of their good standing from Rev. J. M. Hanson, the preacher in charge. This was at least one act of justice on the part of Mr. Hanson." If a fact, there is no other mention of it in the Reform or anti-reform literature of the time. Dr. Brown does not give his author-

The first auxiliary Superannuated Society was organized in Baltimore, at St. John's church, known as the Phœbian Society, by the women of the station, which continued a useful existence for fifty years at East Baltimore station, and then was merged into the regular Conference society. It is the first instance on record. The second volume of the *Mutual Rights* was brought to a close with the number of November 1, 1830. It was turned over to the Convention by its editor and publisher, Dennis B. Dorsey. It had been faithfully conducted.

Two years of the organizing and propagating crusade of the agents appointed by the Convention of 1828 had resulted successfully, as the preceding pages give evidence. There was a vitality in the principle of Lay-Representation that could not be extinguished, despite the fact that of the itinerants who had espoused and expressed adhesion not one in ten found it possible to maintain open fealty. From such a distinguished example as H. B. Bascom downward, the alternative was want of bread or plenty. As in his own case, had no dependents been involved,—wife, children, parents, and family ties,—it is morally certain that he and many others would have followed the example of Shinn, Brown, Springer, and their compeers; but while the heroic self-abnegation of such men will never cease to win the meed of approval and admiration, reflection need not be cast upon the hundreds who hesitated and then silently submitted, hoping, it may be, for the more propitious opportunity. Reflection is on those only who, with the zeal of perverts and the ambition of ecclesiastics, not only cowered, but curried favor of Episcopacy by denying their opinions and repudiating Reform associations. It is the province of this History to mark these to the extent the truth of history demands, and to rescue the memory of their quondam friends from the aspersions so persistently cast upon them by criminating chroniclers. That a vastly larger number of laymen should have been intimidated, meeting the crisis with submission, if not repudiation, not only accords with the prophet's

ity for it. He was resident in the West and not presumed to have intimate acquaintance with the local doings of Baltimore. Elsewhere in this volume is also noted the fact that the book of register made by Hanson during his administration was left by him in the parsonage, and came into the possession of a Reformer, Robert B. Varden, and sections of it were afterward published in *fac-simile*, also given in this volume, but this register furnishes no evidence that these women were given certificates. Conceding, however, that it was as Dr. Brown states, it makes only a second exception to what was the well-known rule, and so does not affect the force of my objection to his editorial statement.

plaint, "like people like priest," but is more excusable. Among them defections were plentiful.

As already stated, the pages of both the *Itinerant* and the *Mutual Rights* were largely occupied with glesome evidences in the former that "Reform was going down," and in the latter with refutations of false reports during these two years. Some one personally flaunting the declaration "going down" in the face of Asa Shinn, he made characteristic answer: "Yes, it is going down, but it is like the Ohio River, broadening and widening as it goes." It became a catch-phrase with the Reformers, and with much truth, as shall be presently exhibited. Williams, than whom no one was better prepared for a truthful estimate, in his "History" says: "Taking all the circumstances into view, the Methodist Protestant Church had prospered beyond all precedent. When she first organized under the Conventional Articles of 1828, there were perhaps not more than 1000 members, though the Convention represented, probably, 3000 members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Convention of 1830 represented about 5000 members of the Associated Methodist churches. Four years after that period, in 1834, there were, according to the minutes of the respective Annual Conferences, 26,587 members in the Methodist Protestant Church." Of the 5000 estimated for 1830, 2000 were probably conversions under evangelistic labors at camp and revival meetings under Reform auspices.¹

At the several Annual Conferences organized from 1828 to 1830, representatives were elected to the Constitutional Convention. Williams says: "Much anxiety was felt on all hands. The Episcopal Methodists feared the development of principles and rules of government which would cast their system more deeply into the shade, but hoped we would fall out by the way;

¹ The late Bishop Matthew Simpson, in his "One Hundred Years of Methodism," p. 314, says, speaking of the Methodist Protestant Church from 1828 to 1830: "In this secession, within a few years, probably some 30,000 members withdrew." Though in the later years of his useful life he was an uncompromising advocate of Lay-Representation, in common with all the historians of the Old Church, it seems impossible for him to refer to the "Radicals" without manifest prejudice and bias. This thirty thousand secession served a purpose on page 314, though it is a wild guess without data, but on page 125 of the same work he says, in a brief tabulation of statistics for the period, misleading in its character: "The secession, so far as numbers were concerned, scarcely occasioned a ripple on the surface." On page 123, he qualifies, "It was supposed that from 1828 to 1834 there may have been thirty thousand." It more probably did not amount to a third of it in these six years all told.

some of them predicted this with great assurance, and fixed our final dissolution at a period not exceeding three years. The Reformers, on the other hand, while they felt great solicitude that the Convention might prepare a system worthy of admiration, did not appear to dread any fatal diversity of opinion and sentiment which might militate seriously against the general interests of the churches."

About this time some of the leaders of anti-reform, through their periodical, gave utterance to the following Romish dogma: "If a minister expatriate, he thereby dissolves the compact in virtue of which he received and holds his official functions; and of course those functions cease; those official powers are the property of the Church for whose use they were conferred, and were lent on certain stipulated terms, which terms can only be performed *within* the Church to which the property belongs." There seems to have been no care of the logical consequence, for if true, then all the Protestant ordinations of Europe are spurious and invalid as derived from Luther, Zwingli, Melancthon, Calvin, and the fathers of the English reformation. At this day the ministers of the mother Church will marvel at such assumptions, forgetting that the whole trend of ecclesiastical dogmas, as they were "received from their fathers" of the Coke-Asbury-Soule school, was Romeward. On this theory Wesley's ordinations were invalid, and so the "fathers." It was of a piece with the logical incoherence and inconsequence that bolstered the anomalous Methodist Episcopal system. The whole warp and woof of it is fallacy and sophism, however specious.

The Committee of the Convention of 1828 to prepare a Constitution and Discipline had diligently and judiciously used the intervening time in its preparation, while others invented independent drafts. Snethen had said in 1828: "Our book of discipline will never be complete without a bill of rights." A close friend of H. B. Bascom's among the leading laymen, John J. Harrod, had suggested to him that as the Convention would need such a bill he should prepare one. Willing to serve the cause in any way possible to him, he complied. He was travelling agent for the American Colonization Society, in the neighborhood of Cincinnati, at the time. His biographer informs that he went to the city, supplied himself with the "Federalist" and other works, and shut himself up to its composition in a country inn a few miles back of the city. The product was that masterful "Summary Declaration of Rights, explanatory of the Reasons

and Principles of Government."¹ It laid under contribution his strongest and freshest powers, and is the one outcome of his facile pen which will never perish. It consists of twenty-two Articles, links of a chain without that "weakest point" endangering it. It was then forwarded to Harrod in Baltimore, but did not reach him until the Convention had passed its initial work and was far advanced to completion. It was presented, respectfully received, then withdrawn, apparently by Bascom's friend. It was solicited again, but seems no more to have come before the Convention officially. Bascom's biographer, Rev. Moses M. Henkle, offers surmises for its failure, and makes claims for its recognition, even to the exclusion of the "Elementary Principles," which had already passed as a bill of rights by the Convention. It would be futile to consider these surmises. It was prefixed to the first edition of the printed Constitution and Discipline by Harrod, Book Agent, as "prepared by a friend." Its authorship was some years afterward publicly acknowledged by Bascom.¹ It was subsequently, by authority of several General Conferences, bound up with the Constitution as an exponent of its principles, and widely circulated in various forms by Reformed Methodists in America and in England. The full text of it is presented in Appendix I to first volume. A new chapter must recite the doings of the Convehtion of 1830.

¹ "Life of Bascom," by Moses M. Henkle, p. 371. Also *Methodist Protestant*, September 21, 1850, an editorial producing this evidence of authorship.

CHAPTER XV

Convention of 1830 in Baltimore; organization; roster of members; composition — Principal business forming a Constitution and Discipline; various drafts presented representing the two parties of centrifugalists and centripetalists; analogous parties in the United States Convention of 1787 — The Constitution as adopted; incidents of the Convention; contention over certain views; Snethen opposed to another "Church"; preferred "churches"; striking views on New Testament polity by Snethen and Dr. A. Webster; also by Wesley in his Notes — Love the essence of law; law the embodiment of ecclesiasticism; logical philosophy as bearing upon it — History of certain articles of the Constitution; certain moots as to non-action of the Convention, Articles of Religion, etc. — Incidental business of importance — Who finally signed the Constitution — Convention adjourned with prayer by Asa Shinn; Francis Waters, President, Lipscomb and Brown, Secretaries.

THE Associated Methodist Churches met in Convention at St. John's church, Liberty Street, Baltimore, November 2, 1830. Rev. Dr. John French was called to the chair, and the Convention opened with religious service. W. C. Lipscomb of Georgetown, D. C., was appointed Secretary. It may be well to note the fact, as a precedent, that he was not a representative to the Convention, but filled the position with such satisfaction until the afternoon of the 22d of November, that a vote of thanks was unanimously tendered him. The following named persons were found duly elected members of the Convention, by the respective Annual Conferences of the Associated Methodist Churches:—

VERMONT

Rev. Nathaniel Gage

Mr. Daniel Norton

NEW YORK AND CANADA

Rev. Daniel Bromley

GENESEE

Rev. Isaac Fister
Rev. Elias B. Dare
Rev. James Covell¹
Rev. Orren Miller¹

Mr. John Woodward¹
Mr. William G. Miller¹
Mr. Eden Foster¹
Richard Harris¹

¹ These were absent.

NEW YORK

Rev. George Thomas

Mr. George Smith

PENNSYLVANIA

Rev. John Smith

Caleb Rodney, Esq.¹

Rev. Thomas Pearson

Mr. Archibald Campbell¹

Rev. Hiram R. Harrold

Mr. Ebenezer Cropper

Rev. George A. Raybold

Mr. Arnold S. Naudain

Rev. Samuel Budd

Mr. Jeremiah Stull

Rev. James Brindle

Mr. Uriah Baxter¹

Rev. Dr. Thomas Dunn

Mr. Elisha Chew

Rev. Kendall S. Cropper

Mr. David B. Salter

Rev. Dr. Phineas Price¹Mr. James Moore¹

Rev. Taber Chadwick

Mr. Robert Hodgson

Rev. Sylvester Hutchinson

Mr. Dr. Wm. K. Mason¹

Rev. Dr. William Morgan

Mr. Daniel R. Ackley¹

Rev. John Fernon

Mr. Jeremiah Walton¹Rev. David Rundell¹

Mr. William S. Stockton

MARYLAND

Rev. Eli Henkle

Hon. Philemon B. Hopper

Rev. Wesley W. Wallace

Mr. Gideon Davis

Rev. Dr. John S. Reese

Mr. John J. Harrod

Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey

Mr. Henry Willis¹

Rev. Thomas H. Stockton

Col. W. Doughty

Rev. Isaac Webster

Mr. Daniel McLeod

Rev. Wm. C. Pool

James H. Devor, Esq.

Rev. Dr. Samuel K. Jennings

Mr. Abner Linthicum

Rev. Francis Waters, D.D.

Mr. Elias Crutchley

Rev. James R. Williams

Mr. Lewis Shipley

Rev. Daniel Zollickoffer

Mr. Henry Webster

Rev. Benjamin Richardson

Mr. John Constable

Rev. Slingsby Linthicum

James Parrott, Esq.¹

Rev. Thos. Melvin

Mr. Richard Chambers

VIRGINIA

Rev. Alexander McCaine

Everard Hall, Esq.

Rev. Dr. John French

Mr. John Victor¹

Rev. Dr. Crawley Finney

Mr. William S. Slater, Sr.

Rev. Dr. W. J. Holcombe

Dr. Andrew Woodly¹

Rev. Miles King

Dr. Hiram Harding

Rev. Benedict Burgess

Mr. B. Starke

NORTH CAROLINA

Rev. Wm. W. Hill

S. Whitaker, Esq.

Rev. Willis Harris

Mr. John F. Bellamy¹Rev. Josiah R. Horn¹Mr. Ivy Harris¹¹ These were absent.

GEORGIA

Rev. Aaron G. Brewer
Rev. Eppes Tucker

Col. Richard A. Blount
Charles Kennon, Esq.

ALABAMA

Rev. Britton Capel

Dr. Edward H. Cook

OHIO

Rev. Asa Shinn
Rev. Cornelius Springer
Rev. Nicholas Snethen¹
Rev. George Brown
Rev. Charles Avery
Rev. John Fordyce¹
Rev. Matthew Nelson
Rev. David Edwards¹

Mr. James Foster
Mr. Wilson S. Thorn
Mr. Thomas McKeever
Mr. J. B. W. Haynes¹
Mr. John Souder¹
Mr. D. P. Wilkins¹
Mr. Stephen Beall¹
Mr. H. C. Dorsey¹

WESTERN VIRGINIA

Rev. George A. Read

Mr. James Carpenter

MASSACHUSETTS

Rev. Thomas F. Norris

Col. Amos Binney¹

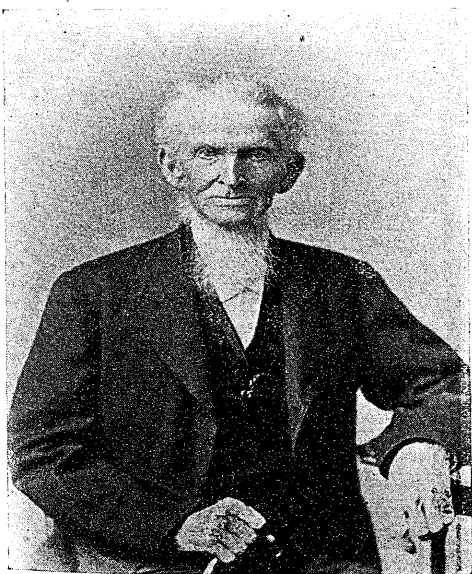
Rev. Baxter H. Ragsdale and Edward B. Tarver were elected representatives from the Tennessee Conference, September, 1830, but, not being present, and the notice of the Conference not having been published in the *Mutual Rights*, though sent and acknowledged, this Conference does not appear at the November, 1830, Convention, as it should have done.

Those specified (see foot-note) were not present, so that out of 114 ministerial and lay representatives elected 83 were in attendance, quite as large a proportion as attended the General Conferences of the Old Church; though these delegates had their expenses provided for, while those of the Associated churches, for the most part, met their own expenses, as well as the loss incident to three weeks' absence from business by all the laity and the local ministers, who, a careful examination shows, were honored with seats in the proportion of one-half the ministerial representation in nearly all the Conferences. This statement is demanded to meet the carping criticism quite frequent at that time by their enemies, that the laymen could not be induced to attend legislative assemblies of the Church, at least from any distance. It was also a principle with the Reformers not to over-

¹ These were absent.



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THOMAS MCCORMICK.



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weight these assemblies with numbers, for obvious reasons; so that it was a provision of many years' standing in the Constitution of the new Church that a General Conference should not be composed of more than one hundred members, ministerial and lay. The careful reader of these volumes will also observe that this Convention was composed of the ablest and most influential men of the Societies, and represented the intelligence, piety, business and social position of their respective neighborhoods, so that after two generations their names continue to represent these virtues in the Church, though there have not been wanting degenerate sons of these heroic sires.

The sessions were held three times a day, those of the morning and afternoon at St. John's and those of the evening at a school-room on South Street, a kind of executive session, as it was found desirable and necessary to stop the eavesdropping of their quondam brethren, for such deliberations. It will also be noted that Canada and Western Virginia, though recognized, do not appear as separate Annual Conferences; though the Discipline of 1830 notes a New York and Lower Canada boundary for a Conference, while Western Virginia¹ is included in the Ohio district. The Convention then went into a ballot for President, and Francis Waters, D.D., received forty-five out of fifty-four votes.

The writer has just carefully perused the extant records, con-

¹ This Conference, now numerically the second largest in the denomination, not being of the original number, merits distinctive notice as to the initial Reform work in this state. Rev. George Nestor, D.D., at the Annual Conference of 1878, delivered a semi-centennial sermon, bristling with important data and stirring narrative, afterward printed in pamphlet form. Some of the more important facts are gleaned from it. In October, 1829, on Hacker's Creek, in Lewis County, an organization was effected under the Conventional Articles, Rev. John Mitchell and David Smith organizing the first class in what is still called the old Harmony church, yet preserved as the first built in that section (October, 1819), and in which most of the eminent early Reformers had preached. It has been photographed and a framed copy of it is in the picture gallery of the Baltimore Book Concern. Rev. H. K. Bonnet, now deceased, was elected class leader, and six months after the roll showed sixty names. It became a parent society, another being formed shortly after at the forks of Hacker Creek, and Rev. John Smith elected leader. The territory included in these two classes now holds a membership in the Church of over five hundred. An organization was effected in Morgantown by Rev. Cornelius Springer, in the spring of 1830, with Rev. W. H. Marshall as assistant preacher. Three prominent ministers came of this class, Joseph A. Shackelford, Asby Pool, and John Clark, the last a leader in the Conference for many years. In the fall of the same year, probably, Springer and Marshall formed a society at the forks of the Cheat River. A class was formed at Ball Hill, Green County, Pa. (within the West Virginia territory), by Rev. George Brown, February, 1830. Societies were also formed in Palatine and the neighborhood, where William Barnes and J. O. Hartley resided, the former surviving until late years; in Prunty-

sisting of the original draft of a Constitution presented by the committee of seven appointed by the Convention of 1828 for that purpose, of which James R. Williams was chairman. This venerable and almost sacred document is well preserved, and shows all the amendments and additions which were made by the Convention to the Committee's work; it is autographically signed by twenty-nine of the members on the third day before the final adjournment. This signing was a voluntary act, and probably accounts for the absence of some important names, while others undoubtedly withheld as dissenting, in part, from what was done. The signers are: Nathaniel Gage, Daniel Norton, Daniel Bromley, James H. Devor, J. S. Reese, D. B. Dorsey, James R. Williams, John J. Harrod, Gideon Davis, Elias Crutchley, Miles King, W. W. Hill, Willis Harris, John French, Eppes Tucker, R. A. Blount, Britton Capel, Edward H. Cook, George Brown, C. Springer, James Foster, B. Burgess, Isaac Webster, Benj. Richardson, Eli Henkle, John Smith, Samuel K. Jennings, Hiram R. Harrold. Thus, it will be seen that all sections of the country, in about equal proportion, placed their sign manuals to the instrument in final approval. The writer has also before him this original draft, printed for the use of the Convention before amendment, as well as the certified copy as made by order of the General Conference of 1854 by W. H. Wills of North Carolina.

In the examination of these documents, you will be impressed with the prayerful deliberation and wise caution of the Convention, from the second to the twenty-third inclusive, of November, 1830. One magnetic personality is absent: Nicholas Snethen, though honored as a representative from the Ohio Conference, within the bounds of which he had recently removed. His health was impaired, and to recross, by mail-coach, the mountains, was probably too much for his endurance. But the other leaders, Shinn, Jennings, McCaine (late in the session), Brown, Springer, French, W. W. Hill, Gideon Davis, James R. Williams, and others, were continuously present through three sessions a day for

town, between the years 1830-34, and has long been a power in that community. Very early, in Rockford, a class was formed. It is now almost the centre of the Church work in that state. In later years, at Harrisville, the Morriston neighborhood, in Greenbrier County, Flat Woods, Braxton County, and many other places, Reform was early introduced and has held a wide influence ever since. On Teter's Creek, in Barbour County, Rev. George Nestor organized in 1842. The centennial sermon embalms the names of many of these worthies, and to it reference is made for fuller particulars.

three weeks. William S. Stockton and his famous son, Thomas Hewlings, were there. They were not all of one opinion as to general principles and fundamental policy. As in the Convention that formed the Constitution of the United States, in 1787, there were protagonists of centrifugalism and centripetalism, so in this ecclesiastical assembly; and no criticism will hold against the one for this reason that does not hold equally in the other, though there were not wanting old Tories in the one case and old Bourbons in the other who twitted and sneered these patriotic men on the outcome of their deliberations. The revolving years, however, in either case have vindicated the wisdom and equality of both these constitutional instruments. There was another difference of mental attitude among these dissenting Methodists: those who were for adhering in everything compatible with essential principles to the old *régime* of Methodism, and those who were for departing as widely as the new order proposed should demand, without much regard to present expediency, as a factor in organization. These divergencies made the final instrument, as every other of the kind, a compromise of extremes. And to this day it is impossible, without dogmatism, to settle the question as to the wiser course in the light of experience. Notation shall be made, after the fundamentals of the instrument are laid before the reader, of some of the salient differences of view among the representatives, with remarks expressive of the writer's judgment in a retrospect of sixty-five years; which the reader may value accordingly, but will not deem superfluous or impertinent. The following are the essential features of the new instrument; a Constitution ordained by the sovereign will of these Methodist people through their properly constituted representatives:¹—

PREAMBLE

WE, the Representatives of the Associated Methodist Churches, in General Convention assembled, acknowledging the Lord Jesus Christ, as the only

¹ No constitution can be said to be truly representative of those who ordained it, until the instrument as formulated by their delegated authority has been ratified by the primary assemblies of the people. Was this the case with the Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church, as it was the case with the Constitution of the United States through the Legislatures? The answer is that, while the instrument itself did not make provision for such reference, inasmuch as no Annual Conferences were yet recognized as such, yet the fact of history is that every Annual Conference afterward organized did so under the Constitution by formal vote of approval of its provisions. It was at one time doubted whether a majority of them would so indorse it, but in every instance it proved to be the case, thus securing a unanimous ratification.

HEAD of the Church, and the word of God, as the sufficient rule of faith and practice, in all things pertaining to godliness ; and being fully persuaded that the representative form of church government is the most scriptural, best suited to our condition, and most congenial with our views and feelings as fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God ; AND, Whereas, a written Constitution, establishing the form of Government, and securing to the Ministers and Members of the Church their rights and privileges, is the best safeguard of Christian liberty ; We, therefore, trusting in the protection of Almighty God, and acting in the name and by the authority of our constituents, do ordain and establish, and agree to be governed by the following elementary principles and Constitution :—

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES

1. A Christian Church is a society of believers in Jesus Christ, and is of divine institution.
2. Christ is the only Head of the Church ; and the word of God the only rule of faith and conduct.
3. No person who loves the Lord Jesus Christ, and obeys the gospel of God our Saviour, ought to be deprived of church membership.
4. Every man has an inalienable right to private judgment, in matters of religion ; and an equal right to express his opinion, in any way which will not violate the laws of God, or the rights of his fellow-men.
5. Church trials should be conducted on gospel principles only ; and no minister or member should be excommunicated except for immorality ; the propagation of unchristian doctrines ; or for the neglect of duties enjoined by the word of God.
6. The pastoral or ministerial office and duties are of divine appointment ; and all elders in the church of God are equal ; but ministers are forbidden to be lords over God's heritage, or to have dominion over the faith of the saints.
7. The Church has a right to form and enforce such rules and regulations only, as are in accordance with the holy scriptures, and may be necessary, or have a tendency to carry into effect the great system of practical Christianity.
8. Whatever power may be necessary to the formation of rules and regulations, is inherent in the ministers and members of the Church ; but so much of that power may be delegated, from time to time, upon a plan of representation, as they may judge necessary and proper.
9. It is the duty of all ministers and members of the Church to maintain godliness, and to oppose all moral evil.
10. It is obligatory on ministers of the gospel to be faithful in the discharge of their pastoral and ministerial duties ; and it is also obligatory on the members, to esteem ministers highly for their works' sake, and to render them a righteous compensation for their labours.
11. The Church ought to secure to all her official bodies the necessary authority for the purposes of good government ; but she has no right to create any distinct or independent sovereignties.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I

Title

This Association shall be denominated, **THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH**, comprising the Associated Methodist Churches.

ARTICLE II

Terms of Membership

I. There is only one condition required of those who apply for membership in an Associated Methodist Church, viz. : *A desire to flee from the wrath to come, and be saved by grace, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ ; with an avowed determination to walk in all the commandments of God blameless.*

But those who may continue therein must give evidence of this desire and determination, by conforming to such rules of moral discipline as the word of God requires.

II. There shall be a state of probationary privileges, in which persons shall be held as candidates for admission into membership in this Church, preparatory to their being received into full membership, by a compliance with the terms thereof.

III. The children of our members, and those under their guardianship, shall be recognized as enjoying probationary privileges, and held as candidates for membership ; and may be put into classes, as such, with the consent of their parents or guardians.

ARTICLE III

Division into Districts, Circuits, and Stations

I. Those parts of the United States embraced by this Association, shall be divided into districts, having respectively such boundaries as may be agreed on at this Convention, subject to those alterations which may be made or authorized, from time to time, by the General Conference.

II. Each district shall be divided into circuits and stations, by its Annual Conference.

III. Every minister or preacher, removing from one district to another ; and every member removing from one circuit, station, or church to another, having a certificate of his or her good standing, shall be entitled to membership in any other district, circuit, station or Associated Methodist Church within the limits of this Association, to which he or she may apply for membership.

ARTICLE IV

On receiving Churches, &c.

I. Any number of believers united as a religious Society or church, embracing the principles of religious truth held by this Association, adopting

this Constitution, and conforming to our book of discipline and means of grace, shall, at their request, made to the president of an Annual Conference, or the superintendent of a circuit or station, be recognized as an Associated Methodist Church, and be entitled to all the privileges granted by this Constitution ; subject, however, to the decision of the most adjacent Quarterly Conference.

II. An Associated church or society shall be composed of any number of members residing sufficiently near each other to assemble statedly for public worship, and to transact its temporal business. And every church shall be divided, when it becomes necessary, into smaller companies or classes, for the purposes of religious instruction and edification.

III. Every church or society shall have power, by the concurrence of a majority of two-thirds of its qualified male members, present at any meeting called for the purpose, to purchase, build, lease, sell, rent, or otherwise obtain or dispose of property, for the mutual benefit of the church. Each church shall also have power to admit persons into full membership ; and to try, censure, or expel unworthy members, in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, and the rules of discipline.

IV. But no church whatever shall be continued in connexion with this Association, which does not conform to this constitution, and the regulations contained in the book of discipline ; or which may hereafter reject any part or provision thereof.

ARTICLE V

Leaders' Meeting

In every station there shall be a leaders' meeting, composed of all the class leaders and stewards ; the superintendent shall be chairman of the meeting.

ARTICLE VI

Quarterly Conferences

I. There shall be four Quarterly Conferences in each circuit and station, every conference year, to be composed of all the ministers, preachers, exhorters, stewards and leaders, and trustees, in full membership, belonging to the circuit or station. Provided that the superintendent shall have authority to call special meetings of the quarterly conference at other times, when circumstances make it necessary.

II. Each Quarterly Conference shall be vested with power to examine into the official character of all its members, and to admonish or reprove as occasion may require ; to grant to persons, properly qualified and recommended by the class of which the applicant is a member, license to preach and exhort, and renew their license annually ; to admit ministers and preachers coming from any Associated church ; to recommend ministers and preachers to the Annual Conference to travel, and for ordination ; to hear and decide on appeals ; and to perform such other duties as are authorized by this convention. Provided, nevertheless, that no person shall be licensed to preach until he shall have been first examined, and recommended by a committee of five, composed of ministers and laymen, chosen by the Quarterly Conference.

ARTICLE VII

Composition and Powers of the Annual Conferences

I. There shall be held annually, within the limits of each district, a Conference, to be denominated the Annual Conference, composed of all the ordained itinerant ministers belonging to the district; that is, all ministers properly under the stationing power of the Conference, and of one delegate from each circuit and station for each of its itinerant ministers, provided, however, that every circuit and station shall have at least one delegate. Each Annual Conference shall regulate the manner of elections, in its own district; provided, however, that the election of delegates to the first Annual Conferences, under this Constitution, shall be according to such regulations as may be adopted for that purpose by the Quarterly Conferences of the respective circuits and stations.

II. The Annual Conferences, respectively, shall be vested with power to elect a president, annually; to examine into the official conduct of all its members; to receive by vote, such ministers and preachers into the Conference as come properly recommended, and who can be efficiently employed as itinerant preachers, or missionaries; to elect to orders those who are eligible and competent to the pastoral office; to hear and decide on appeals; to define and regulate the boundaries of circuits and stations; to station the ministers, preachers and missionaries; and to perform such other duties as may be prescribed by this Convention or the General Conference.

III. To make such rules and regulations as may be necessary to defray the expenses of the itinerant ministers, preachers, and their families; to raise their salaries as fixed by this Convention; and for all other purposes connected with the organization and continuance of said Conferences.

IV. The Annual Conferences, respectively, shall also have authority to perform the following additional duties:—

1st. To make such special rules and regulations as the peculiarities of the district may require; provided, however, that no rule or regulation be made, inconsistent with this Constitution. And provided, furthermore, that the General Conference shall have power to annul any rule or regulation which that body may deem unconstitutional.

2d. To prescribe and regulate the mode of stationing the ministers and preachers within the district; provided always, that they grant to each minister or preacher stationed, an appeal, during the sitting of the Conference.

3d. Each Annual Conference shall have exclusive power to make its own rules and regulations for the admission and government of its colored members; and to make for them such terms of suffrage as the Conferences respectively may deem proper.

But neither the General Conference nor any Annual Conference shall assume powers to interfere with the constitutional powers of the civil governments or with the operations of the civil laws; yet nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to authorize or sanction anything inconsistent with the morality of the holy scriptures.

Each Annual Conference shall keep a Journal of its proceedings, and send a copy to the General Conference.

ARTICLE VIII

Composition of the General Conference

I. There shall be a General Conference of this Association, on the first Tuesday in May, in the year of our Lord, 1834, in Georgetown, District of Columbia ; and on the first Tuesday in May every seventh year thereafter, in such place as may be determined on by the Conference.

II. The General Conference shall consist of an equal number of Ministers and Laymen. The ratio of representation from each district shall be one minister and one layman for every thousand persons in full membership ; provided, however, that any district which may not have one thousand members shall be entitled to two representatives, one minister and one layman, until a different ratio shall have been fixed by the General Conference.

III. The number of representatives to which each District may be entitled, shall be elected at the time, and place of holding the Annual Conference of the district, next preceding the sitting of the General Conference, by the joint ballot of an electoral college, composed of the itinerant ministers and delegates belonging to the Annual Conference, and of one minister, who is not under the stationing power of the Conference, provided there be such, from each circuit and station within the limits of the district. The minister thus added from each circuit and station shall be elected at the time and place of holding the Quarterly Conference, by the ministers in his circuit or station, not under the stationing power of the Annual Conference. Provided, however, that the delegates from the respective circuits and stations, be laymen ; and provided also, that it require the affirmative vote of a majority of all the lay delegates present, as well as a majority of the votes of all the ministers present, to constitute the election of any representative to the General Conference.

IV. The General Conference shall elect by ballot, a president to preside over its deliberations ; and one or more secretaries, to serve during the sitting of the Conference ; shall also judge of election returns, and qualifications of its own members and form its own rules of order. A majority of all the representatives in attendance, shall constitute a quorum.

V. The Ministers and laymen shall deliberate in one body ; but if, upon the final passage of any question, it be required by three members, the Ministers and Laymen shall vote separately, and the concurrence of a majority of both classes of representatives shall be necessary to constitute a vote of the Conference. — A similar regulation shall be observed by the Annual Conferences.

VI. The yeas and nays shall be recorded at the call of one-fifth part of the members present.

VII. The Conference shall publish such parts of the journal of its proceedings as it may deem requisite.

VIII. All papers, books, &c., belonging to the Conference, shall be preserved as that body may direct.

ARTICLE IX

Powers of the General Conference

I. The General Conference shall have power to make rules and regulations for the Itinerant, Missionary, Literary, and every other department of the Church, recognized by this Constitution.

II. To fix the compensation and duties of the itinerant ministers and preachers, and the allowance for their wives, widows and children; and also, the compensation and duties of the Book Agent, Editor, &c., and to devise ways and means for raising funds.

III. To regulate, from time to time, the number of representatives to the General Conference; provided, that the General Conference shall at no time exceed one hundred members.

IV. To define and regulate the boundaries of the respective Annual Conference districts; provided, however, that the Annual Conferences of any two or more districts, shall have power, by mutual agreement, to alter their respective adjoining boundaries, or to unite and become one district, or to set off a new district; to receive into their respective limits and jurisdiction any station or circuit, which does not belong to some other district; but every alteration made in the boundaries of the respective districts shall be reported to the ensuing General Conference.

ARTICLE X

Restrictions on the Legislative Assemblies

I. No rule shall be passed which shall contravene any law of God.

II. No rule shall be passed which shall infringe the right of suffrage, eligibility to office, or the rights and privileges of our ministers, preachers, and members, to an impartial trial by committee, and of an appeal, as provided by this Constitution.

III. No rule shall be passed infringing on the liberty of speech, or of the press; but for every abuse of liberty, the offender shall be dealt with as in other cases of indulging in sinful words and tempers.

IV. No rule, except it be founded on the holy scriptures, shall be passed authorizing the expulsion of any minister, preacher or member.

V. No rule shall be passed appropriating the funds of the Church to any purpose except the support of the ministry, their wives, widows and children; the promotion of education, and Missions; the diffusion of useful knowledge; the necessary expenses consequent on assembling the Conferences, and the relief of the poor.

VI. No higher order of Ministers shall be authorized than that of Elder.

VII. No rule shall be passed to abolish an efficient itinerant ministry, or to authorize the Annual Conferences to station their ministers and preachers longer than three years, successively, in the same circuit, and two years successively in the same station.

VIII. No change shall be made in the relative proportions, or component parts of the General or Annual conferences.

ARTICLE XI

Officers of the Church

1. The President of each Annual Conference shall be elected annually by the ballot of a majority of the members of the Conference. He shall not be eligible more than three years in succession ; and shall be amenable to that body for his official conduct.

2. It shall be the duty of the President of an Annual Conference to preside in all meetings of that body ; to travel through the district, and visit all the circuits and stations, and to be present, as far as practicable, at all the Quarterly Meetings and Camp Meetings of his district ; and, in the recess of Conference, with the assistance of two or more elders, to ordain those persons who may be elected to orders ; to employ such ministers, preachers, and missionaries, as are duly recommended ; and to make such changes of preachers as may be necessary, provided, the consent of the preachers to be changed, be first obtained ; and to perform such other duties as may be required by his Annual Conference.

Ministers

1. The Minister, who shall be appointed by the Annual Conference, to the charge of a station or circuit, shall be styled the Superintendent, and shall be amenable to the Annual Conference for his official conduct.

2. The minister or preacher appointed by the Annual Conference to assist the superintendent in the discharge of his pastoral duties, shall be styled the Assistant ; and shall be amenable to the Annual Conference for the faithful discharge of duty.

3. It shall be the duty of every minister and preacher belonging to a circuit or station, to render all the pastoral assistance he can, consistently with his other engagements ; but no minister or preacher shall be accountable to the Annual Conference for the discharge of ministerial duty, except he be an itinerant minister or preacher ; all others shall be accountable to the Quarterly Conference of their circuit or station.

4. No person shall be recognized as an itinerant minister, preacher or missionary, whose name is not enrolled on the Annual Conference list, or who will not be subject to the order of the Conference.

Class Leaders

The class leaders may be elected annually by the members of their respective Classes ; but if, in any instance, a class shall neglect or refuse to elect a leader, when one is wanted, it shall then be the duty of the superintendent to nominate a class leader for said class, and from the nomination or nominations made by the superintendent, the class shall make an election.

Conference Stewards

The Conference steward shall be elected annually by the Annual Conference, and discharge those duties assigned him by the discipline, and be amenable to the Annual Conference for his official conduct.

Station and Circuit Stewards

1. The station and Circuit Stewards shall be elected annually ; in the stations, by the male members, including ministers and preachers ; and in the Circuits, by the Quarterly Conference ; but every qualified male member, if present, shall be permitted to vote in the elections of Circuit Stewards. The number of Stewards for each Circuit or Station to be not less than three, nor more than seven.

ARTICLE XII

Suffrage and Eligibility to office

I. Every Minister and Preacher, and every white, lay, male Member, in full communion and fellowship, having attained to the age of twenty-one years, shall be entitled to vote in all cases.

II. Every Minister and Preacher, and every white, lay, male Member, in full communion and fellowship, having attained to the age of twenty-five years, and having been in full membership two years, shall be eligible as a representative to the General Conference.

III. No person shall be eligible as a delegate to the Annual Conference, or as a steward, until he shall have attained to the age of twenty-one years, and who is not a regular communicant of this Church.

IV. No Minister shall be eligible to the office of President of an Annual Conference, until he shall have faithfully exercised the office of elder two years.

ARTICLE XIII

Judiciary Principles

I. All offences condemned by the word of God, as being sufficient to exclude a person from the kingdom of grace and glory, shall subject Ministers, Preachers and Members, to expulsion from the Church.

II. The neglect of duties required by the word of God, or the indulgence in sinful words and tempers, shall subject the offender to admonition ; and if persisted in, after repeated admonitions, to expulsion.

III. For preaching or disseminating unscriptural doctrines affecting the essential interests of the Christian system, Ministers, Preachers, and Members shall be liable to admonition ; and, if incorrigible, to expulsion : Provided, always, that no Minister, Preacher or Member, shall be expelled for disseminating matters of opinion alone, except they be such as are condemned by the word of God.

IV. All officers of the Church shall be liable to removal from office, for mal-administration.

ARTICLE XIV

Privileges of accused Ministers and Members

I. In all cases of accusation against a Minister, Preacher, or Member, the accused shall be furnished by the proper authorities, with a copy of the charges and specifications, at least twenty days before the time appointed for the trial ; unless the parties concerned prefer going into trial on shorter

notice. The accused shall have the right of challenge; the privilege of examining witnesses at the time of trial; and of making his defence in person or by representative; provided such representative be a member of the Church.

II. No Minister or Preacher, shall be expelled, or deprived of Church privileges, or ministerial functions, without an impartial trial before a committee, of from three to five ministers or preachers, and the right of appeal; the preachers to the ensuing Quarterly Conference; the ministers to the ensuing Annual Conference.

III. No Member shall be expelled or deprived of church privileges, without an impartial trial before a Committee of three or more lay members, or before the Society of which he is a member, as the accused may require, and the right of an appeal to the ensuing Quarterly Conference; but no Committee man who shall have sat on the first trial, shall sit on the appeal; and all appeals shall be final.

ARTICLE XV

Discipline Judiciary

I. Whenever a majority of all the Annual Conferences shall officially call for a judicial decision on any rule or act of the General Conference, it shall be the duty of each and every Annual Conference to appoint at its next session, one Judicial delegate, having the same qualifications of eligibility as are required for a representative to the General Conference. The delegates thus chosen, shall assemble at the place where the General Conference held its last session, on the second Tuesday in May following their appointment.

II. A majority of the delegates shall constitute a quorum; and if two-thirds of all present, judge said rule or act of the General Conference unconstitutional, they shall have power to declare the same null and void.

III. Every decision of the Judiciary shall be in writing, and shall be published in the periodical belonging to this Church. After the Judiciary shall have performed the duties assigned them by this Constitution, their powers shall cease; and no other judiciary shall be created until after the session of the succeeding General Conference.

ARTICLE XVI

Special Call of the General Conference

I. Two-thirds of the whole number of the Annual Conferences shall have power to call special meetings of the General Conference.

II. When it shall have been ascertained, that two-thirds of the Annual Conferences have decided in favour of such call, it shall be the duty of the Presidents, or a majority of them, forthwith, to designate the time and place of holding the same, and to give due notice to all the stations and circuits.

ARTICLE XVII

Provision for altering the Constitution

I. The General Conference shall have power to amend any part of this Constitution, except the second, tenth and fourteenth articles, by making

such alterations or additions, as may be recommended in writing, by two-thirds of the whole number of the Annual Conferences next preceding the sitting of the General Conference.

II. The second, tenth and fourteenth articles of this Constitution shall be unalterable, except by a General Convention, called for the special purpose, by two-thirds of the whole number of the Annual Conferences next preceding the General Conference. Which Convention, and all other Conventions of this Church, shall be constituted and elected in the same manner and ratio, as prescribed for the General Conference. When a General Convention is called by the Annual Conferences, it shall supersede the assembling of the General Conference for that period; and shall have power to discharge all the duties of that body, in addition to the particular object for which the Convention shall have been assembled.

Resolved, That the Judiciary tribunal provided for by the 15th article of the Constitution of this Church, shall publish as well the reasons of their opinion upon the part or provision of the Constitution supposed to have been contravened by the law, or laws, provision or provisions, considered to be unconstitutional, together with their decision.

Whereas, It is declared by this Convention, that whatever power may be necessary to the formation of rules and regulations, is inherent in the ministers and members of the Church; and that so much of that power may be delegated from time to time, upon a plan of representation as they may judge proper; therefore, *Resolved*, that all power not delegated to the respective official bodies of the Methodist Protestant Church by this Convention, are retained to said ministers and members.

Baltimore, Nov. 20, 1830.

William S. Stockton had prepared and presented a draft of a Constitution, which Williams has preserved bound up with the original draft finally adopted, and as a substitute for it. It exhibits the centrifugal sentiments of the author, and also largely represented the views of Snethen and others who stood for the wider liberty of societies, annual conferences, and against restrictive regulations of almost every kind. The instrument is one of much intrinsic worth and ability. Gideon Davis also presented parts of an instrument, and others made fundamental suggestions. All the papers were referred to a committee of twelve, one from each Conference in the Convention, who reported back, that they recommend the draft of the committee of the Convention of 1828, to be made the basis of legislation. This draft, as can be seen, exhibited the centripetal sentiment of Shinn, McCaine, and Williams, with the quiet but influential support of Dr. Francis Waters. It is in the chirography of Williams, the chairman of the committee, and his sober and judicious views

dominated a majority of the Convention. Its order is followed, and but few essential modifications were made in it. The same committee formulated a Discipline to accord with their constitutional work, but it need not be considered in this History.¹ It was more radically dissected by the Convention before adoption.

While it might be historically interesting to give conventional details, the limits of this work forbid; but some things ought not to pass into oblivion. Dr. John French, from the numerous times he was called to the chair in the absence of the President, as well as the sedate but prevailing part he took in the proceedings, received high compliment from his associates. Dr. Jennings was of the original committee, and being resident in Baltimore with Williams, his vigorous pen cannot be concealed in the composition of the draft. Dr. Finney made the motion adopting "Elementary Principles" as a title instead of "Bill of Rights." These principles are plain to-day, except, perhaps, the eleventh, deemed one of the most essential at the time as a precaution against legislative assumptions, which was its intent, so little used were even these brethren to the safeguards of a Constitution. They could not forget the arrogations of the past, when bishops made laws,— "independent sovereignties,"—and then had them ratified by subservient Conferences. Gideon Davis thought the wording obscure, if not misleading, and moved to substitute "sovereignties" with "authorities," but it did not prevail.² The style and title of the Church has the history that W. W. Wallace moved it be denominated "The Reformed Methodist Church." Subsequently Asa Shinn moved that it be "The Representa-

¹ "Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church." Baltimore: published for the Book Committee of the Methodist Protestant Church by John J. Harrod, Book Agent of the M. P. Church. William Woody, printer, 1830. 24mo. 160 pp. Half sheep.

The inquiring reader can get access to this book for all the details of the conventional action. It also contains the address ordered by the Convention to the Ministers and Members, understood to be from the graceful pen of Dr. Francis Waters, and appended to the "Discipline" for many years thereafter. The "Discipline for 1834" also contains, as an appendix, Bascom's "Summary of Rights."

² The meaning of the article will be made plain with the statement that any act of an Annual Conference in contravention of the Constitution, or an act of the General Conference or of a Quarterly Conference in contravention of the Annual Conference, etc., would be violative of the article. Ideally and practically it is the strongest connectional bond in the Constitution, and has often, in current history, been employed to arrest incipient revolution. While "Associated Churches," they are also "The Methodist Protestant Church," and under its constitution there has been as little friction and loss as perhaps under any similar instrument ever adopted by Church or State.

tive Methodist Church, comprising the Associated Methodist Churches." W. S. Stockton's draft had proposed "The Associated Methodist Churches," and so the committee, in accordance with Snethen's favorite idea. While the question was under discussion in the Convention, Dr. Waters left the chair and advocated the title "The Methodist Protestant Church." On motion of Charles Avery the word Protestant was substituted for Representative, and carried without opposition. Dr. Waters late in life asserted that he proposed the word Protestant in its broad ecclesiastical sense.

The implications of this decision merit space for historical preservation. Snethen in nothing more conspicuously exhibited his far-reaching as well as retrospective philosophy, and accurate knowledge of New Testament principles and precedents, than in his pronounced objection to a "Church" in the sense indivisible, as set over against "churches" in the sense confederate. As early as 1822-23, before a new Church was conceived of as a possibility of Reform measures within the extant Methodism, he averred: "Almost all the conclusions which were thus forced upon me by this New Testament research were then like so many original discoveries, especially the following; viz., that the primitive churches were *confederate* and not *indivisible*, like the modern episcopal hierarchies. This conclusion you will perceive could not have been admitted by me, had not my mind been so far unfettered as to call no man master. In all these points I may be mistaken; but if I am not, the consequence is unavoidable, and ought to alarm our church hierarchy men exceedingly." And he wrought out the idea in the modification he proposed of the old *régime*: "The first thing, then, that would probably result from a lay-delegation, would be the establishment and security of individual church identity; the second step would be to maintain and perpetuate a confederate union among these identified churches; and a third a modification and accommodation of the travelling plan, bishops' power, etc., to this state of things upon a basis of ministerial identity, so that every preacher might say that his soul was his own. All this it is evident would be a work of time and great labor. In such an event no General Conference must attempt to limit its successors; . . . the only insurmountable difficulty would be the name, for 'Episcopal Church,' not *churches*, under all changes; . . . this badge of our original sin, like our mortal bodies, can only be put off with our death. From the beginning we ought to have been confederated churches, and

our name ought to have answered to our nature." Recurring to apostolical times, he said: "Why this difference between the apostles and our system-makers, who not only fill out their plan to the utmost minutiae, but so provide against all changes and improvements as to render everything from a thread to a shoe-latchet immutable? Was there not as great a danger of latitudinarianism and innovation in the days of the apostles as now? Why then, I ask again, did they preserve such a seeming guarded silence upon the details of Church government? Was it not because they looked forward to consequences, and foresaw that no model could be given which would not be susceptible of abuse or perversion?" A half a century later Rev. Dr. Augustus Webster, with much of the same wisdom, gave to the writer in conversation another reason for the absence of a *plan* in the New Testament church polity. He said in substance: "The early Christians had no need to be governed, because the law of love by which they were controlled made every man a law unto himself. It was only as this law of love died out of their hearts that a system making for control was introduced, and the hierarchy grew apace." Could anything be more true and apposite? To the same purpose Snethen, in 1825, wrote: "When the Lord Jesus Christ ascended into heaven, he sent the Comforter, the spirit of truth, to supply the place of his personal presence; but left no one of his disciples to occupy his place and to govern the rest. All his offices are perpetual and unchangeable, and of course cannot be held or represented in this world by a succession of mortal men. To keep up a succession of mortal heads over the church, a spirit of fear must be kept up in the church. Why these names, these titles, these offices, these powers and prerogatives? Not surely to inspire love, but fear."

It is the difference between the rule of Christ in his churches and the rule of Ecclesiasticism. Ecclesiasticism had its birth with the first aggregation of force as a supplement to love for controlling Christian men, and to control Christian men is the confessed purpose of the Church as it crystallized in Rome, and in every outshoot of it. The clear vision of Snethen took it all in, and for this almost divine reason his preference was not to add another "Church" to the aggregations of force in the denominationalisms called Christian. Force cannot be made an auxiliary to love and not be liable to abuse; and ecclesiastical history from the coming of anti-christ at the close of the apostolic age is a succession of evidence that in every instance it was abused, and

is abused to the present day. At least in this every one must agree with the astute Snethen in a final word upon the subject: "It is much to be regretted that not a few of the Protestants, and of the denominations which have sprung from the Protestants, have shown so great a propensity to make the power of ministers of the gospel to govern the Church, that is, legislate its laws, as well as execute them, a foundation truth."

The framers of the Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church gave heed to this warning of Snethen, but were not controlled by it. Confederation was accepted as the true bond, but it was incorporated with features of Connectionalism in the conviction that indivisibility could only be preserved that way. It was a compromise, in some things, perhaps, for the highest efficiency and provision for the demands of a future, conceding too much, and in some others conceding not enough in view of the same demands. Even Snethen, however, came to acknowledge that it was as near an approach to the New Testament model as was possible, in that nearly ten years later, when the experiment of a new Church was a demonstrated success, he wrote "The Identifier,"¹ in which the comparison of its principles is successfully run with the apostolic methods and principles. Glancing over it as my pen flows, it is found rich in check-marks for quotation in this work, but space forbids. Suffice it to say that it is a mellow and powerful vindication both of his own views and of the new Methodism. Read it and observe how much wiser he was in his generation than the leaders of either the old or the new régime.

Protestant denominationalism in every form of it, as hinted, is simply an aggregation of force, and its kinship with the Romish hierarchy is in the ratio of unlimited prescriptive right of the clergy to rule; and while, as such a force, it may be used to supplement and potentialize the law of love of the primitive churches,

¹ "The Identifier of the Ministers and Members of the Methodist Protestant Church," by Rev. Nicholas Snethen. Philadelphia: Printed for Book Committee of the Methodist Protestant Church. 1839. 12mo. 107 pp. Cloth. Price, 75 cents.

The writer possesses two well-preserved copies, but the work is now rare. It is worthy of republication by the Church as a mine of ecclesiastical wisdom. Those who would understand the philosophy of the Methodist Reformation will not fail to consult it. While Asa Shinn was incomparably the dialectician of it, Nicholas Snethen was its bright particular star of intellectual cleverness and philosophy. It won for him the designation of a theorist by such matter-of-fact minds as Williams and McCaine, but while they were men for the times, Snethen was a man for all times, so broad was the sweep of his mental horizon and so horoscopic his seer-like wisdom.

the trend of its practical working is dominion over conscience and the proscription of personal liberty. And in the measure of this aggregation of force is the numerical and material success of a denomination, but it is gained by a necessary departure from the law of love as the only evangelical force recognized by Christ as dominating his earthly kingdom. The ready answer of those who participate in hierarchic administration is that any other method in its ideal is visionary, utopian, as a working hypothesis, that is, it cannot be made to control men. The proposition is denied as applied to Christian men, and it libels the Christly postulate: "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren," as well as the precedents and methods of the first-century Christians so as to deny the potency of love as the essence of law. The very tap-root of ecclesiasticism is the dominion of force. It was and is against this principle that the New Methodism stood and now stands as a Protest. Its method is unhesitatingly declared a success as the nearest approach yet made to the New Testament ideal of this law of love, and it is the objective of this History to demonstrate this success. The nature of its ideal, its shortcomings, while endeavoring to conserve a connectional form as well, must be delayed for treatment to a more apposite period in its ecclesiastical career.¹

¹ How pointedly are these general views enforced and illustrated by the authorities following. Wesley in his Notes, commenting on Acts ii. 45, says: "It was a natural fruit of that love wherewith each member of the community loved every other as his own soul. And if the whole Christian church had continued in this spirit, this usage must have continued through all ages. To affirm, therefore, that Christ did not design it should continue is neither more nor less than to affirm that Christ did not design this measure of love should continue. I see no evidence of this." And the great modern apostle of civil reform on Christian principles, Rev. Dr. Parkhurst of New York City, speaking of this primitive law of love as the basic principle of government in the apostolical church as contradistinguished from the law of denominationalism, pertinently says: "The instant a Christian ceases to become bound up in his Divine Lord his regards begin to settle back in the channel of his own individual proclivities; and that is the genius of denominationalism. Denominationalism is made up, not of the essence, but of the accidents of Christianity. A denomination is another name for some strand of personal eccentricity selected from each of a number of counterparts and tied up into one bundle. . . . This makes the Protestant Episcopal, the Methodist Episcopal, the Presbyterian, the Baptist, and other denominations. . . . It is the genius of the entire performance then and always." But we must have a strong government or you cannot control men, says the hierarchist. True, when Christians cease to be amenable to the law of love, then they must be controlled by force; but the moment this is made a factor they cease to be Christians, and are mere partisans, bigots, Romanists, or Episcopalians, and what not. So if you want a strong control of men, not as Christians but as men, a following under the slogan call of a denomination, nowhere is the ideal so perfect as in Romish or other Episcopal

Article VII. was wrought out in much mental travail. While the sixth Elementary Principle was made to declare that "all elders in the Church of God are equal," the sober sense of the Convention restricted membership in the Annual Conference to itinerant ministers and preachers under the stationing authority of it, thus sweeping away a favorite contention of the locality, which, if it had never been sprung in the controversy, would have secured the continued coöperation of Ezekiel Cooper, and the strong Philadelphia Conference backing he carried with him, for Reform. The contention was one of the misadventures of early Reform. Pertinaciously adhered to until much damage was wrought to the common cause, it was swept away by returning reason, but too late to repair that damage. And while it was also declared in Section 6th of Article X., that "No higher order of ministers shall be authorized than that of elder," as a protection against a bishopric in the ascending grade of a hierarchy, they overlooked entirely the descending grade, and by sufferance continued a diaconate as an order of the ministry, though it was manifestly an invention of the hierarchy. Some forty years later this inconsistency was remedied by expunging the order from the Discipline and ordination service.¹

forms of polity. And never were truer words than those recently uttered by the *Church Standard* anent the union its Church is urging on the basis of the Historic Episcopate, and other Methodisms may take warning in the application made by it: "The very form of an episcopate, even though it be not the Historic Episcopate, has a marvellously uniting power. Thus in the American Methodist Episcopal Church there is a unity almost unknown in any other denomination, and strange to say there is an intensity of denominational individuality which makes the Methodist Episcopal Church the least likely of all American Christian bodies to entertain any overtures whatever looking towards a union with any other body." Hence its recent opposition officially declared against the Christian Endeavor Society as an inter-denominational organization within the respective churches and loyal to each church. Its young people must be organized on an exclusively denominational basis, which means in fact by this confession: that they must be taught to be Methodists even more than to be Christians. What then must be the meaning of all their professed offers of union with other Methodisms, even that of the Methodist Church, North to that of the South? It never has had, and never will have, as officially understood by that Church, any other meaning than a willingness to *absorb* any and all coming within its influence. It is an anaconda that swallows everything, but never disgorges anything. Union! The very genius of the system forbids it with any other form of Christianity, even the kindred Methodist branches, and they are not wise who are deceived by the cry of Union!

¹ From the beginning of Wesley's ordinations in England, except the "setting apart" of Mather for Scotland as a "superintendent" (no conception of a bishopric entering his mind by the act, or a third order), and jealously conserved to this day in all the branches of English Methodism, there is but one order, Elders. That he never intended a third order in America by anything he did as "setting apart"

In nothing was the compromising trend of the Convention exhibited more than in the third section of Article VII., under consideration. "Each Annual Conference shall have exclusive power to make its own rules and regulations for the admission of colored members within its district, and to make for them such terms of suffrage as the Conferences respectively may deem proper." It was a concession from the South to the North on the vexed question of slavery. "But neither the General Conference nor any Annual Conference shall assume power to interfere with the constitutional powers of the civil government, or with the operations of the civil laws." This was a concession of the North to the South; even such antislavery representatives as Judge P. B. Hopper of Maryland, who had given proof of his sentiments by manumitting some forty slaves, nearly his entire patrimony by inheritance, recognized a judicial necessity for some such action. It was finally carried by a vote of forty-eight to sixteen, W. S. Stockton securing this addition to the section: "Yet nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to authorize or sanction anything inconsistent with the morality of the Holy Scriptures." It secured for the whole section a number of votes from antislavery representatives besides Judge Hopper. But for its implications of slavery no one, perhaps, would have made opposition to it, and since the issue passed away it has remained in the Constitution as legislation defining separation of the Church and State.

Article VII. made the General Conference meet in 1834 and "every seventh year thereafter." It was favored by Shinn and others, but after that of 1834 he grew so thoroughly changed in opinion that his efforts secured concurrence of two-thirds of the Annual Conferences, and the ensuing General Conference met in 1838. The seventh Restriction of Article X., on the Itinerancy,

Dr. Coke as a superintendent (he averred that he did nothing more in that case than in the Mather case) is so plain from the cumulation of proofs contained in this History as to place it past controversion by honest Methodists; and yet, if we may believe Dr. Coke, he sent over with the abridged prayer book for the use of the American Methodists, intending only by the enjoinder of this Ritual to assert his own headship and authority over them, as an appendix the forms of a three-order ordination as it obtained in the Established Church of England. While there is no extant evidence on either side, it is reasonably conjectural that not Wesley, but Dr. Coke, appended the ordination forms to the abridged prayer book of 1784. It is at least compatible with Dr. Coke's well-known preferences for an Episcopal form of government. That he was capable of such an addition is clear from his whole procedure with Asbury in organizing an Episcopal Church. It also redeems Wesley from an inconsistency which cannot otherwise be removed.

filled the term in stations at two years, on motion of McCaine, and two on circuits, but already this hard-and-fast feature had its opponents, and they prevailed finally so as to insert three for two on circuits. It was one of the things of which Snethen said in his "Identifier": "To be like the old Church in means and ends, whether we could or not, has engrossed our genius and our energy. Undoubtedly a less rigid rule would have been used to the damage of the new Church by their well-wishing friends of the old. It was the fear of it that tied the hands of the newborn child. The light of experience has shown that it was an error to make the regulation unalterable except by a majority of two-thirds of all the Annual Conferences. It resulted practically in its unavoidable evasion in some of the outlying Conferences, and of not a little local damage in Maryland and elsewhere before stubborn resistance to any innovation could be overcome and the present flexible law of the Church took its place. The older Methodism, still slower in ponderous and restricting machinery, has extended the time to five years, and the end is not yet.

Article XII., on Suffrage and Eligibility to Office, was framed to read, "Every minister and every preacher and every white lay-member . . . shall be entitled to vote in all cases," and the same form repeated as to eligibility to "General Conference." It was a narrow ethnic enactment. It must, however, be conceded as historically true that it was not aimed at the colored man, only as it was originally suggested by the conduct of Presiding Elder Frye, in the expulsion of the Reformers of 1827-28, already fully gone over in this volume. It was found that two witnesses who were present, W. S. Lipscomb of the South and George Brown of the West, agreed that it was incorporated to forestall the possibility of a recurrence of such a procedure. This view is also sustained by the fact, as the minutes show, that it was offered by James R. Williams, than whom there was no more pronounced antislavery man living in a slave State. It was he who answered McCaine's pamphlet issued in 1842 defensive of American domestic slavery. If farther evidence were wanting, it is supplied by the fact that this article was not reached until some time after Article VII. had been passed, which settled the status of the Church as to the slavery question. And yet farther than that there seems to have been none of the contention over it there was over Article VII. Yet these facts make it all the more remarkable. Legally, as framed, it cannot be made to cover ministers and preachers. It does not say, every white minister

and preacher, but "every white lay-member." This legal loophole was not probably intended, but, if so, did the representatives think that the time would not come when the Church would ordain colored men? They certainly had no foreign missionary prospects, for how, as for years past, could our Constitution have gone to Japan or any other country not inhabited by "white" people? It must be repeated, it was a narrow ethnic enactment, and nothing but evil ever came of it.

A non-action of the Convention has been a moot to this day and always must remain such. Were the Articles of Religion, as contained in the Book and taken from the old Book, and Wesley's General Rules, formally adopted by the Convention? The evidence of the minutes is that Aaron G. Brewer made a motion to this effect, but it was laid over. Subsequently the question was divided, and the General Rules adopted. The question as to the Articles of Religion came up again and again, but was always deferred, until, at the heel of the adjournment, there seems to have been some informal agreement that the committee on publication should complete Convention work in this and some other matters. It appears to have been crowded over. Snethen and Shinn, it is alleged, were opposed to legislation on a Creed,¹ and their views were probably shared by others, but the minutes do not exhibit any definite objection by the representatives. The original draft of the Constitution made provision for it in the sixth section of Article X., among the Restrictive Rules: "Nor shall any alteration or additions be made in the religious principles adopted by this Convention." This member of the

¹ Rev. Dr. D. S. Stephens in 1880-1884 issued three ably compiled and written pamphlets on "Views of the Reformers," and a "Defense" of the same, in which the negative of the binding effect of these Articles is taken in controversion of a note appended to them by the General Conference of 1880, making them obligatory as *teaching* authority. A vast amount of material is here brought together with painstaking accuracy, and those who would see what can be said for the widest liberty of private judgment in matters of faith and doctrine are referred to them. These Articles of Religion formed a part of Wesley's abridged Prayer Book of 1784 for the American Methodists. He excised sections, etc., but did not formulate the distinctive doctrines he preached as set forth in his Sermons and Notes on the New Testament, so that they mean but little as expressions of Methodist doctrine. Out of the controversy engendered by the action of 1880, based upon alleged loose doctrinal teaching in the northwestern section, grew an attempt on the part of the writer to secure such a formulation of Methodist doctrine, and a committee was authorized by the General Conference of 1888 to perform this labor. But opposition arose to any such amendment to the Articles, and the work of the committee was laid over, and has so continued as "unfinished business" not soon probably to be revived. The General Conference of 1896 "indefinitely postponed" the whole matter. See "Minutes," p. 51.

section was not adopted. When the Constitution and Discipline of 1830 appeared in book form, the Articles of Religion were in it as now, except as since verbally amended by the Union Convention of 1877. The authority for it was explained by James R. Williams of the publishing committee as found in that alleged understanding of the Convention. Brewer, however, who made the first motion as to the matter, positively objected to the explanation as sufficient authority. The question was revived in the General Conference of 1834, but that Conference refused to disturb their position in the Book, and so the matter stands to-day. It is significant of the intention of the Convention to have passed upon the Articles of Religion in that during their consideration Cornelius Springer moved to amend the twenty-fifth, by inserting after the words "may swear" the words "or affirm," which was carried.

A few other items non-concurred in must be noticed. Dr. Jennings, as leader of the locality in the Convention, endeavoring to circumvent their defeat in the constitution of Annual Conferences, offered an addition to the Article in these words: "Any minister of the Methodist Protestant Church not properly itinerant, having satisfactory gifts and qualifications for usefulness to the Church, who shall report himself to the Annual Conference as willing to be accountable to that body for his official conduct, and labor regularly and gratuitously in concert with the plan of the circuit or station within the bounds of which he may reside, upon a vote of the Conference in his favor shall be admitted to a seat, and his name shall be enrolled as a member of the Conference." The yeas and nays were called, and it was defeated by a vote of twenty-nine to fourteen, French of the itinerants voting for it, and Avery, Waters, and Williams of the locality voting against it. Subsequently, Zollickoffer, Bromley, Burgess, Budd, and Richardson entered a protest against the exclusion of the locality from membership in the Annual Conference. The salvo they received was a recognition in Article VIII., making one minister who is "not under the stationing authority" from each circuit and station members of the Electoral College; and, by a legal fiction classing them with the laity, they were at the will of the Annual Conference elected as representatives, and this courtesy for a number of years was allowed in the Maryland and other Conferences. It has passed into desuetude.¹

¹ A representative official of the Church has recently characterized the provision for an Electoral College regulating the matter of suffrage for representatives

J. J. Harrod made an effort to secure under very strict limitations a General Superintendency, but it was laid on the table on his own motion and not thereafter referred to.

Harrod's hymn book was adopted until the next General Conference. He was appointed Book Agent and publisher. The name of the periodical now under the direct control of the General Conference was *The Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant*. A Book Committee was elected by the Convention: Francis Waters, James R. Williams, Samuel K. Jennings, John Chappell, Jr., and John H. Kennard. A committee to nominate for Editor reported the names of William S. Stockton, John S. Reese, Dennis B. Dorsey, and Cornelius Springer. All withdrew save William S. Stockton, who was duly elected in his absence. The periodical and publishing house were located in Baltimore. A committee to prepare an Address to be appended to the Discipline was appointed. Such an Address appears, reputed to have been written by Dr. Francis Waters, and was retained for a series of years. The Book Committee was authorized to prepare a Preface to the book of Discipline. The Convention adjourned with prayer by Asa Shinn. Signed, Francis Waters, President; George Brown, Secretary *pro tem*.

to the General Conference as "nonsense." A careful examination of the reasons for it and the safeguards it provides demonstrates that no wiser measure ever was incorporated in the church law. The declaration was probably a passing impulse—it could not have been a mature judgment. A full history of it is given by J. J. Harrod in the *Methodist Protestant* of March 15, 1851, as also recently justified for its wisdom by Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray. Gideon Davis was the author of it.

CHAPTER XVI

Hierarchic denominations aggregations of force; the Constitution of the New Church made it an aggregation of consent; it must prove its right to exist—The *Methodist Correspondent* established at Cincinnati—The Church growing; yearly increase from fifty to one hundred per cent; statistics—Bascom still writing under pseudonyms—New facts as to Rev. William Burke, a pioneer of Methodism—Gamaliel Bailey editor of the Baltimore paper—General prosperity of the new organization in every direction—Bascom invited to unite openly with the new Church; his certified answer; want of support—Second volume of *Methodist Protestant*; digest of contents—Pastoral Address of the General Conference of the old Church slanderously attacks the new Church; it destroyed the last hope waiting Reformers entertained of change of polity—Second volume of *Methodist Protestant*—The *Methodist Correspondent* removed to Pittsburgh with Rev. Cornelius Springer, editor—Third volume of *Methodist Protestant*; digest of its news—The *Correspondent* removed to Zanesville under Springer—Abolitionism organizes—Secession in Charleston, S. C.—New series of *Methodist Protestant* June 11, 1834.

THUS a new Church was made a necessity in American Methodism. It had as its distinctive peculiarity the representative principle. Denominationally it was another aggregation, but instead of one of force it was one of consent. As the old monarchies of Europe scouted the idea that a republic could, with the same representative principle, vitally cohere in America, so the new Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church was held up to animadversion as a rope of sand: the sentiment had been ingrained that Christian men can be governed only by force, at least as Methodists. Representation was not, however, a new thing in English Methodism. The Primitive Methodists, with a double representation of the laity as against the ministry, had been organized by the same kind of necessity; and it not only cohered, but succeeded beyond the Wesleyan body, as was exhibited in the first volume. Not only so, the New Connexion Methodists, out of an earlier like necessity, with an equal representation, proved its right to exist, cohere, and prosper, to this day, on a high plane of piety and culture, as has also been exhibited in the first volume. But these bright precedent examples were rarely ever even mentioned in the literature of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and it is an unaccountable fact that the

Reformers of 1827-30 make no use of these examples¹ in their arguments, as could have been done with unanswerable effect. It remained for the Methodist Protestant Church, as an aggregation of consent, to prove its right to exist and prosper. The course of its history shall now be traced as its quadrenniums pass before me.

The Reformers of the West, in the autumn of 1830, felt that the cause must have a periodical among them, and so associated themselves for this purpose. November 1 the first number of the *Methodist Correspondent* appeared.² It was an eight-page quarto, bi-monthly, edited and published by Rev. Moses M. Henkle, in Cincinnati, O., at one dollar a year. It was ably conducted, with Shinn, Bascom, Snethen, Springer, Brown, and other leading writers as frequent contributors. It was under the patronage and auspices of the Ohio Conference, which now included the whole territory west of the Alleghanies. It gives in full the minutes of the second Conference, held September 2, 1830, in Cincinnati, with eighty-five ordained ministers, two-thirds of whom were local, and fifty lay-delegates. The membership was reported at 3791, a net gain of 1765, or nearly one hundred per cent for the year. It published the Constitution of the Church, and Bascom's "Declaration of Rights," anonymously, as he had not withdrawn from the old Church. The series of articles from his pen, running through the whole of the first volume under the pseudonym "Paul," with the title "Paul on the Ministry," attracted wide attention for their ability and defence of the principles of Reformers as to ministerial parity. It was the last consecutive literary work he performed in the direct interest of the new Church. The editor was intimate with him; afterward became his biographer, and in it admits the authorship of these articles. Bascom was never known to retract any argument or principle advocated in them. The *Itinerant* characterized it as "a new Radical paper," and pathetically called on its correspondents to furnish evidence from "those districts

¹ A solitary exception is found in the Address of the Convention of 1827 to the general Methodist Church — the representative principle among the English Reformers is cited casually.

² The six volumes of the *Methodist Correspondent*, bound up in two, now before the writer, are from the Bassett Deposit at Adrian College, loaned by the authorities. The last number was issued November 5, 1836. They are indispensable to a right understanding of Reform in the West, and have been carefully read and freely used in the composition of this History. It is perhaps the only perfect file of it in existence.

infected with the plague of radicalism" to support Dr. Bond's averment: "Reform is dead; let its ashes rest in peace." The unprecedented increase of one hundred per cent in the West was the evidence, mostly conversions. It notes the demise of Rev. Evert Richman, August 19, 1830, one of the truest local Reformers from the old Church. It supplies a brief chapter in the history of Rev. William Burke, one of the brave and devoted pioneers of Methodism in the West, which Dr. Stevens does not include in his panegyrics of him.¹

A Preachers' Aid Society was organized early in 1830 to supplement salaries of itinerants for the Ohio Conference, location Cincinnati. A number of successful camp-meetings were held during the summer of 1830. To these and other meetings the old side ministers were invited, but they never reciprocated—it would have smirched them with "Radicalism"; they durst not if inclined. A seminary was projected thus early for the West; and afterward materialized, with Snethen as its head. Shinn republished, in Cincinnati, a second edition of "An Essay on the Plan of Salvation," first issued in Baltimore, in 1813, revised and extended. It is a masterful and unanswerable argument for Arminian Methodism. The third Ohio Conference reported a membership of 5660, another net increase of about seventy-five per cent. It was thus that Reform kept "going down." Rev. William Reeves and his wife Hannah, both local preachers from the English Methodists, began their career of fidelity to American Reform and loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ in the summer of 1831. At the close of its first volume the *Corre-*

¹ After many years' service he retired and settled in Cincinnati about 1820-22. He was subsequently expelled from the Ohio Conference, the records showing no other charge than "contumacy." He appealed to the General Conference of 1824, which confirmed his expulsion. He then entered the Reformed Methodist movement of the Stillwell school, and did much to organize a society of this kind in Ohio. One of the charges alleged against the Union Society of Cincinnati was that it permitted William Burke to assemble with them. Matters continued thus until 1829-30, when to the surprise of himself and friends he was visited and coddled by Bishop M'Kendree, and by friendly overtures brought back into association with the M. E. Church, without his ever making any "confession, contrition," or "receiving proper trial" as a probationer. It was one of the methods employed to prevent influential men from aiding the Radicals. The Church went back to him lest the Burkeites should secede. He was employed as one of the regular Cincinnati preachers, but never absolved from his "expulsion" by official act. It was not Christian charity but church policy; he had acquired considerable property, practically owned the Reform Church he built, and had no heirs. See *Methodist Correspondent*, vol. I. p. 90. See also humorous anecdote of Snethen and Burke while spectators together at the M. E. General Conference of 1836 at Cincinnati, in Brown's "Itinerant Life," p. 263.

spondent had about thirteen hundred subscribers. The editor and publisher was somewhat involved in its publication, and retired from the position.

The Book Committee of Baltimore informed W. S. Stockton of his election as editor, but he declined. It was then tendered to his son Thomas H., who also declined, no positive reason being given in either case. It is a tradition that the restraints of a Book Committee were objectionable to men of such pronounced individuality as made it impossible, despite the almost patronizing attitude of the Church, to keep either of them, for a life tenure, within connectional metes and bounds. It was finally arranged with Gamaliel Bailey, M.D., son of the veteran Methodist itinerant of that name, to take editorial charge, with John Jolly Harrod as publisher. The *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant*, the last name printed in capitals, black letter, and soon received as the abridged title, was issued January 7, 1831, the subscription list, etc., of the *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer* being transferred to it.¹ It was a large quarto, four-page weekly, at \$2.50 a year. Notice is given in the second number that the religious, and not the controversial, side was to be made paramount in the new paper. It also contained a brief obituary of Mrs. Susan H. Snethen, aged fifty-three, who departed November 10, 1830. She died in Indiana, whither

¹ A controversy occurred in the summer of 1898 between the *Christian Advocate* of New York and *Zion's Herald* of Boston as to priority, each claiming to be "the oldest Methodist paper in the United States," but as the *Herald* by its own showing only dates from 1823 and the *Advocate* from 1826, the genealogy of the *Methodist Protestant* makes it plain that it and not either of those carries the palm as the oldest Methodist newspaper in this country of continuous publication. It was the *Wesleyan Repository* from 1821 to 1824, the *Mutual Rights* from 1824 to 1828, and the *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer* from 1828 to 1830, when it became the *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant*, the latter title soon flying at the masthead alone, where it has been nailed for sixty-eight years. So this paper legitimately dates from 1821, two years before *Zion's Herald* and five years before the *Christian Advocate*. The *Advocate* for November 24, 1898, quite voluminously disputes this claim principally on the ground that the *Depository* was a monthly and the *Mutual Rights* also, and that its claim and that of *Zion's Herald* is as "a weekly Methodist paper." Well, so qualified, that does settle it, but it cannot be unsettled that the *Methodist Protestant* is a successor of the *Mutual Rights* and *Wesleyan Repository*, inasmuch as a moral certainty is established from contemporary evidence that the subscription lists and proprietary rights of both came to the *Methodist Protestant* as such, and were both discontinued one after the other in the succession until the last appeared. This makes it as claimed the "oldest Methodist newspaper in the country." The only thing that could invalidate it would be for the *Advocate* or the *Herald* to show that either of them succeeded to the subscription list, etc., of the *Methodist Magazine*, a monthly, originated in 1818, and that it was discontinued in favor of either of them. This cannot be done.

her husband, Rev. Nicholas Snethen, had removed the previous month of May. Its literary and religious tone was very high. Dr. Bailey did not take charge until the sixth number. It is worth passing notice that T. S. Arthur, the writer of world-wide celebrity in after years, and whose family was of the new Church, resident in Baltimore, offered to it perhaps his first youthful contribution, which was declined with encouraging words. The proceedings of the Convention with the Constitution and Discipline ran through the opening numbers. Colonization was the favorite theory in that day of both pro- and anti-slavery men. Bascom was agent for the Society for several years, and the subject was discussed by the editor and others. Both the Pitt Street (East Baltimore station) and St. John's, Liberty Street, were opened on Sabbath for these meetings. At the close of the first volume, Gamaliel Bailey resigned and removed to Washington, D. C., where he established and conducted for some years the *National Era*, an antislavery paper of great ability and temperate discussion.

To show the spirit of the times, the Genesee Annual Conference, which met in the town of Ogden, Monroe County, N. Y., February 5, 1831, accepting their constitutional privilege, adopted the following resolve, "That all the colored members belonging to the Church, within the bounds of this Conference, be entitled to the same *rights* of suffrage and membership with the white members." February 3, 1831, F. L. B. Shaver, George R. Barr, Thomas Spragen, Robert Comtchfied, David H. Boyd, Adolphus C. Shaver, Hervy Garrison, Philip Rohr, and Christopher Roderfer adopted the Constitution, and withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church at Abingdon, Va. Several of these names are historic. The Pennsylvania Conference, April 5, 1831, reported 111 preaching-places, including six meeting-houses in the District, and 983 members. It convened in Philadelphia. The New York Conference reported, April 7, 1831, a membership of 988, net increase 428, or nearly one hundred per cent. Shinn and most of the leading Reform writers resumed their pens in the *Methodist Protestant*. It contained several articles on Education Societies by "Presbyter," H. B. Bascom. McCaine, as "Veritas," reopened, by permission, the Reform controversy on its merits. "A General Home Missionary Society" for the whole connection, was organized at St. John's, Baltimore, August 4, 1831, with officers selected from every section of the Church, Dr. Francis Waters, Chairman, and J. J. Harrod, Secretary. A great revi-

val at this St. John's occurred a few months prior, when fifty seekers at once filled the altar and the pews. Numerous camp-meetings in Maryland and elsewhere. Dr. Waters's Seminary, Baltimore, received Divinity students. Rev. Robert Sparks, an old ex-itinerant, and one of the first Reformers of Queen Anne's County, Md., died August, 1831. Rev. Thomas H. Stockton was appointed Agent of the "General Missionary Society," September 25, 1831.

The second Georgia Annual Conference was organized at Sweringen's camp-ground, Twiggs County, July 29, 1831, Eppes Tucker, President, Richard Blount, Secretary. Ministers: A. G. Brewer, Thomas Gardner, James Hodge, Harrison Jones, James R. Lowrey, Henry Saxon, James R. Swain, B. Sweringen, Eppes Tucker, Ethel Tucker, Sr., Robert P. Ward, Charles P. Witherspoon, Robert W. V. Wynne, Charles Williamson. Lay-delegates: Richard A. Blount, Philip Causey, Jacob W. Cobb, Maniel Collier, W. P. Gilbert, Charles Kennon, Arthur Lucas, Taliaferro Moore, Geo. W. Ray, James Shields, James Sweringen, Robert Tucker, Ethel Tucker, Jr., Josiah Whitehurst. "Laicus," W. S. Stockton, furnished a series on "The Elementary Principles," explanatory and defensive. R. B. Thomson and Lewis F. Cosby, both of the Virginia Conference and historic names, appear as correspondents. The first volume closed with the December 30th number. It had heralded prosperity for the new Church in every direction, and its circulation could not have been short of twenty-five hundred, with the West largely supporting the *Correspondent*. Societies were organized far beyond the ministerial supply. A call was made in one of the numbers for fifty preachers, as an emergency supply; but they could not be had.

About this time J. J. Harrod, one of the fast friends of Bascom, wrote him soliciting his help and formal union with the new Church; whose cause he still continued to advocate in a quiet way, as his membership was yet in the Methodist Episcopal Church. He made answer that he would come out and cast his fortunes with the Methodist Protestant Church, if he could be guaranteed a support.¹ It is safe to aver that on this condition

¹ The authority for this statement is Rev. L. W. Bates, D.D., of the Maryland Conference, whose ministry dates from 1840, and who knew Harrod as his pastor in Baltimore. He recently informed the writer that he had the statement from Harrod's own lips. The writer had the same statement some years ago from the late Rev. Thomas McCormick, who was acquainted intimately with Harrod.

an abundant supply could have been secured from the ministry of the old Church, few of whom had such financial necessities as Bascom. Pressed with debt, a large family of his father's dependent upon him, his marital engagement postponed from year to year for the same reason, without habits of economy, those who understood the case uttered no censure for his hesitation. As a support, not even the pastorate of the old Church, though he could command the best, sufficed for him. Hence his acceptance of the Colonization Agency at this time; even this salary was supplemented by the lecture field, as opportunity offered, to replenish a constantly depleted purse. But he had censorious critics, and they stung him into a gradual alienation from his Reform friends; but not from its principles, as shall yet appear. The new Church membership had their financial ability tasked to the extreme, in church building in addition to the meagre salaries they could raise for the preachers, who, in this heroic struggle, accepted a moiety of what they should have received, and could have commanded, in the old Church and elsewhere. Dr. John S. Reese of Maryland abandoned the promise of a lucrative medical practice, for a young man, to enter this ministry, and so with many others in various sections, whose adhesion to principle and their self-immolation the page of history must never cease to mention. Yet with all these almost crushing disabilities and hamperings the new Church of lay-representation grew within a year to more than double its numbers, and was stretching out in every direction, to the joy of its friends and the ill-concealed chagrin of its enemies. The new Church was not only born, but gave unmistakable indications of a thrifty childhood and manhood. It vexed its opponents because it would not die. That doughty, but brusque itinerant of the West, Peter Cartwright, whose vocabulary was noted for its choice epithets, dubbed it "that radical brat." Even the ensuing General Conference of the parent body, through its Pastoral Address, descended from its dignity to fling a false statement into the teeth of the young Church, as shall be presently shown.

The second volume of the *Methodist Protestant* was edited impersonally under the Book Committee. It continued to increase in circulation, its pages filled with revival news and of newly organized churches. W. S. Stockton, Asa Shinn, and others, lead in contributions. As the Annual Conferences met they reported from fifty to one hundred per cent increase of members. Moses Scott wrote often from the work at Connells-

ville, Pa. Rev. James Hunter of North Carolina, one of the truest and earliest Reformers, passed to his reward in heaven December 5, 1831. Rev. J. Cochran, a local Elder, died April 15, 1831. Rev. Swain Swift of North Carolina, passed away October 8, 1831. The Book Committee issued Mosheim's "Church History" as a venture, which, while it was helpful in setting forth a true account of Primitive Church government, proved a disastrous financial scheme; the first of a series in the history of the Book Concern, involving individuals and the corporation. Ezekiel Hall, one of the early and stanchest of lay-Reformers, passed away 1831. "A distinguished itinerant preacher" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, having asserted that a marriage ceremony performed by a minister of the new Church was invalid, a suit at law followed for the slanderous imputation, and he was mulcted by the Supreme Court of the State in \$287 as damages. See *Protestant*, Vol. II. p. 205. The pastors of the two Methodist Protestant churches in Philadelphia, where the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met, in May, 1832, tendered, by written invitation, the pulpits to its ministers, but it refused to send a Sabbath supply.

In its Pastoral Address, of which Rev. William Winans was Chairman of the committee reporting, three paragraphs were given to the Reformers. It says: "Aroused by an attack which threatened the integrity of those institutions, we carefully reëxamined them; and having satisfied ourselves of their correctness and utility we, with our whole charge, have embraced them the more firmly. . . . Seldom has an enterprise resulted in a more complete failure than that in which, at the time alluded to above, a party, under the denomination of reformers, labored to change the economy of our Church, or, failing of that purpose, to overturn the Church itself. . . . We consider it, as now placed, beyond question that our *system of government* is too highly-appreciated by ourselves, as well as too firmly supported by the hand of heaven, to be shaken by designing men." Not through the printed Minutes only, but the columns of the *Christian Advocate*, with its twenty-five thousand subscribers, these unchristian and untruthful declarations received a wide dissemination. It aroused the Reformers, and a public meeting was called at St. John's, Baltimore, to answer the slanderous allegations. It was not convened until July 27, 1832, that patience and good temper might not be unduly taxed, — Asa Shinn, Chairman, Francis Waters, Secretary. Notwithstanding, the "Review," afterward also pub-

lished by the thousand and scattered broadcast as an antidote, was a most scathing one. It covers three pages of the *Methodist Protestant*, and leaves nothing unsaid to a complete refutation. The sharpest sentences in it are these: "Their minions have been harping on this string, with untiring perseverance, during the last four years, at all points of the compass; the bishops carefully brought forward the same favorite theme, and placed it in the front of their Address, at the opening of the session; and, to cap the climax, the whole Conference published a Pastoral Address, roundly affirming that 'seldom has an enterprise resulted in a more complete failure,' while their own case is made to 'flourish more vigorously than ever.'" It is one of a hundred instances showing that the Reformers seldom were the aggressors in revival of controversy; but, as now, they repelled false accusation and acted on the defensive, content to be left alone in their evangelistic work; the writer has already expressed the conviction that they carried their pacific policy to an unprofitable extreme in denominational interest. It was followed in the *Protestant* by a masterful series, from the pen of Shinn, "A Plea for the Methodist Protestant Church." George Brown also came to the rescue: "The late General Conference having wantonly and deliberately assailed the character, motives, and conduct of the Reformers, thereby evincing an inflexible purpose to renew and perpetuate hostilities, the only alternative left the latter is silence or defence . . . we have, therefore, determined on the latter."

Among the most active evangelistic workers of the Reformers must be mentioned, Adjet M'Guire of the West and Eli Henkle of the East. Camp-meetings through the summer months were everywhere held, and a harvest of souls gathered into the new Church. William Price, a staunch Reformer of the laity in North Carolina, passed away July 17, 1832. It is pleasant to note the first departure from the proscriptive policy of the mother church in the Christian conduct of Rev. William Barnes, the brilliant, if eccentric, itinerant of the Philadelphia Conference, who, in Centreville, Md., denounced bigotry and invited Reformers and others to the Lord's Supper. It was seconded by the church inviting Hon. P. B. Hopper, who held a local preacher's license in the new Church and effectively preached a simple gospel, to occupy their pulpit on a given Sabbath afternoon, which was accepted, the two churches in the town uniting in fraternal and Christian worship together, September 27, 1832. Thomas Mummy of Baltimore, a steel-true lay-Reformer, died September,

1832, as also his wife about the same time, one of the heroic Reform women. John Eliason of Georgetown, D. C., and Rev. William Hanna of Easton, Md., both early Reformers, died of cholera, which was then prevailing throughout the United States. Snethen was active in forming "Education Associations," the culture of the Church lying near his heart; but the method did not succeed. Rev. Jesse Morris of Georgia, one of the earliest Reformers, died April 27, 1832. "B. H. R.," a signature standing for Beale H. Richardson, appeared regularly from 1831-32 with miscellaneous, literary, and religious articles, and these were continued at intervals for more than fifty years. He was a prominent layman of St. John's, Baltimore. Bascom, a "Presbyter," commends Shinn's "Plan of Salvation," 1832. As indicating the deep prejudice excited among all classes of the old Church against "Radicalism," it must be noted that one of their popular churches in Philadelphia petitioned the General Conference to rescind the disciplinary law that all churches must be built with "free seats." Though utterly irrelevant they say, "There is no radicalism, either directly or indirectly, concerned in this memorial; and that if we supposed it would have the remotest tendency to promote radical views or principles, we would give it to the moles and bats, and still push on under the old system and do our best to sustain it." Comment is unnecessary.

The action of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was a damper upon the hundreds who had recoiled under the Bond-Emory defection and persecution. They said, to come out is a sacrifice more than can be made. Surely the General Conference will take steps looking to governmental changes, such as are manifestly demanded, on its own motion. What it did, was to extinguish the last hope of this class; and not a few in various places quietly withdrew, and sheltered their Christian manhood in the new Church. Henry B. Bascom was a member of this General Conference. Nothing was left undone to patronize him by the authorities. It is said that a respectable minority made objection to parts of the Pastoral Address; but it was carried by a large vote. The Episcopal election resulted in the choice of James O. Andrew of the South by 140, and John Emory of Maryland by 135 votes out of 223. The closing session was presided over by the latter, the only time he occupied the Chair in a General Conference; before 1836 "God took him." Bishop M'Kendree made a tearful farewell to the body in his trembling old age, to appear no more. Bishop Paine, of the Methodist

Episcopal Church, South, says it was "the most harmonious and conservative session . . . since the delegated body of 1808." Yes, power, if not successfully foiled, is sure to be reactionary. The vast presiding eldership of the Church took the cue, and proscription, prosecution, and persecution of Reformers revived in many places.

The second volume of the *Methodist Correspondent* was edited by a committee of laymen: Moses Lyon, John H. Wood, and W. L. Chappell. Shinn, though he had fully sustained it, suggested that it would be to the interest of the general Church if it should be discontinued at the end of this volume. The church intelligence proper appeared in both the periodicals by transfer, and he anticipated the evils of divided circulation as greater than the local advantages, a lesson this Church never learned. For fifty years its track has been strewn with the wrecks of ill-advised and unsuccessful ventures to establish local Conference and sectional papers. The *Itinerant*, having been discontinued in Baltimore, the *New York Christian Advocate*, inspired by the reaction of the General Conference and appalled, perhaps, by the increased circulation of the *Methodist Protestant*, and the spread of the Church it represented, reopened its columns to the old controversy, and was unsparing in its attacks. George Brown, in the *Correspondent*, notes the decease of John Phillips, one of the expelled Reformers of Pittsburgh, Pa., August 27, 1831. March 10, 1832, "Vindex," H. B. Bascom, appears in vindication of himself from a personal attack by Dr. Bond in the *Itinerant*. October 6, 1832, the *Correspondent* was removed, by authority of the Ohio Conference, to Pittsburgh, with Cornelius Springer and Asa Shinn as editors, to whom Charles Avery was added, at the close of the second volume.

The third volume of the *Methodist Protestant* opened auspiciously, and Shinn utters a warning against a slight, but natural, tendency of some in the new Church toward latitudinarianism in the opening number. The gravitation to extremes was cropping out, and he laid his strong hand upon it. It was timely. The fourth Tennessee Annual Conference, December 5, 1832, reported a net increase in members of nearly one hundred per cent for the year. John J. Harrod, publisher, showed a large deficit for the *Methodist Protestant*, but kept on, in his zeal for the cause, not only publishing, but book-making on a large scale, announcing now Prideaux's "Connexions," in two volumes of 450 pages each. Such financial indiscretion ended in his

business ruin, and clouded his closing days in disappointment. Rev. R. W. W. Wynne of Georgia deceased April 10, 1833. A church was formed in Halifax, N. S., by Rev. William Jackson, of more than fifty members; but this venture, like scores of others, from isolation and other causes, withered away, and was hailed in evidence that the experiment of a new Church was a "failure." February 13, 1833, Gideon Davis departed this life in Georgetown, D. C., and, for the first time, the official paper was ruled in mourning. Much of his Reform history has already been given. Dr. Colhouer well says of him: "As a Reformer he was intelligent and deliberate, and excelled in constructive ability. He was thoroughly American in principle; his theory being that government was from the people, for the people, and by the people. He was the Chancellor Bruck of the American Methodist Reformation, and has imprinted his mental image on the economy of the Methodist Protestant Church."¹ His remains repose in Oakhill cemetery, Georgetown, D. C. John Murray, an early Reformer in Maryland, died February 9, 1833. Rev. T. B. Balch appears as a contributor, and so continued for many years. Rev. John W. Bordley of Maryland, an early and stanch Reformer, passed to heaven May, 1833, obsequies by Hon. P. B. Hopper. A controversy runs through a large part of this volume, instigated by W. S. Stockton, insisting that the Constitutional Convention gave liberty to Annual Conferences to receive into membership ministers not under its stationing authority; which was vigorously combated by other members of the Convention, with the resultant that in a number of the Conferences all ministers, "stationed" and "unstationed," were on the rolls. In Maryland, Rev. Dr. Francis Waters, though never an itinerant, was always a member of the Conference. Many years later the Conference extended an honorary membership to the three surviving unstationed ministers of the Reform period, W. C. Lipscomb, Thomas McCormick, and Amon Richards. David Reese, one of the first Baltimore Reformers, died June 12, 1833. The women of Virginia organized a "Preachers' Aid Society," at

¹ "Sketches of the Founders of the Methodist Protestant Church," by T. H. Colhouer, A. M. Pittsburgh. Methodist Protestant Book Concern, 1880. 12mo. 464 pp. Cloth. This is a most valuable contribution to the Church literature. It is garnished with numerous excellent wood-cut engravings of early Reformers, both lay and clerical, and covers sketches of eighty-one prominent brethren. It contains also, as an appendix, a valuable bibliography. It should be in the course of reading of all our Conferences as an inspiration to young preachers. No Church can boast a nobler list of ecclesiastical heroes.

Norfolk. July, 1833, Rev. Charles W. Jacobs, a brilliant and youthful member of the Maryland Conference, passed to his reward. A 24mo memoir was issued by Rev. A. A. Lipscomb, as the first of literary ventures, which made him a high reputation in after years throughout all Southern Methodism. John Scott, born February 9, 1783, in Donegal County, Ireland, was a Wesleyan Methodist, and, in 1819, emigrated to America and settled in Washington County, Pa. He became a Methodist Reformer from the beginning, and was a subscriber to the *Mutual Rights*. In 1829 almost the entire society at Bethel, where he was a prominent member, withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and organized under the Conventional Articles of 1828. He continued steadfast in his principles and loyalty to Christ until December 23, 1833, when he peacefully departed this life. He was the father of the Rev. Dr. John Scott, who fills so large a place in this History. September 25, 1833, the Ohio Conference resolved to divide, certain territory being set off as the Pittsburgh Conference, — George Brown, President of the former and Asa Shinn of the latter; a net increase in the body of nearly three thousand for the year, or about eighty per cent. J. G. Whitfield took prominence in the Virginia Conference from 1832. Tennessee Conference, October 17, 1833, moved to abolish the order of deacon in the Church. Thomas H. Stockton elected chaplain to Congress, December, 1833, by a vote of 143 to 34 for Mr. Hammett of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The third volume closed with an increased patronage.

Volume III. of the *Methodist Correspondent*, Springer, Shinn, and Avery, editors. Joseph J. Amos is a frequent lay-contributor of church news, and through a long life maintained his loyalty, and bequeathed \$21,000 to Adrian College, in addition to liberal gifts always. An effort was made, December 5, 1832, to secure from the legislature of Pennsylvania, by the Methodist Episcopal Church, a legalization of their trust deed to property; but it was opposed and defeated on the ground that it would make an invidious discrimination in its favor over other denominations, and ally it too closely to the State. It grew out of the recent decision of the Supreme Court, under Judge Gibson, awarding the Pittsburgh property to the Reformers, heretofore explained. The *Correspondent* was ably conducted, but most of its church intelligence was transferred from the *Methodist Protestant*. It was now removed to Zanesville, O., and reappeared after six weeks' intermission, October 17, 1833, the profits, if

any, to be divided between the Ohio and the Pittsburgh Conferences. It assumed more of a literary and agricultural character. John Clarke, Joseph and Israel Thrapp, appear as contributors. The "Editor" corresponds from Georgetown, D. C., the seat of the first General Conference, of which notice shall be made in the next chapter. Numerous camp-meetings were held in the West during the summer of 1834. The extreme antislavery element of the country about this time organized in Abolition Societies, one in the West and one in New York, and other places. Popular sentiment was as yet opposed to what was called "amalgamation," approved by them, intermarriage of the races, etc., and the *Correspondent* notes as follows: "Disgraceful riots have recently happened in New York, in which the Abolitionists are censured as the cause. It seems that this society is destined to become the butt of public reproach and persecution; but this is no sign that they are wrong." It shall be seen how it grew apace in Methodism, and precipitated the alienation of the sections.

The fourth volume of the *Methodist Protestant* began January 3, 1834. "Philadelphia," Joseph McKer, a layman, continued frequent contributions, and "Onesimus" appeared, Rev. L. F. Cosby, as a forcible writer. A Literary Institution was proposed by the Alabama Conference. "Lacidar," Rev. A. Webster, appeared as a contributor. A masterful sermon by Rev. Lemuel Haynes (colored) is published in full against Rev. Ballou, Universalist, delivered in Rutland, Vt., June, 1805. A large secession took place from the old Church in Charleston, S. C., instigated by the enforced seating of colored persons with the whites in the church, encouraged by Dr. Capers, and other local questions, involving conflict between the laity and the Conference authorities. Trials and expulsions took place, resulting in the organization of a Methodist Protestant Church; which was a landmark for many years, and continued until the close of the Civil War, which scattered the membership, while the church property was damaged greatly by the bombardment of the city. Such names as Hillard, Laval, Kirkwood, Norton, Thomas, and Honour can never be forgotten as its staunch supporters.¹ January 28, 1834, Anna G. Chappell, wife of John Chappell of Baltimore,

¹ Those who are curious to know all the details of this remarkable case are referred to "An Exposition of the Causes which Led to the Secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, S. C." Charleston, 1834. 8vo. 31 pp., and supplements to it, preserved in the writer's "Radical Church Tracts" volume. In 1838 the church was destroyed in the great Charleston fire. It had cost \$12,000, with a debt of \$4000 upon it, but even such a calamity did not crush

departed this life. Baptized by John Wesley, her Methodist record was unimpeachable, and her Christian heroism merits this embalmment. After the expulsion of her venerable husband for his advocacy of Reform, she addressed the following note to the preacher in charge:—

BALTIMORE, December 29, 1827.

REV'D SIR: After mature deliberation, and with the most poignant feelings (at the cruel and unchristian conduct exhibited toward my dear husband, and many others) I am under the painful necessity of requesting you to withdraw my name from that church in which I have been nurtured from my childhood to the present period, and a member thereof forty-seven years.

Respectfully,

ANNA G. CHAPPELL.

A great revival at St. John's, Baltimore. Members of the old Church united in the services. It continued for several months. An editorial says: "Authority to act for the whole Church on important matters ought to be vested somewhere. We have lost much, very much, from the want of this desideratum. This lack can be supplied by the General Conference"; but, as already noticed, it was not supplied until 1877. Died April 16, 1834, Rev. Charles Roundtree of Virginia, an early Reformer. The fourth volume was made to close May 30, 1834, a period of six months. The General Conference had authorized the Book Committee to issue proposals for a new paper, to be called the *Methodist Protestant Journal*, under the editorship of Nicholas Snethen and Asa Shinn, provided it could be made financially safe. The new paper appeared June 11, 1834, as the *Methodist Protestant*, Snethen and Shinn editors, and published by the Book Committee, as a new series, Volume I., No. 1. Snethen at once took charge, but Shinn did not remove to Baltimore until the autumn. The salutatories of both appear.

these devoted men. The house was soon rebuilt through the sympathy of the community. These brethren had special regard to the religious education of the colored people, and the spacious galleries were set apart for them, and they were organized under class leaders of their own color. This membership of the church averaged some six hundred for a series of years, and what is noteworthy is the fact that after the disintegration of the whites as a congregation and the loss of the property these colored men and women after the Civil War, which set them free, preserved their own Methodist Protestant organization, built a house of their own, and exist to this day as a part of the South Carolina Colored Conference. The Maryland Conference which supplied the white church for a number of years, ordained one of the colored leaders, Rev. Francis Brown, whose frequent visits to Maryland at the Conference time were occasions of renewed fraternity. His name and that of his associate, Rev. E. R. Washington, merit perpetuation in this History.

CHAPTER XVII

The General Conference of 1834; attendance; statistics; the Book Concern and losses under Harrod; moral—Snethen and Shinn elected editors of the Baltimore paper; remarkable prediction of Snethen in an editorial as to Lay-Representation; digest of news from the official paper—The *Methodist Correspondent* in its sixth and last volume; hard times and salaries of preachers; Stockton to prepare a new hymn book; Shinn alone editor of the paper; growth of Abolitionism; recollections of the writer—Rev. Dr. Daniel Davies editor for 1836; new plan for the Book Concern; how it was pushed; depletion of the churches in the East by immigration West—Second volume under Davies; pioneers of Reform—The second General Conference, 1838; roster of members; statistics—Slavery question revived; compromise at this Conference through Dr. Brown; Shinn's decided views; complicated with a movement to remove the official paper to Pittsburgh—T. H. Stockton elected editor of a "free" paper; Book Committee interpose and Stockton resigns; election of E. Yeates Reese—Plea of the Book Committee in their defence; the case made out.

THE ratio of representation having been fixed at one of each class for every thousand members, it kept the General Conference of 1834 considerably within one hundred, and as there were a number of absentees, the body was comparatively small. The following were the representatives elected to the first General Conference, which assembled in Georgetown, D. C., May 6, 1834.

MARYLAND	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
John S. Reese	John Chappell
Eli Henkle	William Quinton
William C. Lipscomb	Thomas Jacobs
James R. Williams	Philemon B. Hopper

PENNSYLVANIA	
John Smith	Jeremiah Stull ¹

NEW YORK	
Thomas W. Pearson	James Wood

CHAMPLAIN	
No representation	No representation

¹ Absent.

VERMONT

Ministers
Justis Byington¹

Laymen
Solomon Mason¹

GENESEE

James Covell¹

Sylvanus Teber¹

MASSACHUSETTS

James D. Yates¹

William Wyman

VIRGINIA

John French¹

J. J. Burroughs

OHIO AND PITTSBURGH

Asa Shinn
Cornelius Springer
Charles Avery
George Brown
John Clarke
J. H. Overstreet¹
Nicholas Snethen
Ashby Pool¹
Saul Henkle
James Towler

Thomas McKeever
Moses Lyon¹
John W. Philips¹
W. Disney¹
Edward Newton
James Barnes
Walter Forward¹
Erastus Hoskins¹
T. P. Armstrong¹
Stephen Bell

NORTH CAROLINA

William Harris

Spier Whitaker

GEORGIA

Charles Evans

R. A. Blount

ALABAMA

James Meek¹

M. Megee¹

TENNESSEE

William B. Elgin

James L. Armstrong

Forty-eight in all, and of these seventeen were absent. Maryland gave half its ministerial representation to the unstationed ministers, and their claims were respected in some of the other Conferences. The body was harmonious, electing Nicholas Snethen, President, and W. C. Lipsecomb, Secretary. No attempt

¹ Absent.

was made to alter the Constitution; the Discipline was revised and altered in minor particulars, so well had the Convention of 1830 done its work. Fourteen Annual Conferences were recognized. A Board of Foreign Missions, located in Baltimore, was constituted of twelve persons, S. K. Jennings, Chairman. Champlain Conference, recently set off in northern New York, was not represented and no statistics furnished, but the others made the following exhibit: Vermont, 800; Boston, 300; New York and Canada, 360; Genesee, 1300; New York, 1600; Pennsylvania, 1600; Maryland, 4227; Virginia, 1000; North Carolina, 1500; Tennessee, 1400; Georgia, 1000; Alabama, 1000; Ohio, 10,500. Some of these were estimates for the previous year, and are mostly in round numbers. The total of 26,587 it was believed should be increased to a round number of 28,000 by adding 500 ministers, about one-third of whom were itinerants, 500 for Champlain and other omissions. The increase was unprecedented in Methodism. Taking the highest estimate for 1830 at 5000, it shows a net increase of nearly 600 per cent in four years. Perhaps 5000 secessions from the old Church to be added to the first 3000 to 5000 of 1828-30, indicating some 20,000 conversions and additions in the quadrennium. The boast of the General Conference of the old Church in 1832 was that its statistics were in evidence that it had not only recovered the full loss, but had made an increase of some 10 per cent from 1828 to 1832, and this was declared the irrefragable evidence that the Lord favored their "system of government," at the same time heralding the mendacious statement that Reform was "a complete failure." Surely here is reason enough that the history of these times should be impartially written, as no amends have ever been made by the latest of Methodist Episcopal chroniclers for these misstatements.

Bascom's Declaration of Rights was appended to the new Discipline of 1834. J. J. Harrod made known the fact that he had expended on account of the periodical \$1900 more than he had received, though there were \$3000 of subscriptions due him. The publication of standard works already named, and a large credit to preachers and others, compelled him to decline the position as publisher. Despite sanguine business views, which were at the bottom of this miscarriage, financial losses which harassed his closing years, no one more fully merits the meed of unstinted praise than this upright and intrepid man of whom Dr. Bond said that the impairment of his friendship was to him the greatest

deprivation of the Radical controversy. In the face of these warnings James R. Williams proposed and organized a joint-stock company of \$20,000 to establish a Book Concern, in shares of \$50 each. It was done, with an eventual outcome of almost total loss of the principal to the subscribers, who had been secured, about one-half in Baltimore, and the remainder through the travelling agency at different times of T. H. Stockton, Augustus Webster, and William Kesley. A Book Concern was one of the things the new Church must imitate in the old, not seeing that such a corporation in the old Church was an integer of a hierarchy for which the new stood in no need. Private enterprise under safe business methods would have furnished all necessary literature; but to this day the other policy has been pursued, happily without the scandal which has overtaken both the Book Concerns of the old Methodisms in this country under the management of ministers untrained to business and open to a serious form of temptation.

Snethen, with Shinn as coadjutor, edited the periodical for one year, when he resigned, as the financial condition did not encourage the expense of a double-headed editorship. He returned to his home in Indiana to renew his activity in other directions. During his term he uttered a remarkable prediction, than which nothing seemed more improbable: "The point of controversy is reduced to a unit—a pure, unmixed question of representation. If we are true to it, if we glory in it, it must finally prevail and *proselyte every Methodist in the United States*. They may indeed remain Episcopal Methodists, but so sure as we are not moved away from our high calling, the whole lump will be leavened into Representation Methodists. . . . The doctrine of representation is just as true and just as plain as the result of two and two. It will finally convince millions as well as thousands, it will indeed convince all the world." This was not only the courage of conviction, but the prescience of a rare wisdom. For a whole generation it was scouted by the hierarchy North and South; it was ridiculed as an impossibility in Methodism. It shall be made plain how nearly it has been literally fulfilled within another generation; and ere the third is numbered, in both the letter and the spirit it may be accomplished. Then shall tardy justice be done William S. Stockton and Nicholas Snethen; it will be the hour of their Methodist apotheosis.

It does not appear that the slavery question disturbed the General Conference of 1834, though but fifteen of the thirty-one

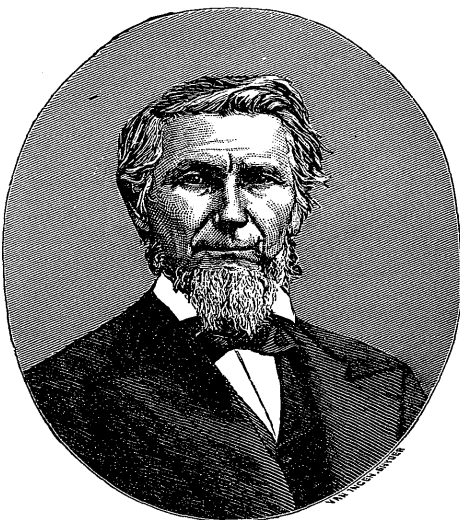
present were from slave states, and of these at least three were conservative antislavery men of the Maryland delegation.

January 12, 1835, Andrew Hunter, a devoted Reformer of Cookstown, Pa., passed to his reward. December 15, 1834, Reuben McDaniel, of Indiana, died. The *Correspondent* gives space to a call for the Ohio Antislavery Convention at Zanesville, April 22, 1835, and "all persons who advocate the righteous principles of Immediate Emancipation" are invited. It closed its fifth volume much indebted to Cornelius Springer, who conducted and edited it.

No less than twelve camp-meetings were announced for Maryland alone under the Conference presidency of Dr. John S. Reese during the summer of 1834. In these the local ministry took conspicuous part, as announced in the *Methodist Protestant*. The following sagacious moralizing in it must not be lost: "The Methodist Episcopal Church, like the Jews, committed a grave error. The latter sought to destroy Jesus for fear he might destroy them; the former sought to destroy the advocates of representation, lest they might destroy the Church. The principle is wrong in itself. But it may be founded in error, or in prejudice, or in passion, or in mere suspicion. It is an excess of the principle of self-defence, and has proved to be the source of half the wars and calamities of the human race. Not the least of its evil consequences is that it is so difficult for us ever again to respect or love those whom we have thus injured through our unfounded suspicions. All the aspects and movements of Methodist representation have now become dreadful, for the fear that is founded upon suspicion, more than fear founded in truth, grows strong by habit." It needs only the qualification that in both cases it was the instigation of the hierarchy and not the body of the people that did it. An editorial appears from Snethen noticing the new aspect of antislavery as a "National Sin," and for "Immediate Emancipation." It is conservative. The circulation of the official paper is announced as 1475. Rev. Thomas Cheeseman died August 26, 1835, in New Jersey, an early Reformer. Rev. Miles King, a Reform itinerant of Virginia, died September 17, 1834. Rev. Williamson of Georgia departed this life June 11, 1834. Baltimore "Book Company" was incorporated by the General Assembly of Maryland, March 17, 1835. James Whidness of Pennsylvania departed this life March 12, 1835. Snethen published his work on lay-representation, hitherto noticed. These are excerpts to the close of the volume, June, 1835.



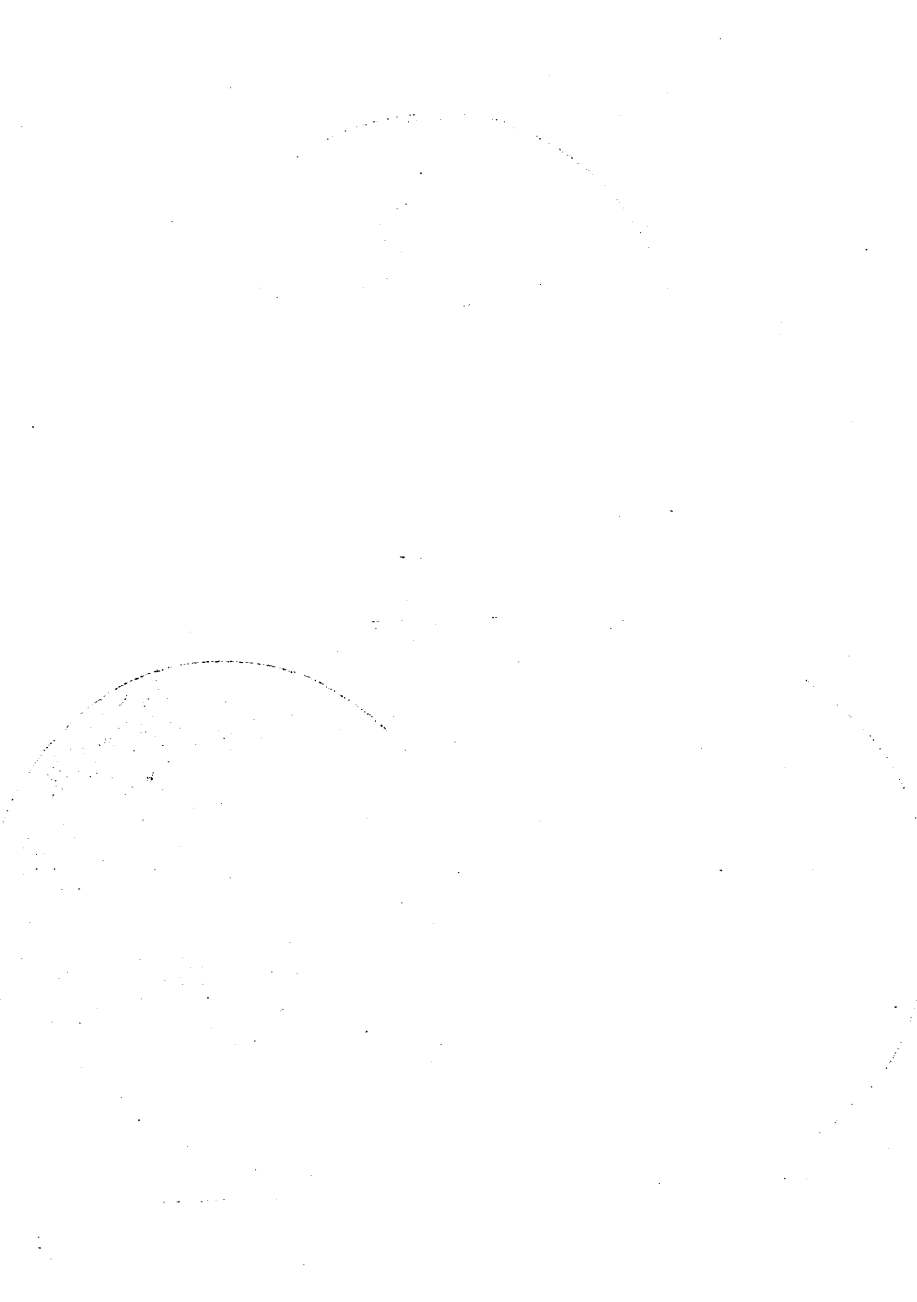
WILLIAM COLLIER.



ANCEL H. BASSETT.



GEORGE BROWN.



The sixth and last volume of the *Methodist Correspondent* was edited and published by Cornelius Springer at Zanesville, O. An exhibit of the steward of the Ohio Conference throws light upon the meagre support received by the itinerant ministers of the new Church in the West, the only qualification being that the whole country was now in the toils of a severe financial depression. The aggregate of salaries allowed for the entire District was \$5375.53, apportioned among 32 preachers and the President, John Clarke, who was allowed \$400 and received \$228.44. The total received by these 33 preachers was \$3583.09, showing a deficit of \$1888.50. The Conference collection and the Preachers' Aid Society contributed \$271.48, which was distributed among the most necessitous. And yet these devoted men labored on for Christ and Mutual Rights. A monetary crisis in the experience of this country has generally had the effect to make men serious, and religious conditions improved, but in this instance the fact is patent that in all the Churches the numerical increase was greatly minified, as will be seen, not only in the new but in the old Church, and in other denominations. Peter T. Laishley appears as a contributor and active worker. The General Conference of 1834 deputed T. H. Stockton to compile a new hymn book, and he announced that he hoped to finish the work in the spring of 1836. In May of that year the Agent, John Clarke, made choice by purchase of the Mount Pleasant Farm, near Lawrenceburgh, Ind., for the Literary Institution of the West,—250 acres, 135 arable,—for \$12,500, or \$50 an acre, on a subscription of \$5000. The Ohio Antislavery Society within a year reported 100 auxiliaries, so the "irrepressible conflict" hastened. A mob in Cincinnati, August, 1835, destroyed the press of the *Philanthropist*, edited by Birney, an extreme abolitionist. John Burns and A. H. Bassett grew into prominence in Church work. College buildings were proposed for the Lawrenceburgh farm, under the Presidency of Nicholas Snethen, October 30, 1836. The last number of the *Correspondent* was dated November 6, 1836, and by order of the Ohio and Pittsburgh Conferences it was removed to Wheeling, Va., for the accommodation of Rev. D. B. Dorsey, elected editor and publisher, to be printed on a super-royal sheet once a week. Oliver Wells, an original Reformer, deceased October 9, 1836. These are the salient events of the closing volume at Zanesville.

The *Methodist Protestant*, under the editorship of Asa Shinn, "assisted by the Book Committee," began June 10, 1835. Shinn

removed to Baltimore and took charge. So scant was the courtesy received from the old side preachers by the new Church, it was deemed worthy of special mention that Rev. Dr. Olin, President of Randolph-Macon College of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Va., while in Lynchburg at the Virginia Conference, attended a service in the Methodist Protestant Church, and after sermon by another he offered the closing prayer, and "prayed particularly for blessings to be upon our church, which he called a tender vine of the Lord." At once one of the most brilliant and pious of the ministry of the old Church, his soul was too large for narrow bigotry, and though of Northern birth and education, a long residence in the South attempered his views and led him in the General Conference of 1844 to exert all his powers to arrest extreme measures. Notice was made of the fact that the percentage of increase in the new Church conferences was greatly reduced, and in some cases none at all. At the same time the *Christian Advocate* stated that within the bounds of such leading Conferences as Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York they had suffered a decrease of members. July, 1835, the New York *Methodist Protestant and Conference Journal* appeared, folio, semi-monthly. It was about this time that Rev. Daniel E. Reese, Sr., and Rev. John Valiant made their peace with the old Church and returned, which led the press of that Church to report that the Reform cause was on the verge of dissolution in Baltimore. It was quietly disposed of by Shinn, who wielded his pen with trenchant courtesy.

A Convention of ministers and laymen in Lower Canada adopted with some changes the Constitution and Discipline of the new Church and called a Conference to meet at Dunham, February, 1836, Lower Canada. Instigations to insurrection among the slaves of the South greatly excited that section, and a mass-meeting was called at Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass., to protest against such measures, while deprecating the institution as such. The commercial interest of Boston had not ceased in the slave-trade, but was fast declining. Both Maryland and Virginia took some steps looking to the establishment of "A Literary and Scientific Manual Labor School." September 9, 1835, the Book Committee say: "On the subject of slavery and abolition we intend to be silent, for reasons that must on all hands, we think, appear to be just and indispensable." Rev. William McMasters, an early Reformer of New York, departed this life November 17, 1835. Proposals were made for the *Mutual Rights and Southern Intelli-*

gencer, to be published at Charleston, S. C., under the auspices of the Georgia Conference. It was proposed by the Pittsburgh Conference to remove the official paper to the city of Pittsburgh, which was answered by the Book Committee. Rev. Joab W. Ragan deceased October 3, 1835, a devoted itinerant Reformer of the West. Shinn, as editor, notices a resolution of the Georgia Conference requesting the official paper to "declare its disapprobation of Abolition,"¹ in which he calls attention to the action of the Book Committee, dissenting, if it implicates a "disposition to suppress truth or shrink from investigation." It led to differences between him and the Committee, coupled with intimations that Shinn's zeal for a call of a General Conference in 1838, instead of 1841, as the law required, and of which he was largely the author, was to secure a removal of the Book Concern to Pittsburgh. Pamphlets were issued denying and affirming on both sides, and the upshot was Shinn's resignation at the close of the volume as editor. In the great fire in New York the Book Concern of the Methodist Episcopal Church was almost totally destroyed, with a loss of \$250,000. The Book Concern of the new Church was reported to be in good condition, and the Maryland Conference took special action looking to its support. The New York Conference paper was discontinued, April, 1836. The concluding numbers of the official paper were filled with the spe-

¹ The writer, then a youth not yet in his teens, was an eye-witness to the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, in his native city of Philadelphia, by a mob in 1838, growing out of this Abolition question. The Friends of that city were from the first pronounced and honest antislavery people, and were never complicated with it either as holders of slaves or as commercially interested in the trade as was the case in New England. Unfortunately, perhaps, they fell into extremes and became not only abolitionists favoring immediate emancipation at any cost and without regard to personal rights of others, but to exhibit their sympathy with the colored man, advocated what was afterward known as miscegenation or intermarriage of the races. The writer remembers distinctly the excitement produced in Philadelphia over these teachings and practices. The Pennsylvania Hall was built by them, and here assemblies of both races were held, and white Quaker women made it a matter of defiant pride to socially entertain and be escorted through the streets by colored men, and in some cases marriage was consummated. It was, it must be admitted, to this form of antislavery that the South made strenuous objection, while the incitement to insurrection spread alarm through that section. On the other hand as slavery, as a purely domestic institution, its least objectionable phase, ceased to be agriculturally profitable in the so-called Border States, the mercenary greed of holders led them into slave-breeding for a more southern market, the most offensive phase of it, and thus it too became aggressive, demanding its right to new territory and the unmolested transit with such servants through free States. If there was lack of method in the madness of either side in these extremes, the whole was providentially working out the only possible ultimate.

cial General Conference discussion involving a Book Concern controversy ending in criminations and recriminations, and not a little injury to the general Church. "Laicus," W. S. Stockton; "Amicus," James R. Williams; "Lacidar," Augustus Webster; Snethen occasionally; T. H. Stockton as travelling Agent for Book Concern; Shinn as "Bartimeus," as well as editor,—were the principal writers for this volume.

A new volume, beginning June 8, 1836, flies the name of Rev. Daniel Davies, M.D., as editor, while the "Book Committee" explain their relation to the official paper as set by the General Conference of 1834. The editor was a young man of the Maryland Conference, of exceptional abilities, sweet disposition, but feeble health. He entered upon his duties under favorable auspices. He was unmarried, and this was one of the reasons for his selection, on the score of economy. The General Conference of the old Church met in Cincinnati, May, 1836, and elected Beverly Waugh, Wilbur Fisk, and Thomas A. Morris, bishops. Mason and Lane, both ministers, were appointed agents of the Book Concern, following precedents before and since to the exclusion of laymen trained to business. Why? The decisions of courts of law, as well as the Discipline, made the Book Concern the absolute property of the preachers exclusively; why should they not manage and control it? Under a hierarchy there was no reason, and the General Conferences acted accordingly, with a sequel yet to be revealed.¹ Wilbur Fisk declined for the second

¹ These assertions need the support of examples, and they are at hand. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, twenty odd years ago, their Publishing House at Nashville, Tenn., under the management of Rev. Dr. A. H. Redford, developed a scandal of misapplied funds and unsettled accounts which shadowed the name of the manager to the close of life, either through ignorance of right business methods or weakness of character in yielding to temptation. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, from 1858 to 1868 especially, the mismanagement, to call it by no harsher name, was something almost unprecedented. As in the Church, South, ministers have controlled with almost unamenable freedom the immense funds of the Book Concern, for this property has always been specially claimed as belonging exclusively to the Itinerant preachers. On the election of Rev. Dr. Lananah assistant Book Agent in 1868, his Spartan courage and Christian honesty unearthed a long series of misappropriation of funds by the senior Agent and his subordinates of which he should not, and indeed could not, have been ignorant. Yet for these exposures the assistant Agent was persecuted with all the crushing power of officialism, with rare exceptions, and compelled him, as late as 1896, in his old age in rebuttal of continued insinuations that he was a traducer of good men, to issue an *exposé* of the whole unsavory business. The animadversion made in both these cases is that there was a failure by the ministerial class—no others were allowed to touch such sacred deposits—rigidly to investigate and condignly punish the real offenders. So palpable, however, were the loose busi-

time the mitre; his fervent piety and educational tact led him to decide that a college presidency was his forte and province. Beverly Waugh, the still-hunt Reformer of 1824-28, received final promotion as a subservient pervert. Thomas A. Morris filled the episcopal chair with credit to himself and honor to the Church, with mediocre ability. T. H. Stockton for several years continued his blank verse contributions of rare poetic merit. Augustus Webster succeeded him as travelling Agent for the Book Concern, in broken health, but used his pen frequently journalizing. In October, 1836, Charles Avery, of Pittsburgh, contributed \$1000 to Stockton for the establishment of a Book Concern. It was munificent for that day. The *Olive Branch*, a weekly paper, was established in Boston, Mass., July, 1836, auxiliary to the cause of the new Church, and under Rev. T. F. Norris as editor and proprietor for many years was successfully managed, and buttressed the Church in the East. T. H. Stockton once more in the pastorate, his fame filled Maryland and elsewhere at the camp-meetings as the most eloquent speaker known since Summerfield, not excepting Bascom. The Western emigration was a cause of severe depletion to the new Church as of the old. William Collier, now springing into prominence, reports from Alexandria, Va., that 131 had removed since the organization of the Church, April, 1829. Rev. Thomas Taylor of Kentucky, an early Reformer, deceased April 24, 1836. He was born in Virginia, 1763. The Book Committee address an historical statement to all the Annual Conferences. E. Yeates Reese makes contributions in prose and verse to the paper. The Board of Foreign Missions in Baltimore, Dr. Francis Waters, President, and P. S. Chappell, Secretary, send out Rev. David James, colored, and a small company from the neighborhood of Elkton, Md., as superintendent of a mission at Cape Palmas, Africa. A public meeting was held at Pitt Street, East Baltimore, on Sabbath, 30th of October, 1836, of a deeply affecting character, of which the editor gives a three-column account in the November 16

ness methods, if not covert frauds in New York, that the General Conference of 1872, for the first time in the history of the Book Concern, elected a layman as assistant Agent. On the appearance of Dr. Lanahan's vindication, again the whispered mandate of officialism arrested the sale of the book in quiet ways known only to the class. For the facts in this case, never disproved, and scarcely admitting of denial, see the work referred to: "The Era of Frauds in the Methodist Book Concern at New York," by John Lanahan, D.D., 1896. Methodist Book Depository, 118 East Baltimore Street, Baltimore, Md. 12mo. 307 pp. Cloth.

number.¹ William Quinton, an early Reformer, died in Maryland, October 19, 1836. The Virginia Conference resolved to establish a Manual Labor College, agents appointed, and \$70,000 asked to accomplish the work. The depletion by emigration and other causes kept the statistics of some of the Eastern and Southern Conferences at zero as to increase. Thomas Nicholson of Halifax, N. C., an early Reformer, died November 27, 1836. Rev. James R. Lowery of the Georgia Conference, an original Reformer, died October 13, 1836. Rev. William Pinnell labored successfully among the colored people under encouragement from the Virginia Conference. The first Annual Conference of Illinois was opened at Alton, October 25, 1836. E. M'Daniel, President; preachers appointed, M. T. Johnson, R. Miller, F. Prather, C. Howard, M. Osburn, W. H. Collins, George Wheatly, Thomas Bennett; George Brown, missionary in the northern, and Reddick Horn, in the southern, part of the district. James Towler, an original Reformer from O'Kelly's time, and prominent in Reform in the West for a number of years, departed this life July 9, 1836. A general declension in religion is marked in all the denominations; business is depressed, while living is high, flour \$10 a barrel and wheat \$1.50 to \$1.80 a bushel. The Book Concern is in straits to continue the official paper with a paid editor, but amid it all the brethren are struggling to build new churches and pay for those already erected, and raise a support for the itinerants. Thomas K. Witsel succeeded George Thomas as President of the seventh New York Annual Conference, and for many years he was a landmark in that section. It met in Albany. Rev. Joshua Swift of North Carolina, an early Reformer, died March 25, 1837. The volume closed financially embarrassed, but its conduct had given general satisfaction; controversy was excluded, and its pacific spirit commended it to all.

The next volume, with Davies as editor, opened with promise, William Kesley, travelling Agent. The Ohio Conference takes a stand in favor of the Book Concern as established by the General Conference in Baltimore, and orders its encouragement. Snethen resumes his pen frequently for the official paper. Thomas Latimer, an early Reformer, died August 3, 1837, at Hampton, Va. Elisha Lott writes from Mississippi, one of the earliest and truest of Reform ministers, and largely the father of the

¹ Nothing more is known of this missionary enterprise; it miscarried, and the writer recalls a tradition of forty years ago that the existence of the word "white" in the Constitution had something to do with it.

new cause in the far South. James R. Williams suggests a method for a General Superintendency of four of the Annual Conference Presidents, to be selected by the ensuing General Conference, to "act in rotation as corresponding presidents," under strict limitations as to magisterial powers; but the dominant idea of the framers of the Constitution was that the connectional bond of travelling Annual Conference presidents was all that would be needed. They believed in an episcopacy, but of the diocesan kind. John Chandler, a prominent layman of the Alabama district, and an original Reformer, passed away October 24, 1837. The Total Abstinence Temperance resolutions of these early Conferences are models for some in this day; they were pronounced and prohibitory. Rev. Levi R. Reese was elected Chaplain to the House of Representatives, December 11, 1837. Rev. Saul Henkle, an original Reformer, brother to Moses M. and Eli, departed this life November 15, 1837. A call appears from Rev. William P. Smith and Rev. Lindsey P. Rucker of the Church for volunteer missionaries in Texas, with its hundred thousand inhabitants. The *Methodist Correspondent* not having materialized as proposed, in Wheeling, under D. B. Dorsey, the whole West reports through the official paper, and many are the glad tidings furnished by Brown, Springer, Ragan, Dalby, Bassett, M'Guire, while all the old writers furbish it with their freshly nibbed pens, and new ones contribute their maiden efforts, — names that, afterward, grew into fame. Snethen, as "N. S.," is an almost weekly contributor. A special General Conference having been called by the necessary two-thirds of the Annual Conferences, it is announced for Pittsburgh, third Tuesday in May, 1838. An era of good feeling is inaugurated, revivals are reported, and the brethren everywhere join in the slogan — forward! The Boston Conference asks for the abolition of the order of Deacon. The fifty-second number of the volume closed July 28, 1838, with a valedictory from the retiring editor, Dr. Davies, who accepted the pastorate of the church in Charleston, S. C.

The second General Conference assembled in the First church, Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., May 15, 1838. The following were members:—

BOSTON

Ministers

John McLeish

Laymen

W. Wyman

VERMONT

John Croker

A. McLaughlin

	NEW YORK	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
T. W. Pearson		William Wood
J. L. Ambler		William Stead
	CHAMPLAIN	
—		Nathan Green
	GENESEE	
Michael Burge		S. Beecher
	PENNSYLVANIA	
A. Woolston		W. S. Stockton
	MARYLAND	
Thomas H. Stockton		John Clark
Luther J. Cox		E. Crutchley
William Kesley		T. C. Brown
W. C. Lipscomb		J. S. Zeiber
	VIRGINIA	
Dr. Finney		J. M. Smith
	NORTH CAROLINA	
Samuel B. Harris		L. H. B. Whitaker
	GEORGIA	
R. Blount		C. Kennon
	ALABAMA	
Peyton S. Graves		B. S. Bibb
	TENNESSEE	
R. W. Morris		James L. Armstrong
	ILLINOIS	
W. H. Collins		R. A. Shipley
	OHIO	
R. W. Johnston		S. Bell
M. M. Henkle		J. J. Amos
William Disney		M. Lyon
	PITTSBURGH	
A. Shinn		J. Carey
George Brown		J. Bell

PITTSBURGH (continued)

Ministers
 J. Elliot
 C. Springer
 E. Woodard
 D. B. Dorsey
 C. Avery

Laymen
 E. Hoskins
 T. McKeever
 J. Barnes
 W. Garrard
 B. Connell

It will be observed that one-half the Maryland ministerial delegation is given to the unstationed ministers, as in 1834, and so in other Conferences.

Asa Shinn was elected President and T. W. Pearson, Secretary. Nicholas Snethen was present as an honorary member, and by special vote of the Conference was requested to deliver a sermon before the body. The principal committees, with the chairmen, were: Executive, M. M. Henkle; Judiciary, George Brown; Missions, William H. Collins; Finance, Moses Lyon; Means of Grace, John Elliot; Literary, Luther J. Cox; Theological, Cornelius Springer; Slavery Question, George Brown. There were a number of recommendations for changes in the Constitution and Discipline, but the various committees made conservative reports, and but few amendments were made. The time of General Conference was changed from "seven" to four years. The proposition of the Book Committee to establish a Book Concern, with a capital of \$20,000, to be located in Baltimore, with a weekly periodical of improved form, was finally agreed to, and the following named as the Book Committee: James R. Williams, Samuel K. Jennings, John Chappell, John Clark, Dr. Francis Waters, Luther J. Cox, Philip S. Chappell, Beale H. Richardson, and the superintendents of Baltimore city and East Baltimore stations. The name of the periodical was now changed to the *Methodist Protestant and Family Visitor*, and Thomas H. Stockton elected editor. The new hymn book compiled by T. H. Stockton was approved as the hymn book of the Church, and was soon thereafter issued from the press and was used by the churches for twenty years. The Illinois Annual Conference was recognized, and a new one in Arkansas and in New Jersey,¹ making

¹ The action was as follows: "On motion of brother Woolston, Resolved, that all those parts of New Jersey south of the New York district, be constituted a district to be called the New Jersey district." It was adopted, but it had no representative in the General Conference of 1842, and so could not have materialized as a district separate from the New York. Its organization occurred later, as will be seen.

sixteen in all. The proceedings of the General Conference are included in twenty-eight pages as officially printed, and are meagre in details. The members as reported are as follows: Vermont, 532; Boston, 300; Champlain, 505; Genesee, 1000; New York, 1780; Pennsylvania, 1272; Maryland, 4012; Virginia, 1233; North Carolina, 1858; Tennessee, 1400; Georgia, 1076; Alabama, 1000; Ohio, 3900; Pittsburgh, 7280; Illinois, 500; Charleston, S.C., station, 300. Total, 27,948. Thus it will be seen that the percentage of increase for the quadrennium was small, if any, and would have been alarming if the old Church and other denominations could have made at the time a better showing. Unhappily for the cause of religion, a combination of adverse conditions stagnated the churches, depressed the country, and cast a gloom over the land. The Methodist Episcopal Church in 1836 showed so small an increase for the whole denomination, punctuated with actual losses in not a few Conferences, that the Episcopal Address called for humiliation and prayer over it.

The Slavery Question could not be suppressed at this Conference. Held in the West, with a majority of the delegates anti-slavery in sentiment, a deep, underlying conviction in the opposite sections that it would not be left where the Church Constitution had put it; a civil as well as moral question that could not be settled by Church legislation; and above all the pressure of the abolitionists, so-called, upon the more conservative antislavery element of the free States, precipitated action of some sort, to satisfy if possible the manifestoes against the Southern institution. It was the half-concealed cause of the Book Concern controversy and the effort to remove it and the periodical from Baltimore to Pittsburgh, and it was rapidly engendering ill-will and ecclesiastical strife in the new Church. Various motions were made in the General Conference, and the subject was discussed for two days, Asa Shinn being the protagonist of the anti-slavery section of the body. The result of the debate and the manœuvring of the leaders on both sides was the reference of the question to the Annual Conferences and the primary assemblies of the people for decision. It was in fact a compromise, which left it where it was found when the debate began. It was excluded from the reports in the official paper, and the General Conference proceedings as published gave nothing but the resulting resolution. A few weeks after the adjournment Shinn availed himself of the *Christian Witness*, a Baptist paper then issued in Pittsburgh, to sum up the issue as he understood it,

and in it voiced the opinion of the North and West. Even now it will be seen he does not lose his judicial judgment: "The committee [Brown, Chairman] reported against slavery; and the subject matter of their report was discussed in open Conference for two days, in the presence of a large number of intelligent spectators. This was all clear gain to the cause of truth and righteousness, and was itself of more value, probably, than any other official action of the Conference. We at first desired an *official testimony* of the General Conference against slavery. But the resolution leaving the matter, for the present, with the Annual Conferences, and with the people in their primary assemblies, will, it is thought, promote the cause of liberty more than would such official testimony at the present time, and in the present state of the public mind." That is, the brethren coöperating with him were content with so much expedient gain, not intending that the compromise should last on their part longer than might be necessary as a fulcrum for future operations, and in this, perhaps, displayed politic finesse and mental reservation; but when he comes to make a personal deliverance, with prophetic sagacity and outspoken candor says: "Every man in the nation must take his stand on the side of liberty or on the side of slavery. The signs of the times are portentous, and will become more so. The day is approaching when every man will find that he *cannot* occupy neutral ground; and it is better to take a deliberate and firm ground before the full power of the storm appears. The liberty of the world and the happiness of the human race are at stake. At such a time and in such a contest *indecision would be imbecility, and cowardice would be a crime.* Almighty God is on the side of righteousness and freedom."¹

As to the Book Concern complication Dr. Brown says: "That night [of the day the compromise was passed] we had a session in view of acting on the report of the Committee on the Church paper. That report being read, Dr. Armstrong of Tennessee offered a resolution to the effect that all matter on the subject of slavery be excluded from its columns. Then followed one of the most excoriating discussions that I ever remember to have heard in any deliberative body on the subject of slavery. Judge H—— of Ohio did battle for the South. . . . Shinn then replied to the whole in a speech of great power." "All this time," continues Dr. Brown, "the discussion proceeded upon the supposition that the General Conference had full power over the question at

¹ Bassett's "History," pp. 136, 137.

issue," and after various efforts he secured the floor to remind the Conference that Article X. of the Constitution settled the matter,— "no rule shall be passed infringing the liberty of speech or of the press," etc.; "the press with us," said Brown, in comment, "is constitutionally free, and this body has no power to make it otherwise."¹ And then followed another compromise, as it was thought, both sides construing for themselves. Quiet ensued, and Dr. Armstrong withdrew his resolution. Dr. Brown farther says: "It was now conceded that the freedom of the press implied that at least all official documents must be published, while communications by individuals should come under the editor's discretionary control." The brethren of the East and South exercised, perhaps, the same politic finesse and mental reservation, not intending that the "free press" of the Church should be construed otherwise than as giving the Book Committee discretionary power to decide what would constitute "an abuse of liberty" of speech and the press, as the same Article provided. Dr. Brown continued: "On the following Monday Thomas H. Stockton was elected editor of our free Church paper. In view, therefore, of the premisses, brother Stockton went on to Baltimore, to enter upon the duties of his office. But on his arrival he had the mortification to find that on the slave question the Book Committee, right in the teeth of the Constitution, and over the action of the General Conference, had gagged our Church paper!"²

This was the decision of the Book Committee, right or wrong, and abstractly, perhaps, more wrong than right, but it was claimed that such a decision was unavoidable as a matter of life or death to the paper and the Book Concern. While it was true, as alleged, that it was difficult to continue old or secure new sub-

¹ No doubt can be entertained of this truth. But unfortunately, both in State and Church, as all precedents and decisions, however professedly "judicial," show, what is "Constitutionally settled" depends on a partisan view of it. For clear as is Dr. Brown's utterance it is not clearer than that "Constitutionally" the slavery question was settled by the Convention of 1830, relegating it to the Annual Conferences, and forbidding ecclesiastical interference with the civil authorities and the civil laws in construing moral questions, and so providing for separation of Church and State. Dr. Brown then, and for years afterward, compromised on this basis, and he equally intended his compromise of 1838 on a Free Press to be a peace measure, but his comments upon it as given were made a year after the close of the Civil War, 1866, which brushed aside things "constitutionally settled," and settled them providentially right, the only way any moral question can be finally settled.

² Brown's "Itinerant Life," pp. 274-276.

scriptions in the North and West for the periodical because of its neutral ground on slavery, it was also true that any other ground could not be occupied and retain old or secure new subscribers in the East and South. Not only did the Conferences of the free states pass resolutions against slavery, but, taking advantage of the "free press," denunciatory language of the extremest type was used in lengthy argumentative form in these resolutions, so that there was to the Book Committee the same difficulty in discriminating against "official" and individual communications on the subject. In fine, it was simply one of the phases of the "irrepressible conflict," now on, and in relation to which either party in the new Church acted according to the best light and conscience then possessed. It needs to be repeated, however, that while the slavery question was the principal occasion of Stockton's resignation, his interview with the Book Committee made manifest what has been already alleged, that neither father nor son could be brought to agree to any kind of censorship of their editorial work, while the committee having the financial responsibility insisted upon reasonable supervision. They elected Eli Yeates Reese as editor, a young member of the Church in Baltimore, of rising literary fame and religious character. And in evidence that there was nothing personal or partisan in the supervision they claimed over Stockton, they exercised it not long after upon their own choice of an editor by administering a censure through the paper to Reese, for brusque and unbecoming conduct officially toward the venerable Alexander McCaine in a matter between them of newspaper comity. The case of the new Church as a whole in its relation to slavery was aptly described in a homely illustration Thomas Jefferson gave of the relation of the States and the Federal government to the same question: "We have the wolf by the ears, and can neither hold on nor let go."¹ The General Conference adjourned after a session of fifteen days.

¹ Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates, in a critical review of this History in Ms., furnishes the following note: "The *Protestant* was mainly supported by the South, and these antislavery communications would have been condemned as incendiary by the legal authorities and denied circulation, as the *New York Christian Advocate* was by the Court of Accomac County, Va., in 1843, or 1844. So the Book Committee had to decide between a paper or no paper."

CHAPTER XVIII

The official organ in 1838; Stockton after an interview with the Book Committee declined his election by the General Conference; causes; result—Passing events—1839 a year of great prosperity to the new Church and the official organ—Dr. Bond reelected editor of the *Christian Advocate*; reasons for it; his course extreme—Sketch of T. H. Stockton's career—Lawrenceburgh College burned—*New York Luminary* established—Obituaries of Reformers now increasing—*Olive Branch* of Boston—E. Yeates Reese, editor at Baltimore; synopsis of news—Third General Conference in Baltimore, 1842; list of members; its doings; another compromise on the slavery question—Revivals—Dr. Bond rampant—Dr. Webster's Presidency of the Maryland Conference in 1842-43; Levi R. Reese his successor; Webster sent to St. John's; division on the pew question; Maryland Conference grants a "mission" relation to it; brief story of this calamitous contention.

THE official organ, as reconstructed, appeared August 4, 1838, as a super-royal folio sheet of four pages: the *Methodist Protestant and Family Visitor*. The Book Committee placed it in direct charge of a sub-committee of three: Beale H. Richardson, Philip S. Chappell, laical, and Andrew A. Lipscomb, clerical. The restrictive resolution of the Book Committee excluded personalities, heterodoxy, and abolition, or slavery; the associated items have the appearance of riders, the objective being to shut out the slavery agitation. The interview of the Committee with T. H. Stockton as to the editorial management proving unsatisfactory to both parties, he resigned for reasons already given, and which he subsequently accentuated as "the violent undoing of the arrangement made by the General Conference of 1838," etc.¹ Meanwhile the sub-committee issued the paper, and these items are noted: Rev. Augustus Webster published "Words to the Thoughtful," a small volume of religious essays. Rev. John Elliot of the Pittsburgh Conference and pastor of the Pittsburgh First Church, departed this life. Rev. John B. Tilden, M.D., deceased July 21, 1838, at Newton, Frederick County, Va. He was born in Philadelphia, December 9, 1762. A student at Princeton, N. J., he enlisted in the Revolutionary Army, and attained the rank of captain at its close. In 1783 he settled in Newton, Va., studied medicine, and secured a large practice.

¹ *Methodist Recorder*, March 4, 1852.

Converted at Martinsburg, Va., in 1787, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and soon became a local preacher and active worker. He was elected a Justice of the Peace and High Sheriff of the county. He early embraced the principles of Reform, and was a contributor to the *Mutual Rights*, etc. Cited to trial for his connection with it, he was refused the privilege of reading his defence, whereupon he arose, left the trial room, and announced that he would read the defence from the first doorsteps he met, when nearly the entire congregation followed him. He assisted in organizing the Virginia Conference of the new Church in 1829. As a preacher he was of noble and dignified bearing, and a profound and earnest expounder of the Word of God; of holy life and spotless character. He was buried at Newton, where he had lived for half a century.

The Address of the General Conference, George Brown and Charles Avery, committee, appeared. Dearborn College, Lawrenceburgh, O., was dedicated, and the institution entered upon its active career under the Presidency of Nicholas Snethen. When the action of the Book Committee became known in the West and North, great indignation was expressed at the breach of faith, and a demand made for the inauguration of a Western paper, through which the vexed question could be discussed; and both the Ohio and the Pittsburgh Conferences, at their ensuing autumn assembly, took action, and Cornelius Springer was engaged to establish and edit it at, or near, Zanesville, O., he to assume the pecuniary responsibility, but the Conferences to pledge their support. The first number did not appear, however, until July 18, 1839, or three years after the suspension of the *Methodist Correspondent*. Its title was the *Western Recorder*, and was a four-page folio sheet of good appearance and well conducted. The first number rehearses the reasons for its inauguration, and the plan on which it would be continued. October 20, 1838, the official paper announced Eli Yeates Reese as editor, and he took charge with that number. He had the intellectual equipment, and was unmarried, so that the Book Committee incurred but a minimum of expense. November, 1838, H. B. Bascom lectured and preached in Baltimore, but not in Reform churches. Another great revival occurred at St. John's, Baltimore, continuing seven weeks, with a large number of conversions. May 11, 1839, the *New York Luminary*, a Conference local paper, was announced, Rev. J. L. Ambler, editor. It was a small four-page folio of good typographical make-up.

A sarcastic query was started in the old side press as to the results of Methodist Reform, which crystallized into, "What have you done?" "Zenias," in the official paper for July 13, 1839, makes such apt answer that it may be given space as covering the extraneous effects of the existence of the new Church for the first decade of its history, demonstrating that while reform from within hierarchic and autocratic systems is hopeless, reform from without is sure to ensue. "And can any one ask seriously, Has this Reform effected anything? Look at the Methodist Episcopal Church alone, and in the short space of scarcely ten years, what changes have taken place, not so much in her written Discipline, as in her administration policy; and, to some extent, the spirit of her power is broken, — she is now content to exercise a more scriptural government over her wide domain; what mildness has usurped the place of command, what leniency in view of positive dictation; her conferences now sit with open doors, and, though denied by her law, her members have, to some limited extent, a self-constituted, irresponsible lay-representation in attendance at her sessions, some official members to say who we will have and who we will not have; what we will do and what we will not do; and are they not heard, and the Church to which they are attached through them respected and regarded; and has it not often occurred since, that churches have been built, and members have held their right to their own property, without reproof or admonition; and how different the trials of her members, besides many other important and minor changes not now enumerated; and has not the tone of that Church widely changed as regards its overweening pretensions, and its overstrained prerogative. Are not these things so? He that runs may read and understand them, so clear and so glorious has this reform been." But for many years nothing was so studiously avoided, officially and non-officially, as the semblance of credit to the new Church for these quiet, reflex changes in the old.

The year 1839 was one of great prosperity to the new Church, revivals were frequent in every section, and a large ingathering was made, and in this prosperity the official organ and the Western paper shared, so that a favorable outlook took the despondent one of a few years before. Yet, on the heel of it came the suspension of specie payment by the banks of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and a corresponding business depression. October 13, on Sabbath at 9 P.M., near Norfolk, Va., that noble

man of God and Christian hero, Rev. John French, M.D., passed to his reward. A generation afterward the writer, in company with Rev. Dr. L. F. Cosby, visited his grave in the Norfolk cemetery, and, pushing back the grass and weeds that grew over the memorial slab covering his remains, Dr. Cosby moralized over one of Nature's noblemen. His memory should be kept green in the Methodist Protestant Church.¹ Another great revival occurred at St. John's, Baltimore, January 16, 1840. The *Methodist Protestant Banner* appeared in Charleston, S. C., a small monthly sheet, in the interest of the Georgia Conference, January, 1840. The first South Carolina Conference convened December 26, 1839, as set off from the Georgia.² Rev. Nathan Bangs, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, invidiously attacked the new Church, April 18, 1840, which led the editor of the official paper to declare, after summarizing 18 annual Conferences, 200 itinerant ministers, and rising 50,000 members, "that in the history of Protestant churches we challenge an instance of greater success." Bangs was led to his review by the fact that as the General Conference of the old Church of 1840 drew near, numerous memorials and petitions appeared, asking for representation in the body, but always with distinct disavowal that what they asked had any kinship with "radicalism."

The official animus of that Church, however, toward the move-

¹ Dr. Colhouer's "Founders," p. 350, for a full and merited sketch of this great and good man. It was the writer's first plan to incorporate elaborate sketches of these founders in the running text of this History, but it would have necessitated a third octavo volume. The reader who would be fully posted should have at command Colhouer's "Sketches," though a number of worthy men are unrecorded from the difficulty of securing material. The writer repeats that this volume should be revised, enlarged, and republished in the higher interests of the Methodist Protestant Church.

² It convened in the Academy at Mechanicsville, S. C. James Newberry was elected the first President, and G. M. Keils, Secretary. The following preachers were enrolled: T. G. Clayton, A. G. Brewer, J. A. Russell, Alexander McCaine, James Newberry, H. T. Arnold, R. M. Maulden, S. E. Norton, S. H. Miller (licentiate). The delegates were: O. B. Hillard, J. E. Walker, G. M. Keils, J. A. Hines, Thomas Boone, A. Galloway, A. Machaen, W. Kirkpatrick, A. Smith. The members reported were for Charleston city station, 757; for Sumpter circuit, 44; for Abbeyville circuit, 70; for Pickens, 80; a total of 951. Of the number reported from Charleston more than half were colored, but they are returned without discrimination on that account, and were counted for suffrage purposes, though not voters themselves, as was the case under the civil Constitution of the country in the South. A Superannuated and a Temperance society were organized of the Conference members. Though Charleston for many years was supplied by the Maryland Conference and provisionally recognized as a part of it, the South Carolina Conference has perpetuated its existence under the most serious hinderances to this day, though confined largely to its original limits.

ment was little less unfriendly than in 1827-30. The editor of the *Pittsburgh* (Methodist) *Journal*, repelling a report that his Conference had joined in a petition for lay-rights, uses the choice parallel that it was impossible, inasmuch as radicalism once infected it, and "radicalism is like the small-pox, those who have once had it never get it the second time."¹ It is coincident that these petitions were addressed to a General Conference, which met in Baltimore, May, 1840, the very seat of the radical controversy. The petitions were referred to a committee, but nothing came of them. It was at this Conference that Thomas E. Bond, M.D., was elected editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, partly as a reward for his services in the old, and specially because believed to be the best equipped to cope with this new outbreak of Reform. Besides, the division of 1844 was foreshadowed by the astute leaders, and it was good policy to have at the official helm a man of his peculiar qualifications. He proved himself worthy of the trust thus reposed in him and made himself at once the best loved and the best hated official of the Church. In after years, his friends flattered him with the laudation, "the hero of a hundred battles." During the Conference the pulpits of the new Church, three in number, were put at the disposition of their quondam friends, and were filled on the Sabbath by members of it. August 10, 1840, in the fortieth number of the volume, the official paper appeared in new dress of type, and otherwise improved, under the editorship of E. Yeates Reese, who imbued it with a high literary and religious flavor. November 28, 1840, Rev. John McCormick, an original Reformer, died. Also Rev. William Kern, September 9, 1840, a member of the Ohio Conference and an early Reformer. Thirteen camp-meetings were held in Maryland through the summer of 1840, and the renewed prosperity of the Church in all sections became apparent. It was proposed in the East to hold a Convention of all the Conferences in November, 1840, to secure a census of progress. In Maryland, T. H. Stockton,² who was largely the

¹ This paper, now for some years under the title of the *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate*, as late as 1897, under the editorship of Rev. Dr. Smith, perpetuates this ingrained prejudice and disregard of the true facts of history as to the principle of lay-representation embodied in the Methodist Protestant Church, by officially declaring that lay-delegation in the Methodist Episcopal Church has been belated and handicapped by the continued existence of the Methodist Protestant Church! The suggestion is so unique as to merit this notice of it; it was never before proposed, and likely never will be again by any sane mind.

² In the spring of 1839 T. H. Stockton established in Philadelphia a mission Methodist Protestant Church on Filbert Street, above Tenth, out of original materials

promoter, with Augustus Webster and John Clark, were the committee to arrange preliminaries.

In October, 1839, the Onondaga Conference was organized out of the Genesee. There appear to be no official records of it in either the Baltimore official or the Western paper. They were probably sent by local preference to the *New York Luminary*, which had been established by the New York Conference some six months earlier; but as there is no extant file of this paper, the writer has had great difficulty in securing the facts. They are given, however, in a foot-note.¹ In the autumn of 1839, the Ohio Conference set off as a new district the state of Indiana,

drawn to him by his matchless eloquence. In June of the same year he began the issue of the *Methodist Protestant Letter-Press*, a small quarto of eight pages, to aid in his mission work and give scope to that irrepressible disposition he exhibited to edit and publish something — a medium for his teeming intellections apart from pulpit deliverance for which nature and grace solely intended him. The *Letter-Press* was continued one year with an average circulation of perhaps one thousand, his personal magnetism, and the eloquence of his pen as well, winning subscribers to it. It was a "free" press, but strange to say that on the slavery question it was conservative. It is full of the best reading and much church intelligence. At the end of the year his versatile and vagarious mind proposed to substitute it with the *Christian Review*. Later, 1843-44-45, he issued the *Christian World*, and later still in Cincinnati, the *Bible Alliance*, and still later the *Bible Times*. These and other ventures involved him in debt, which generous friends covered or forgave. He had no practical business sense, but was inventive, and fertile, and brilliant. He was an example of misdirected energy and waste of splendid resources as an orator. The churches in Philadelphia were attached to the Maryland Conference after Stockton began his labors in the city, and then the General Conference of 1842 set off a Philadelphia district with special "mission" privileges and exemptions. Stockton built the First Church at Eleventh and Wood streets, and crowds filled it. Its subsequent history and that of the Philadelphia Conference is one of the saddest of the Church annals, and was the father of the Baltimore "mission" controversy which damaged the Church irreparably by a series of blunders for which both parties were about equally responsible. A portly volume would not suffice to tell the story of Stockton's life in Maryland, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Baltimore, and finally in Philadelphia, after a second chaplaincy in Washington to Congress, closing with a triumphant death and a glorious immortality. This note is here appended for the reason that it will be impracticable to follow the career of this remarkable genius in the running text of this History. Suffice it to say that he retained by courtesy his membership in the Pittsburgh Conference to the last, though alienated in large part from his quondam friends by causes which neither could fully control. It secured the fulfilment of an eloquent declaration of church fidelity he uttered in the heyday of his Methodist Protestant devotion. Referring to the possibility of disruption and failure he said, "I will fall beneath the ruins of our shattered towers; there shall my grave be!" See official paper, June 10, 1843.

¹ Rev. L. R. Huffsteter has kindly furnished the following data. At a meeting of the itinerant ministers of the eastern section of the Genesee district, convened at Clockville, N. Y., on the 9th of October, 1839, pursuant to notice, organized a new conference out of the eastern section of the Genesee district. The ministers present were: N. N. Bort, Lewis Mervin, Peter Parslow, John Barber, Allen

and the first session of the Conference was held at John Burton's meeting-house, near Mt. Tabor, in October, 1840, and it gave a new impulse to the cause in that State, which has ever since continued. Robert H. G. Hanna was the first President, and associated with him as pioneer laborers, Bassett names Joseph Simpson, Samuel Morrison, William W. Paul, Thomas and Joseph Shipp, John Alter, Harvey Collings, Thomas Hicklin, David H. Stephens, George Wheatly, and Charles H. Williams. It merits notice that the Book Committee of the official paper, not very long after the resolve not to permit personalities or to discuss the slavery question, found themselves, with the editor, confronted with a controversy over the word "white," *pro* and *con*; and while it was confined to brethren East and South they differed so widely anent it that sharpness was indulged, and Dr. W. C. Holcombe of Lynchburg, Va., interposed and rebuked the severity of the polemics, insisting that those who favored expunging it — of which he was not one — "have the right to seek this alteration, provided they do it in a constitutional manner, and ought not to be branded with unchristian remarks for so doing." The *Western Recorder* soon became the vehicle of extreme arguments and Conference resolves on slavery, and drew out protests from milder brethren; and so on either side strife and alienation kindled, and all the more bitterness because they put so much conscience into it.

Now came a calamity to the first educational project of the new Church. Dearborn College, near Lawrenceburgh, Ind., dedicated only about a year, was totally destroyed by fire, thus blighting the hopes of Snethen, and involving a heavy loss. Bassett, the efficient Agent, makes a full report of the disaster, June, 1839. It was destroyed the previous February. August 3, 1839, William L. Richardson was appointed Agent of the Baltimore Book Committee, and he served efficiently for a number of years. J. H. Honour's "Questions and Answers" appeared at Charleston, S. C., in 1837, and in pamphlet form, in November, 1839. As

Murry, John Baum, Ira H. Hogan, Joshua Beebe, Noah Durrin, Lewis Hubbard, O. E. Bryant, Peter Tipple, Michael Birge. The following laymen were present: John A. Seeber, S. P. Robbins, Simeon Bort, Benjamin Snow, J. Whiting, A. P. Grover, J. Smith, Thomas Lawrence, Oliver Swift, Samuel Barnes. There were also a number of local preachers. The Conference received into the itinerancy William Owens, James Richards, Stephen D. Howland. It had representatives in the ensuing General Conference of 1842, O. B. Bryan, minister, L. B. Morris, layman, though the minutes of this Conference do not show the usual official action in recognition of new conferences. It has ever since maintained an effective organization.

already noticed, W. B. Evans in the West arranged "Questions and Answers," and the two compilations were united and extensively circulated. A Maryland Conference Course of Study was arranged by Dr. Francis Waters, T. H. Stockton, and A. A. Lipscomb, April 25, 1840, and afterward much used in other Conferences. The Maryland Conference Convention met on Tuesday, November 4, 1840, at St. John's church, Baltimore, with Rev. Frederick Stier, Chairman, and A. A. Lipscomb, Secretary; but it was a disappointment, both as to the numbers in attendance and the information elicited. It adjourned on the 6th of November. Rev. W. W. Wallace became editor of the *New York Luminary*, in November, 1840, and for a period it was well conducted and promised to be helpful. It was a large, four-page folio sheet, well printed. Rev. Moses M. Henkle, who had done yeoman service for Reform in the West, became involved with his Ohio Conference, and appealed his case to the General Conference of 1838, which sustained the local Conference. The merits of the contention need not be considered. Suffice it to say, that Henkle became so soured and ill at ease that, in November, 1840, he withdrew and connected himself with the Methodist Episcopal Church, receiving, as a reward for change of church relations, an associate position on the *Nashville Advocate*. He was a man of pronounced abilities, and in his "Life of Bascom" deals fairly with his old friends of Reform, though, as might be expected, he finds some things to qualify as reasons for Bascom's continuance in the old Church, which, in turn, need some qualifying. The Maryland Conference Convention, aforementioned, indorsed Dr. Francis Waters's Windsor Theological and Literary Institute, located at Franklin, about four miles from Baltimore. Rev. S. J. Harris of North Carolina departed this life October 16, 1840. He was a devoted original Reformer and an indefatigable worker. Also Rev. Joseph R. Horn, M.D., a delegate to the Convention of 1828, passed away, Obituary, November 28, 1840. Rev. Robert P. Ward, March 6, 1839, an early Reformer, deceased. The First Baltimore Education Society was formed December 19, 1840, Dr. S. K. Jennings, President, and Charles W. Ridgely, Secretary. Rev. Sylvester Hutchinson, deceased December 26, 1840, an original Reformer in the North, and an ex-itinerant under Asbury, who arbitrarily excluded him from the connection, as he did Dr. George Roberts of Baltimore,¹ but, finding cause to

¹ At the Baltimore Conference of 1806, Bishop Asbury said to Dr. George Roberts, an itinerant of some years' standing, and father of Dr. George M. C. Roberts:

review his judgment, made overtures to Hutchinson to return; but the proposal was declined.

At the General Conference of 1836 of the old Church, Rev. Orange Scott made an exhaustive and able speech against slavery, defining the uncompromising position of himself and allies; but the Conference dealt with it cautiously, and, in consequence, a Convention of antislavery members, principally in New York State, met at Utica, N. Y., January, 1841, and organized the "Wesleyan Methodist Church," and, later, coalesced with the Reformed Methodists.¹ Rev. N. Wardner, in a synoptical sketch in the *New York Independent* of March, 1891, of the Orange Scott-Matlack "Wesleyans," dates their organization May 31, 1843. Some of the leaders had been expelled the old Church for extreme utterances and insubordination. The fundamentals of the new Church were opposition to slavery and secret societies. Governmentally it is lay-representative, with most of the features of the Methodist Protestant Church, but adopted, of course, without reference or acknowledgment, as "Radicalism" was still a bugbear, an ecclesiastical ogre, at sight or sound of which Methodists of the old school were affrighted. Further notice of this Church will be necessary later in this History. Death of Rev. Samuel Henderson, President of the New York and New Jersey Conference at Williamsburg, N. Y., March 21, 1841. Also of Rev. John Haughton, an original Reformer of the West, March 21, 1841. He was a leader in the Cincinnati, O., Reform movement, and author of the "Life of Rev. Truman Bishop," and one of the most faithful of that heroic band. He suffered and sacrificed much for the cause of Mutual Rights, and should be thus embalmed.

Dr. T. E. Bond, after his election to the editorship of the *New York Advocate*, understood full well the work he was expected "George, I am in trouble." "What about, Bishop?" the doctor said. "About you, George," said the Bishop. "Why, Bishop, you need not be in any trouble about me." That was all that passed between them. The next morning in announcing the Appointments for the coming year, he read, "George Roberts located." Dr. Francis Waters and the Minutes are authority for the statement just made, and it was illustrative of the Bishop's method. In 1805 he was chief pastor of Baltimore city station; in 1806 you search the printed Minutes in vain for any sign of his name; the Bishop simply blotted him out. No man to this day knows of his reason, and for such a procedure there was no redress. Perhaps it was right. At any rate under this "strong government" it was law. How in this day marvel is excited that free-born Americans, not to say Christians, should not only meekly submit to, but uphold, such a system.

¹ See *Methodist Protestant*. All the cyclopædias give 1843 for the organization of the Wesleyan Church proper.

to do, and he set himself to the task with unusual zeal. Like Jehu, he "drove furiously" in his "zeal," if not for the Lord, for Episcopal Methodism. By May, 1841, he was rampant against all innovators. The *Zion's Watchman* of Boston, local Conference paper, made a scathing review of "Bond-ana," as his lucubrations were called, on the "Difficulties of Methodism." So hot did he grow as he parried and thrust at all enemies, fancied and real, that he overlooked the sacredness of personal character, and so severely traduced the Reformers that a special meeting of the old Baltimore "Union Society" was summoned, in extraordinary session, July 6, 1841, at St. John's church. A prospectus was issued for a monthly Mutual Rights and Ecclesiastical Reform paper, to be printed simultaneously in Boston and New York, by W. W. Wallace and T. F. Norris, July, 1841. It was not consummated. The *Olive Branch* continued on its prosperous course, attaining great excellence and popularity for its literary catering and incidentally furthering Methodist Reform, while the *New York Luminary*, after a struggle with pecuniary embarrassments, in a few years succumbed. The Ohio Conference passed resolutions defining the status of colored members, in 1840, in harmony with the dominant sentiment. It was their constitutional privilege, and, if the sections had been content to abide by this compromise, each Conference determining for itself the rights of colored members, the solidarity of the new Church might have been conserved; but the slavery question was rapidly becoming, not a moral question only, but a great political one, and the issues so defined that manifest destiny hastened.¹ Both the *Western Recorder* and the *Methodist Protestant*, March, 1841, published in full Bascom's "Summary of

¹ It is a significant fact that of all the Christian denominations in the United States having continental extension, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Episcopal stand alone as undivided by the slavery issue and the Civil War. It will not be alleged that their members took no cognizance of moral questions as involved in it, nor that the ecclesiastics of either were not as warmly partisan as others on the question. How, then, was division prevented so that after the war they had nothing to readjust, but resumed conventional and other relations ecclesiastically considered as though no such interruption of them had occurred? The only answer is that they acted on the principle here named. Dioceses and Conventions on either territorial side of the slavery question "resolved," and thus put themselves on record as satisfying their own conscience. There was something undoubtedly in Churchism at stake which moderated sectional zeal, nor were they under the pressure of necessity as other denominations which entered into the political bearings of the subject. It is probable that if the Methodist Episcopal Church had not divided as early as 1844, and had held together officially without regard to local Conference action, the Methodist Protestant Church

Rights." A decade of years had passed since it was written, and it was a new thing to many now in the Church.

July 31, 1841, the official paper entered upon its eighth volume, under Reese as editor, and the Book Committee, to which Charles W. Ridgely had been added. Among English Wesleyans the canonical fever became recrudescient, and the Rev. Dr. Bunting appeared in full toggery of the Church of England, but, as in Asbury's case, the hard common sense of the people and the conservative preachers shamed it into an "innocuous desuetude." During the summer of 1841, in Maryland, under the Conference Presidency of Rev. Augustus Webster, there were sixteen camp-meetings, and the tide of prosperity turned in all the churches. Webster reviewed the Constitution and Discipline of the new Church, and eulogized it for the careful balance of all its parts. In New England, by a call through *Zion's Watchman*, the laymen of the old Church were invited to meet in Convention to consider the matter of lay-representation, about August, 1841, and for a time the excitement ran high and gave Dr. Bond full play for his dialectical skill. Nothing practical came of it, however, except as an educating agency. Orange Scott took part in it; and there was a great ferment, ending in the secession of a large number, who formed the Wesleyan Methodist Church, already referred to in these pages. Rev. Mr. Ridgway, of the New Connexion Methodists, on a visit to this country, preached in St. John's church, Baltimore, and gave an account of his Church and their desire to fraternize with a kindred body, September 18, 1841. Rev. William Kesley of the Maryland Conference and an original Reformer, died September 23, 1841. He was a self-sacrificing itinerant and devoted his all to the new Church. September 21, 1841, the first Mississippi Conference was organized.¹ The *Youths' Mirror and Sabbath School Gazette*

might have been successful in so doing. And it was without question this Methodist influence in the North and West that like a submerging wave bore down the moderate antislavery men and made the separation of the North and West a necessity of preservation with Methodist Protestants. It will be seen that while the South and East offered compromise after compromise on the issue, and the North and West endeavored to entertain them, it was impossible to resist the rising tide. As it was, the evidence is that not until whole Conferences withdrew in the Northwest did such conservative men as Brown, Israel Thrapp, Burns, and others, yield to the inevitable, as stated by William Collier at the Lynchburg, Va., General Conference of 1858 so forcibly.

¹ It assembled at Seneasba camp-ground in Attala County. Elisha Lott was elected President, and Henry M. A. Cassiday Secretary. The ministers recognized were: A. B. Lucas, A. W. Long, J. Thompson, H. Baley, P. Napier, D. K. Young,

was started in New York, January 1, 1842, by W. W. Wallace, a small bi-monthly paper, which had a brief existence.

James R. Williams enlarged his articles on the history of Reform, heretofore noticed, and issued it in April, 1843, as a "History of the Methodist Protestant Church," published by the Book Committee, large 12mo, 402 pp., sheep. It was a valuable compend in its day, but long since out of print; though a number of copies are in the writer's possession. Late in 1840 Shinn issued his work on the "Benevolence and Rectitude of the Supreme Being," with the imprint of the Baltimore Book Committee. It was a 12mo, 403 pp., sheep; and, though never republished, a number of copies are preserved, several in the writer's possession. It was intended, in some sense, as a supplement to his "Plan of Salvation," already noticed, and is by far the most masterful of his extant productions. It was fiercely attacked by would-be critics of the old Church and in the new, by reason of what was alleged as its tendency to Universalism. Shinn met and quieted these animadversions. His imperial intellect was at its best, and the Church would honor itself and subserve the cause of theology by its republication. In the official paper, March 12, 1842, he gives a series on the "Axioms of Protestant Methodists," based upon the Elementary Principles. March 1, 1842, a remarkable revival of religion occurred on Union Circuit, Pittsburgh Conference, under the pastorate of James Robison, of six months' duration and 218 additions to the Church. Robison will be further noticed as one of the most laborious and successful of the pastors and general agents; of extreme but honest convictions, and always true to his ecclesiastical relations. In the spring of 1842, Bishop Andrew gave a decision officially, which reversed an action of the Virginia Conference. So arbitrary was it regarded that the well-known "Parson" Brownlow of Tennessee scathingly reviewed it, and uttered sentiments fully indorsing the principles of the new Church. The Maryland Conference entered upon a period of unusual pros-

D. Carstarphen, W. McCormick, J. Long, Samuel Butler, B. Sweringen, J. Lee. The laymen, W. T. McDonald, B. Kitchen, M. Wade, R. H. Griffin, Peter Loper, G. D. McCormick, F. McCormick, Anderson Parker. James Ford and T. W. Jones were appointed Conference missionaries. H. M. A. Cassiday missionary to Texas, then a province of Mexico, and in fact foreign missionary ground. J. G. Sibley and A. G. Lane were without appointments. The president, being a man of some property, threw himself with all he possessed into the work, and, mounting his horse, traversed not only the extensive district just laid off, but made incursions into distant parts, planting Reform churches and pioneering the cause.

perity. At the Conference of April, 1842, under Augustus Webster's Presidency, a net increase of fifteen hundred members was reported, equivalent to twenty-five per cent, and it was made the occasion of a special address to the Church from a committee of Dr. Waters, Josiah Varden, and J. W. Richardson. The devoted and accomplished Webster rode through the Conference district preaching with power and visiting the camp and protracted meetings, which were aflame during the year. April, 1842, Ancil H. Bassett furnished for the official paper an account of Church growth in the West, indicating the prevalence of revivals everywhere during the year 1841-42. He sums up for the Ohio, Pittsburgh, Indiana, and Illinois districts: circuits and stations, 96; itinerant ministers and preachers, 197; unstationed ministers and preachers, 232; members, 17,821, showing that within ten years the field had increased threefold, the number of preachers fourfold, and between three and fourfold in members. The work had spread into Michigan and Iowa. Rev. James Day, an early Reformer, passed away February 19, 1842.

During Augustus Webster's Presidency, in 1842, of the Maryland Conference, he was attacked by Rev. William Spray of Easton, Md., who refused to give out the notice sent him of Webster's preaching in the Reform church. This led the latter to publish a catechism of the discourtesies he had experienced from the old side brethren in an article in the official paper of March 5, 1842. One instance must suffice out of the bead-roll. While Webster was pastor of Reisterstown circuit, in 1833, he had a regular appointment at an old church occupied jointly by Reformers and the old side; but some of their members at this point raised objections to Webster preaching there, preferring to be without preaching oftener than once a month, rather than have his occupancy of the pulpit; but he persevered in his appointment, as the people generally indorsed him, and gave a large congregation when he preached. This so excited the opposition that, in their misguided zeal, a charge was trumped up against him, placed in the hands of the sheriff of the county, and Webster was arrested under the warrant, while walking through the village of Reisterstown, and carried before a magistrate. At the hearing, the community exhibited such indignation that the parties to the unchristian affair were glad to abandon the prosecution.

The third General Conference assembled at St. John's church, Baltimore, Tuesday, the third day of May, 1842, at 9 A.M., Asa

Shinn, President *pro tem.*, and John J. Reed, Secretary. The following were reported as members:—

PITTSBURGH	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
Asa Shinn	Thomas Freeman
Charles Avery ¹	John Souder
John Burns	J. M. Phillips ¹
H. Heberline ¹	H. Springer ¹
George Brown	Dr. M. Adams ¹
Z. Ragan	P. Lewis
J. Clarke, Jr.	James Clarke ¹
J. Herbert ¹	Edward Stevens ¹
C. Springer	J. J. Barnes
George Hughes	W. S. Thorn
OHIO	
A. H. Bassett	D. C. Carson
Robert Dobbins ¹	J. Whetstone
David Cralle ¹	J. Foster ¹
ILLINOIS	
W. H. Collins	O. W. Kellogg ¹
MISSISSIPPI	
Samuel Butler	James Wade ¹
NEW YORK	
Thomas K. Witsel	John J. Reed
Enoch Jacobs	J. D. Frambers ¹
VIRGINIA	
J. G. Whitfield	H. D. Woodhouse
INDIANA	
Dr. H. P. Bennett	William Smith
Thomas Hicklin	John Burton
TENNESSEE	
B. H. Ragsdale ¹	Dr. J. L. Armstrong ¹
NORTH CAROLINA	
A. Albright	W. C. Whitaker
John F. Speight ¹	R. C. Rankin
BOSTON	
Thomas F. Norris ¹	J. K. Dunham
¹ Absent.	

MARYLAND	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
Dr. Francis Waters	W. S. Stockton
Augustus Webster	A. S. Naudain
Dr. John S. Reese	Peter Light ¹
Frederick Stier	E. Crutchley
James R. Williams	J. B. Thomas
W. C. Lipscomb	Alexander Waugh
W. H. Bordley ¹	William Rusk
SOUTH CAROLINA	
Alexander McCaine	William Kirkwood ¹
ALABAMA	
P. S. Graves	B. S. Bibb
C. L. Nash ¹	B. Little ¹
CHAMPLAIN	
N. Crary, Jr.	E. Engel ¹
PENNSYLVANIA	
John Smith	J. Van Camp ¹
VERMONT	
George Smith ¹	Lewis L. Fish
GENESEE	
A. Pennell	Thomas Barkley
GEORGIA	
Charles Evans ¹	John Bass ¹
ONONDAGA	
O. E. Bryan	L. B. Morris
ARKANSAS	
None	None

Twenty-nine were absent, showing eighty elected and fifty-one present. It will not be forgotten in reflecting upon this percentage of absentees that travel in those days of no railroads meant not only heavy expense but serious discomfort. The roster is copied from the official manuscript minutes in custody of Baltimore Book Concern, and are consulted by the writer for this and all future General Conferences of the Church as thus preserved. Of the Maryland laymen Alexander Waugh was present,

¹ Absent.

brother of Beverly Waugh, now Bishop, but, as intimated elsewhere, he had so thoroughly indoctrinated Alexander with "Radicalism," that despite his own tergiversation the loyal brother could not shake it off. The woods in Frederick and Baltimore counties were full of the converts the Bishop had made, and they continued for the most part faithful to his instructions. Twenty Annual Conferences were recognized, the Onondaga having been set off by the Genesee, with the consent of Champlain, on a certain condition, which the General Conference finally waived, and its representatives were admitted. The chairmen of committees were as follows: Literary, T. F. Norris; Journals, John Smith; Executive, George Brown; Means of Grace, W. S. Stockton; Memorials, Enoch Jacobs; Missionary, John S. Reese; Financial, P. S. Graves; Judiciary, Cornelius Springer. At the election for permanent officers, on the second ballot Asa Shinn was named President, and on the first John J. Reed and A. H. Bassett Secretaries. Nicholas Snethen, Samuel K. Jennings, and Benjamin Richardson, being present, were invited to participate in its deliberations. The Virginia Conference memorialized for but one order of ministers, "elders or bishops." Evans' and Honour's "Questions and Answers" officially indorsed and ordered to be kept on sale at the Book Room. The Michigan Conference was recognized and boundaries appointed. The report of the Book Committee is detailed and covers the changes of the quadrennium, the failure of the original committee, and the new incorporation with its present condition, more favorable than previously. The official paper had had an average of about two thousand subscribers, but the credit plan prevailing, many had not paid. Eli Yeates Reese was voted a compensation of \$400 for the year past, and he was reëlected editor by a complimentary vote.

The slavery question revived by the introduction of various Conference resolutions and numerous private memorials.¹ They

¹ The entire batch of these Conference resolutions and private memorials is now before the writer. No one can doubt the serious nature of the question as they present it. A number of them are printed as to the "declaration," and as they came from various sections of the North and West it is in evidence that some one was zealous in the printing and circulation of them for local signatures in which both brethren and sisters unite. Scanning these signatures, you are impressed with the uncompromising opposition of the persons — free from the sin themselves, they could not and would not suffer sin upon their Southern brethren. They rebuke it in no measured terms. There must be action, immediate action for emancipation; the consequences are not considered to the unfortunate holders of slaves forbidden to free them by the civil law. And yet but eight or nine of the twenty Conferences and less than five hundred signers to the thirteen or more memorials made this demand.

were referred to a special committee, which brought in majority and minority reports. Then followed much discussion occupying several days, with the final result that both reports were laid upon the table, that discreet and self-possessed man, Dr. John S. Reese, conferring with the conservatives and bringing in a resolution, which finally passed as another compromise measure by a vote of twenty-three to twenty. It read: "Resolved, that in the judgment of this General Conference the holding of slaves is not under all circumstances a sin against God; yet in our opinion, under some circumstances it is sinful, and in such cases should be discouraged by the Methodist Protestant Church. The General Conference does not feel authorized by the Constitution to legislate on the subject of slavery; and by a solemn vote we present to the Church our judgment, that the different Annual Conferences, respectively, should make their own regulations on this subject, so far as authorized by the Constitution." Then followed written protests by groups of the brethren against the action, and one in support. Alexander McCaine defended the institution of American Domestic Slavery, drawing his arguments from the Scriptures; Shinn, Stockton, and others answered, much severity of speech being indulged at times on both sides, and the reading of the manuscript minutes shows into what a sad plight the struggling Church was brought by this agitation. Snethen's sermon before the General Conference, and his speech on the slavery resolution, are both reported by Eli Yeates Reese in the official paper for May and June, 1842. George Brown and A. H. Bassett, who were both present during the entire session, give accounts of the proceedings, and indicate how widely the point of view of even Western brethren differed.¹ J. J. Reed of the New York Conference withdrew, with the Journal and papers of that body, amid the excitement of debate on the subject, declining to ask the usual leave of absence, and A. A. Lipscomb was appointed acting Secretary for the closing session. The statistics of the quadrennium, as furnished by Williams in his "History," are the most elaborate ever furnished, itemized by Conferences and carefully recapitulated. The totals are: stations, 49; circuits, 259; missions, 52; stationed ministers and preachers, 634; unstationed ministers and preachers, 525; members, including ministers and preachers, 55,341; whole number of churches, 421; value of Church property, \$412,225. The Conference adjourned, May 16, 1842, after thirteen days' deliberation, to meet in Cincinnati, May, 1846.

¹ Brown's "Itinerant Life," pp. 286-288. Bassett's "History," pp. 159, 160.

The extremists returned to their homes only to renew the contention. McCaine published his defence of slavery in pamphlet, to which James R. Williams replied, showing how Southern men differed on the abstract question. J. G. Wilson of Philadelphia, an able debater, took part by addressing "Amicus" through the official paper an article admitting that the General Conference, under the Constitution, had no power through its "judicatories" to determine what is sin and heresy, to which Williams, as "Amicus," replied. Charles Avery and Cornelius Springer entered the lists in the *Western Recorder*, and Brown was severely criticised for his conservative views, giving an exhibition of blind partisanship on both sides. Meantime as the result not a few persons in the North and West, dissatisfied with the outcome of the General Conference action, withdrew from the Church and allied themselves with the Wesleyan Methodists, or stood aloof altogether. The strain upon the youthful organization grew more tense as the months rolled on, and antislavery as a political force received accretion of numbers and increased momentum, stimulated by a like condition of things in the old Church, now arranging itself in sections on the same question.

Rev. Jonathan Forrest departed for his heavenly home June, 1842, in the ninety-first year of his age. He was an ex-itinerant of the old Church, of unblemished character and fair abilities, well known in Maryland, and who sided with Reform from the beginning as a retired minister, and did what he could in his old age to further it. Rev. W. W. Wallace resigned as editor of the *New York Luminary* May 28, 1842, owing to a local difference with his Conference which the General Conference had declined to decide, and it led finally to his withdrawal from the Church after some years of faithful service. He was succeeded by Enoch Jacobs. Meantime everywhere those who were more intent upon soul-saving than controversy gave themselves to evangelistic work, and gracious was the result in many places, East, West, and South. In Maryland twenty-one camp-meetings were held in the summer of 1842, with Webster as President the second year, into which he was pressed against his inclination. In the midsummer a great revival occurred at Easton, Md., under the stimulation of Hon. P. B. Hopper and others of the regular ministry, with sixty additions, many joining elsewhere. The *Cumberland Presbyterian* makes favorable notice of the new Church and the similarity of origin and polity.

Dr. Bond, as editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, con-

tinued to belabor the "Radicals" and the new Reform in the North, and by such methods that the editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, who knew him personally in Baltimore as his father's physician, thus characterized him,— "a cunning, sophistical, shrewd, managing controvertist," a depiction even his sober friends did not deny. There was a growing disposition in some parts of the South to fault the official paper because of its conservative position as to the slavery question; in a few cases Conferences passed resolutions calling upon the editor to denounce "Abolitionism," threatening to establish an opposition paper if he did not. This led the ever prudent Snethen to address to such an open letter through the paper, December 24, 1842, deprecating their antagonism in this form, and predicting that unless extreme men in either section should cease their unreasonable demands division would ensue. He did not live to see the fulfilment of it, but it came in due course of events. McCaine and the editor became involved in this discussion, and it was at this time, December 31, 1842, that the Book Committee censured him for personal references to McCaine. Shinn published a series on Universalism in the Western paper, in part a vindication of his work on the Supreme Being, about the same time.

In July, 1842, the first Michigan Annual Conference was held; James Gay, President, and eighteen ministers and preachers, five of whom were itinerants: Jeremiah T. Pratt, Elisha Hall, Laban Smith, George B. Wooster, and Beniah Bayn. There were three circuits, Adrian, Franklin, and Jackson, formerly part of the Ohio district, and about 250 members. In September, 1842, the Pittsburgh Conference, at its session at Mt. Vernon, O., decided to divide, setting off the portion lying within Ohio as the Muskingum Conference, and the remaining portion retaining the name of Pittsburgh. Before division the Conference elected two Presidents, George Brown and Israel Thrapp, leaving them to decide their allotment. Thrapp having been given the choice, selected Muskingum, which retained Brown in the Pittsburgh. They soon grew to be large organizations.¹ Rev. J. A. Gere of the Balti-

¹ After the division Israel Thrapp made one round as President before the Muskingum met for organization. The first session as reported in the official paper and the *Western Recorder* elected Joel Dalby, Jr., President, and the roster was as follows: John Burns, Thomas Cullen, Wm. Turner, W. Maynard, D. Kinney, Wm. Munhall, John Hamby, N. Burgess, James Heath, Wm. B. Moody, A. Tracy, R. Andrews, Jer. Jack, T. B. Cushman, A. K. Brown, J. W. Case, Prentis Kindley, George Clancy, M. Scott, A. S. Robinson, E. S. Hoagland, S. H. Heath, Wm. Marshall, Wm. Reeves, S. Lancaster, Thomas Porter, A. W.

more Conference made a public attack upon the character of Rev. Dr. John S. Reese at Liberty, Md., asserting that he was expelled in 1827 from the old Church for immorality. It led to sharp answers by both Reese and Webster in March, 1843. In this way, as has often been exhibited, the old sores were reopened and the controversy revived, but always, as may be inferred, to the advantage of the Reformers in public estimation. A great revival of religion occurred in Georgetown, D. C., March, 1843, under the pastorate of Rev. Levi R. Reese, now one of the strongest men of the Church and rapidly taking commanding position. There were 120 conversions.

At the close of Webster's Presidency of the Maryland Conference in April, 1843, there was reported a net gain of twenty-three hundred in the membership, and he retired to assume the pastorate of St. John's, Baltimore, with these signal tokens of a wise and laborious administration. At this Conference Levi R. Reese was elected President, and the St. John's church asked to be recognized as a Mission. The church had but recently divided in an amicable manner through a difference upon the free-pew question, etc., adherents of Wesley Starr and others insisting upon a continuance of the free-pew system, while John Clark and others desired the rent system, in accordance with his early educational predilections. He was wealthy and munificent. The free-seat brethren withdrew after an agreement to pay them \$6000 as their share of the property valuation, and with this as a basis built the West Baltimore station. It was claimed that this, and a purpose to make extensive improvement upon the old church, necessitated a change of relation to the Conference, so that under a pastor, now the most popular preacher in the Maryland connection, they might compass their objects and make a greater success of the work than they could otherwise. Besides, the General Conference of 1842, through the persuasion of Stockton, had granted the Philadelphia churches special Mission relations. The Maryland Conference acceded to the request of St. John's, and

Avery, H. T. Lawson, W. W. Tipton, Wm. Remsburg, Jno. Huntsman, M. Winn, Wm. Ross, C. Callihan, N. Linder, J. Roncliffe, J. Herbert, C. J. Seares, J. Nichols, Joel S. Thrapp, T. Fairfield, Wm. Duling, Wm. Boardman, Charles Caddy, J. Thrapp, Wm. Baldwin, Wm. Hatfield, L. M. Cochran, G. D. Williams, Jno. Baker, E. E. Parish, Jno. Wilson, A. Barnes, Jno. Dorcas, S. Bloomer, C. Woodruff. Left in hands of President, at their request, J. M. Piper, and J. D. Garmar. In hands of President, Z. Ragan, A. K. Earl, J. Beatty, John Burnett, and Thomas Foster. Without appointment, George Waddle, P. Inskeep, D. B. Dorsey. Supernumerary, and editor of *Western Recorder*, Cornelius Springer. R. Bamford removed by certificate.

Webster was sent as a missionary; and Stockton as a missionary to Philadelphia, where he inaugurated the First church with pews and a relation unaffected by the "Restrictive Rule." It was his fourth year's appointment. It was the beginning of an internecine strife that set back the new Church in the East and entailed a loss from which it was more than a score of years in recovering. The same trouble as to pews and the "Restrictive Rule" was brewing in the old Church, evidence in both cases of the ecclesiastical folly of legislating for future generations on utilitarian questions. In December, 1843, the St. John's church was reopened, the President of the Conference, Levi R. Reese, preaching the sermon. The pastor in some remarks among other things said, as an inducement to pew renters, that by the Conference action "the frequent rupture of the tender pastoral relation will be avoided," as reported in a city paper under the editorship of Beale H. Richardson, one of the leading laymen of the church. The President felt it his duty to demand retraction from John Clark, who refused, whereupon the President publicly announced that the law of the Church would remove Webster at the end of the second year. Crimination and recrimination followed, parties were formed throughout the Conference, and an acrimonious and unrelenting contention sprang up between the "Restrictive" and the anti-restrictive rule men. Suffice it to say that it culminated in the separation of St. John's and its pastor from the Conference, to the serious final detriment of both. In Philadelphia it ended in the ruin of the cause.¹

The *New York Luminary* was discontinued under financial embarrassments, April, 1843.

¹ For a fair synoptical statement of the merits of the controversy see "History of the Maryland Conference," by J. T. Murray and T. H. Lewis, pp. 30-39. Baltimore, 1882. 12mo. Cloth. Also in writer's possession one of various pamphlets published during this so-called "Mission War," with the title, "A Statement of the Facts alluded to in an Address to the Ministers and Members of the Methodist Protestant Church in the Maryland District." 8vo. 21 pp.

CHAPTER XIX

Dr. Webster editor of the Baltimore official paper — New Jersey Conference set off; current events — General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1844; division; slavery question; Dr. Bond; futile meeting of protesting laymen; moralizing — Proposal to establish Snethen Seminary at Iowa City — Bascom again — Bassett editor of the *Western Recorder* — Whitfield-Smith discussion at Shiloh, Va. — Third mental lapse of Asa Shinn — Decease of Nicholas Snethen; sketch of his life — Slavery conflict in the new Church intensified by the division of the M. E. Church — Paris's "Church History" — Fourth General Conference at Cincinnati, May 5, 1846; roster of members; slavery discussion renewed; another compromise by Dr. J. S. Reese — The Philadelphia "mission" question next in interest; result of the slavery debate; dissatisfaction with the action North and West; secession of whole Conferences in consequence; the issue ripening — Statistics showing the remarkable growth of the new Church in face of the misrepresentations of old-side writers — Bishop M'Tyeire's "History," and his estimate of the Reform Church dissected — Foreign mission board continued — Adjournment.

AFTER the resignation of Reese as editor, the Book Committee elected Augustus Webster, now pastor of St. John's church, and he entered upon his duties with the number of July 29, 1843, the paper appearing in new type and with a new titular head. During the summer of 1843, under Levi R. Reese's Presidency, no less than twenty-three camps were held in Maryland, but the "mission" controversy, like a baleful fire, scorched or consumed the tender spiritual plant of the Lord; the personalities and extremities of partisanship discouraged evangelistic work, and at the close of the year an actual loss of numbers was reported, to the mortification of all concerned, and various reasons were assigned to account for it other than the true cause. July 29 the paper contained a full account of the setting off of the New Jersey Conference, March 29, 1843.¹ The *Olive Branch* in Boston claimed

¹ The following was the action of the New York and New Jersey Conference anent this division: "Resolved that so much of the New York and New Jersey District south of a line running from the Raritan river to New Brunswick, and thence to the Delaware river, opposite Easton, be set off, and to be called the New Jersey District, and that the Maryland District be requested to agree to the above arrangement, and that the Maryland District be recommended to set off the city of Philadelphia to be added to the New Jersey District . . . the words

nine thousand subscribers, and as a full page in each number was devoted to the Methodist Protestant Church, it did much to further the cause in the Northeast. The *Western Recorder* was ably edited, and much of its space was occupied with the slavery controversy. The attitude of the official paper was severely criticised as to slavery March 3, 1843, and in 1843-44 a series appeared in a bout between Rev. Luther Lee, D.D., and Alexander McCaine, a veritable battle of giants on the same subject. It gave cheering intelligence weekly of the advance of the new Church in the West through active evangelistic labors of devoted men, and by accretions from the East through the migratory movement now going on; the losses from this cause were as ten to one, inasmuch as they located where no organization of the new Church existed,—a serious drawback to every small denomination. There is no computing what the new Church through fifty years contributed to other churches as a feeder for this and other reasons.

Rev. James Ward, early Reformer, died July 27, 1843. Rev. Jeremiah Browning, from Maryland, an original 1828 Reformer, also passed away September 28, 1843. Rev. Samuel L. Rawleigh of the Maryland Conference deceased November 21, 1843. He was an ex-itinerant of the old Church and an original Reformer, who continued to labor actively until his departure, leaving a fragrant memory. Rev. Alexander Albright of North Carolina deceased November, 1843. His name is inseparably connected with the founding of the cause in that State, and was in labors more abundant. Rev. Wesley Jones Stanton deceased November, 1843.

New Jersey to be stricken from the name of Conference." Copied from Rev. Dr. J. J. Smith's manuscript sketch of New York Conference. The New Jersey Conference organized immediately thereafter, assembling at Glassboro', April 19, 1843. Herman Bruce was the first President. Ministers—Edward Shock, Allen Nickson, Bartine Twiford, William Perkins, Samuel Budd, and Jonathan Timberman. The laymen—Joseph D. Frambes, John C. Sheets, and Uriah Brooks. The official minutes in the Church organ July 29, 1843, give as the list of unstationed ministers and preachers: David Kane, James Abbott, Jacob Andrews, Benj. S. Thackary, Robert Hutchinson, Samuel Hill (this is probably typographical for Samuel Budd as Bassett gives the list), James E. Smith, Samuel Herbert. The appointments of the first Conference were: Centreville circuit, J. N. Timberman; Glassboro' and Bridgeport circuit, to be supplied; Red Bank circuit, Bartine Twiford; New Brunswick circuit, William Perkins; Dover circuit, to be supplied; Egg Harbor circuit, Edward Schock (Shock). The proceedings of the early sessions of this small but staunch body do not appear in the official paper, and the manuscript records were lost for a number of years, but were accidentally recovered, and are in the possession of Rev. Edward D. Stultz, now the senior member of the body.

Rev. John Smith, first President of the Pennsylvania Conference, deceased December, 1843. He was an ex-*itinerant* of the old Church of a number of years' standing and irreproachable character, but espoused the cause of Reform from the beginning and spent his closing years in faithful service in the new Church. Rev. Daniel Davies, M.D., of the Maryland Conference, after a struggle of several years with pulmonary disease, passed to his reward, January, 1844. His last appointment was to Charleston, S. C., after the close of his editorship of the official paper. He died peacefully among his friends in Maryland, universally loved and lamented.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met in New York, May, 1844. It was the memorable Conference which consumed its days and nights on the Harding case of appeal from the Baltimore Conference and the Bishop Andrew case, both involving the merits of the slavery question, the agitation upon which now culminated, and these cases were made a test and the occasion for the separation of the Church. Its place in this History is due principally to the fact that not a layman was present as officially representing the Church. The ministry, as arrogating to themselves all legislative powers, after fruitless efforts to compromise by the conservative men of either section, agreed upon conditions of separation, which, however understood, by mental reservation or otherwise, in the North as only tentative and in the nature of a mere resolution, were understood in the South as honestly intended to provide for peaceful separation. If it cannot be affirmed with certitude that the separation would not have occurred had the Church been present in its laical character, it can be affirmed that at least no such chicane and double-dealing would have disgraced the proceedings as afterward invoked the civil courts for the adjudication of the property question, with but one good result: an exposition by the supreme legal authority of the hierarchical character of the exclusive government of the Church, with not only an absolute control, but an absolute ownership, vested in the ministry alone, thereby sustaining every point made by the Reformers against the system.

To the border Methodists the division was very distasteful, as it left them between the upper and lower millstones. A large meeting of laymen was held at Wesley chapel, Washington, D. C., in July, 1844, at which remarkable resolutions were passed, claiming the "right" to frustrate, if possible, the action of the General Conference in dividing the Church. They learned, how-

ever, that they had no "rights" the ministers of their Church were bound to respect. The lesson has been repeated many times since then, and for nearly thirty more years they were kept in tutelage before a grudging concession of an emasculated delegation was allowed them by the General Conference of 1872. The patient submission and generous forbearance and lavish contributions of the laity of that Church, while thus divested of all rights and all privileges such as for more than a hundred years they have exercised and enjoyed under the civil institutions of the country, are without a parallel in history. At the same time the almost unintermitting agitation kept up by them as episodes in the current annals of every section of the Church is in refutation of the gratuitous slander that they have been so governed by their own consent and free will.

Webster, as editor of the official organ, exhibited his mental mastery by discussing the issues, and repelling the extreme declarations of writers in the *Western Recorder* as to the meaning of the fathers in certain constitutional enactments, as the word "white," and the full power of Annual Conferences over the matter of colored members. The first session of the North Illinois Conference, having been set off from the Illinois, met at Princeton, 1843, and P. J. Strong was elected President. It included in its territory Iowa, where a few societies had been formed. Nicholas Snethen was in attendance at this Conference, and it was proposed to open a literary institution at Iowa City, to be called Snethen Seminary. It was indorsed by the two Illinois Conferences, and Snethen, in his old age but full of zeal for the cause, accepted the Presidency of the proposed school and prepared a number of lectures; but within a year his earthly labors were ended, and the project came to nothing. Meanwhile W. B. Snyder, an original Reformer of Cincinnati, had removed to Iowa City. He was one of the Seminary founders and commenced the publication of a religious paper, the *Iowa Colporteur*, but after six numbers it was suspended. The same year T. H. Stockton issued a volume of his poems, "Floating Flowers from a Hidden Brook," and his father, W. S., issued an edition of Whitehead's "Life of Wesley," with plates, heretofore noticed. Alexander McCaine was now living at Lott's, Edgefield district, S. C., with his children. His eldest son, a young physician, embraced religion, and declined into a pulmonary consumption. His father advised him to seek membership in the Methodist Episcopal church of the place, as there was no Methodist Protestant church

either there or within any reasonable distance. The son did so, and, when it became known, some of McCaine's friends, with more bigotry than piety, criticised the act as encouraged by McCaine. Whereupon he addressed a letter to the Boston *Olive Branch* of some length, which was republished in the official organ, the gist of which was that his difference was not with Methodism as such, but with episcopacy, and defended his course in the matter. It is one of the brightest spots in the career of this stalwart ecclesiastical leader. Would that the writer could produce parallels to it in the career of his renowned opponents, Dr. John Emory and Dr. Thomas E. Bond, but they are not at command.

It is fitting, however, to place in juxtaposition with it a citation from H. B. Bascom's "Review of the Manifesto of the Majority," p. 102, which he gave to the press some months after the adjournment of the General Conference of 1844, already noticed. Incisively he says—and all of that day, his contemporaries in both the old and the new Church, who could read between the lines felt how incisive it was: "It has always, moreover, been the doctrine of the Church, *right or wrong*, that the sole right to govern the Church in all its diversified interests belongs to the travelling ministry to the exclusion of the local ministry and laity, and that the travelling ministry constitute the government. . . . I speak of things as they *are* and not as they *ought* to be, if any think them wrong." It was treason of the Patrick Henry order, even if he covered his own personality in more guarded speech; and his quondam friends were not slow to give him the benefit of the heroic utterance as thus understood. (See "Luther," W. W. Hill, in the official organ for 1844-45.) That five years later Bascom accepted the bishopric is a fact his new friends of the Church South can wrestle with; the writer claims only as a final word for Bascom that he can never be classed with ex-reformers of the Emory-Bond-Waugh specimens, and needs no such weak apology as Bishop M'Tyeire gives for him in his "History" of these times: "Even Bascom uttered some sentiments, in the heyday of his blood, which were not in harmony with his maturer life," etc. Not a syllable can be produced that he ever changed his opinions, and his biographer gives the true cue to his ultimate conduct: "In the meantime [1846-47] his pecuniary affairs were becoming so desperate that immediate temporary ruin appeared inevitable. The cancer that consumed his vitals was carefully concealed from even his friends; . . . an observant friend . . . sought and found the cause of his deep

mental disquiet, and through his agency a nominal loan from a number of Southern gentlemen, in sums of \$500 and less, was procured, the whole amounting to some \$15,000."¹ How he would have administered the episcopal office no one knows, as he deceased a few months after his election. If any still insist that his course was inconsistent, and will not condone the fault, at least it has been shown that "it lies gently on him."

John W. Hamilton is announced as editor *pro tem.* of the *Western Recorder*, March 13, 1845. He continued until November 13, when A. H. Bassett became editor, with Springer as associate, Vol. 7, No. 1, September 11, 1845. The new editor was painstaking, and his more extreme views better satisfied the patrons, and the *Recorder* was pushed with energy. In connection with it he issued yearly the *Methodist Protestant Register and Almanac*, a kind of year-book.² The *Christian Sun*, a quarto semi-monthly publication, was issued in New York City, with Rev. J. W. Greene as editor and publisher, at \$1 a year, and intended to take the place of the extinguished *New York Luminary*, but its existence was very brief. Rev. J. G. Wilson of the Maryland Conference issued, 1844, the *Young Preachers' Homiletic Magazine*, but after a short career it was discontinued with loss, though ably conducted. In the autumn of 1844 a great public camp-meeting discussion took place between Rev. Dr. W. A. Smith of the old Church in Virginia and Rev. J. G. Whitfield, also of Virginia, and both leading men of their Conferences. It became known far and wide as the Shiloh discussion, and was continued for some days, and afterward through the *Richmond Advocate* and the official organ. It put Whitfield among the foremost debaters of his Church, and gave its Virginia work an impulse forward which continued until the Civil War. Dr. R. B. Thomson, F. L. Cosby, and a number of strong men, backed by liberal and zealous laymen, gave prestige to the rising cause. In North Carolina, as the veterans superannuated, their places were taken by a devoted band, of which Rev. J. F. Speight, Rev. Alson Gray, and Rev. W. H. Wills were leaders. In Georgia, Thurman and others were in the van. In Alabama and the far South P. T. Graves, Bibb,

¹ Henkle's "Life of Bascom," pp. 296-297.

² It was first issued in 1846, and continued until 1853, inclusive, and was a valuable repertory of church statistics and general information, quite useful in its day. Several attempts have since been made at various times to revive such a publication, but have failed either of proper presentation or support. The Bassett series complete is in the writer's possession.

and others rallied the scattered forces and established foci for missionary ventures.

It was a period of unwonted activity, excited by a renewal of the controversial aspects of Reform and the slavery agitation by the partisans, North, South, and in the newly formed Wesleyan Methodist Church in the Northwest. Dr. Bond, as editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, intimidated by the bold and formidable front the South presented, had the temerity to offer as a compromise an arrangement very similar to that which the Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church offered; to wit, Annual Conference jurisdiction over the matter of slavery. About this time Rev. W. A. Smith retired from the so-called Shiloh discussion with Whitfield on the merits of "radical" Reform, and made a public challenge to Dr. Bond to discuss the issues of the now sundered old Church on slavery, and this was immediately followed by another challenge from Rev. Luther Lee of the *True Wesleyan* to meet Dr. Bond, if he declined to accept that issued by Dr. Smith; but between these cross fires he discreetly declined them both, but rang his shield more noisily than ever in the official organ. To cap the climax of this polemical rage, Alexander McCaine, from his home in the South, taking advantage of the recrudescence of controversy, made a public challenge through the official and secular papers to any Bishop or Travelling Preacher of the old Church, offering to prove fraud in the organization of that Church by the suppression of true and the substitution of false documents at its Conference of 1784. It goes for the saying that it was not accepted.

A shadow comes over the brightening prospects of the new Church by the announcement that Asa Shiinn had been removed from his Western home to the Maryland Hospital for the insane in the autumn of 1844, his malady having returned for the fourth time. It was hoped that he would again recover, but soon thereafter he lost by a fire nearly all his property in Pittsburgh, so that his family were no longer able to bear the expense of his maintenance at the Maryland asylum, and arrangements were made for his removal to one in Philadelphia, where he continued until June, 1847.

In the late summer of 1844, a camp-meeting was held near Snow Hill, Maryland, by Rev. L. W. Bates, then a youthful itinerant, which was so remarkable in its spiritual power that it was adjourned to Drummondtown, and continued some weeks, with an aggregate of conversions of fifty at the camp and thirty-

two at the Drummondtown schoolhouse. A narrative of its pentecostal character is given in the official paper, October 19, 1844. The *Olive Leaf*, with Rev. E. M. Lathrop as editor and proprietor, was started at Vandalia, Ill., October, 1844, in the interest of the Western cause, despite the fact that the *Western Recorder* was struggling to maintain itself in the same section. It had but a brief existence,¹ and was another melancholy illustration of this eruptive fever for Church papers without a basis of support. The *Christian Sun* of New York ceased to shine by the expulsion of its editor from the Conference, October, 1844. "Tracts for the Times," a pamphlet by Rev. S. Lowell, was issued at Boston, in answer to Rev. Dr. Abel Stevens's "Tracts for the Times,"² on church government, November, 1844. The Norfolk, Va., church was destroyed by fire, March, 1845, involving great loss and corresponding discouragement to the local cause, but it was finally rebuilt at much self-sacrifice. A. S. Naudain, an original Reformer of Maryland, deceased February 13, 1845. Rev. Albritain Jones, of North Carolina, original Reformer, passed away July, 1845. Rev. James Reed, an early Reformer, deceased September, 1845.

Pause is made that the death of Rev. Nicholas Snethen may be announced and such tribute paid to his memory as restriction of space in this History makes possible. While industriously engaged in preparation for the principalship of Snethen Seminary, in Iowa City, he called on one of his daughters at Princeton, Ind., where he was taken seriously ill, and after six weeks of suffering passed to his heavenly home in the triumph of faith, on Friday, May 30, 1845. He was born November 16, 1769, and was consequently in the seventy-sixth year of his age. The events of his useful and remarkable life have already been given in the course of this History, of which he makes so large a part. For a

¹ Within a year it was reported defunct, but it was premature—arising from its removal to Greenville, Ill., where it was increased in size and the name changed to the *Protestant Banner*, with E. M. Lathrop as editor, January, 1846, at \$2 a year. One cannot but admire such zeal for a cause, if without business knowledge. It did not long survive its rejuvenation.

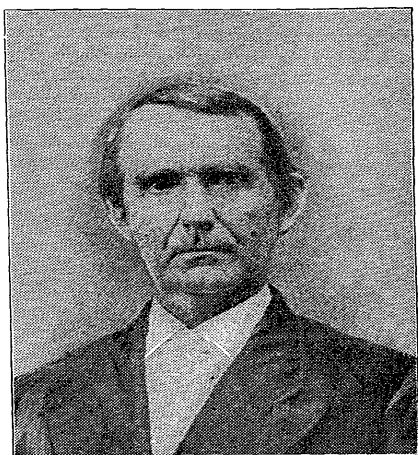
² It was during the course of these Tracts that Stevens provoked anew the old controversy by averring "it cannot be denied that their innovation has proved abortive." This in the face of a numerical growth quite equal to anything in church history and under disabilities experienced by all new denominational ventures. The Wesleyan Methodists had practically adopted the constitutional framework of the Reformers, and it was a renewal of the lay-delegation question in sundry places that made such partisan declarations a necessity in the absence of better arguments. The official organ vigorously refuted the loose and unwarranted averment.

masterful recapitulation of these stirring events, as well as much other matter of just reflection and appropriate moralizing, the reader who would have the career of this distinguished man before him in bird's-eye view is referred to Colhouer's "Founders," which devotes thirty-three pages to the task of portrayal of his unique and preëminent character. Of these reflections none is more true than the dictum: "He did not only seem to hear the footstep of coming generations, but by intuition to anticipate their wants and the means and manner of supplying them. His zeal for the cause of Christ was as great as his sagacity, and limited only by his ability to do good." Characteristic of him is the incident of his dying bed. Calling for a looking-glass and two candles to be held, one on either side, he requested to be raised in bed that he might for the last time survey his own features. Examining his face for a few moments, he uttered this prayer of faith: "My God, I thank thee that thou hast made me in thine own image, and hast preserved me to show forth thy glory. Now, O Lord, I resign the body which thou gavest into thine own hands." His remains repose in a family lot with an appropriate monument in the cemetery at Princeton, Ind. Though memorial services were held in various places in the new Church, notably that in Baltimore with the sermon by Dr. Francis Waters, but two of the old side *Advocates* made any mention of his death at the time. Taking advantage of a phrase used by James R. Williams in a eulogy upon him, and out of its associated place, — "he theorized about everything," — Dr. Stevens in his "History" seizes upon it as a clew to his differences with the old Church polity. It was not ingenuous, but even thirty years ago nothing better could be expected from her chroniclers. Shortly after Snethen's death, his son, Worthington G., issued a prospectus for a biography, but, not meeting with the requisite response, it was delayed until the generation that knew him had all passed away. His posthumous literary remains as compiled by the son have passed into the possession of the Pittsburgh Book Concern. The writer once made a careful examination of them, and they are so voluminous that the whole could not be contained in less than eight octavo volumes: sermons, essays, lectures, periodical contributions, and the biography. General Methodism has a future day of reckoning which may call for the publication of at least large selections from these remains. Prophet, Priest, and King of Methodist lay-representation, making this record just fifty years to a month since thy departure, the period hastens

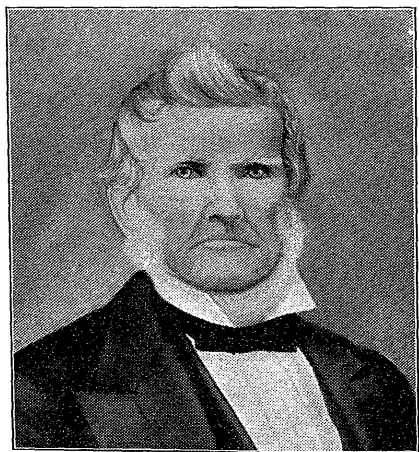
when the dissevered Churches of a common Methodism shall acknowledge thee Right and Righteous, and shall crown thee with the bays and blessings of a complete Vindication!

The irrepressible conflict in the new Church since the division of the old, was formally declared at Louisville, Ky., by the Convention of Southern Conferences in May, 1845, by a vote of ninety-four to three, giving momentum and power to the antislavery sentiment and determination of the Conferences North and West, so that within a year the *Western Recorder* of March 26, 1846, published the resolutions of quite a number of the Methodist Protestant Conferences expressed in varying degrees of acerbity and uncompromising opposition to the institution of slavery and of any moral complicity with it. Representatives to the ensuing General Conference were selected in view of it as the burning question of the times. Statistics showed a numerical decrease in the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1844-45 of 36,000 members in the Northern states, many of them seceders to the Wesleyans in northwestern New York. Gettysburg College, Pa., of the Lutheran Church, conferred the doctorate of divinity upon Thomas H. Stockton, September, 1845, which he subsequently declined. October, 1845, Rev. John Percival, of Virginia, one of the "expelled," and an active original Reformer, deceased, followed about a month later by John Victor of Lynchburg, Va., one of the "expelled" laymen, and a noble original Reformer. July 26, 1845, at the close of the volume, Augustus Webster resigned the editorship of the Church organ, but accommodated the Book Committee by service until they could select a successor. Dr. J. F. Bellamy of North Carolina, from Greenville circuit, and representative-elect to the ensuing General Conference, deceased February, 1846. Some months before he had reviewed Williams's "History" in the official paper as partial to Maryland, and had collected material for a history doing for North Carolina Reformers what this had done for Maryland, as he saw it. This material, during his last illness, he ordered destroyed. Rev. John Paris wrote a "History," which was published in 1849, and is an admirable compend, preserving important documents and speeches of Reformers in North Carolina, and presenting succinctly the course of Reform East and West, as well as a valuable appendix on the origin of Methodist Episcopacy.¹ It found a

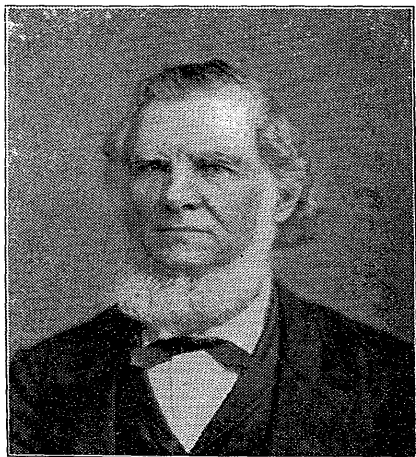
¹ "History of the Methodist Protestant Church, giving a general view of the causes and events that led to the Organization of that Church; and a more particular account of Transactions in North Carolina never before published, with



JOHN PARIS.



ALSON GRAY.

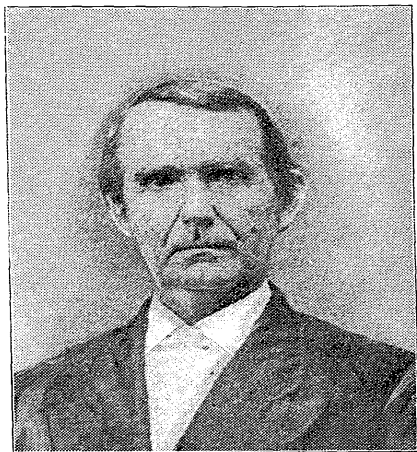


W. W. WILLIS.

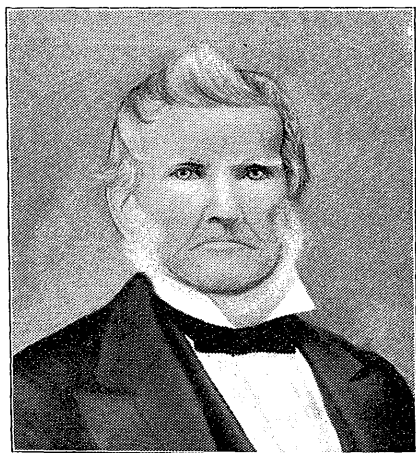
when the dissevered Churches of a common Methodism shall acknowledge thee Right and Righteous, and shall crown thee with the bays and blessings of a complete Vindication!

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wide circulation, but was not republished. The Church never had a truer friend and more devoted minister than John Paris, D.D., and his name is wrought into the very warp and woof of the cause in North Carolina.

The frontiers South and West were plentiful of examples of individual missionary zeal and heroic devotion to the principles of the new Church. Laboring with their own hands, or expending in self-support the hard earnings of earlier days, these men carried the banner of Mutual Rights into distant fields, not a few of them subject to the temptation of good support in the mother Church, if they would turn aside; and it is the purpose of this History to embalm their memory wherever extant records make it possible. Notwithstanding the distractions of the slavery agitation, much true evangelistic work was done in the quadrennium now about to close, and deep interest was manifested in the election of representatives to the impending fourth General Conference of the Church. The old leadership was dropping away by death and age, and it remained to be demonstrated whether or not the younger men would conserve its principles with anything like equal self-abnegation.

The fourth General Conference assembled at the Sixth Street church, Cincinnati, O., on Tuesday, May 5, 1846, at 9 A.M. Dr. Francis Waters was called to the chair. The following were found to be members: * —

PITTSBURGH

Ministers

George Brown
Charles Avery¹
William Reeves
P. T. Laishley
F. A. Davis
John Cowl

Laymen

John H. Deford
F. H. Pierpont
J. W. Phillips
Charles Craig
T. L. Porter¹
W. Hart¹

MUSKINGUM

Cornelius Springer
Z. Ragan
Joel Dalby, Jr.
John Burns
Geo. Clancy
R. Andrew
Israel Thrapp

John Bell
S. Rodman
W. B. Kerlin
J. Hildreth¹
T. Campbell
J. Reed¹ (deceased)
A. W. Beatty

an Appendix," etc., by Rev. John Paris. Baltimore. Printed by Sherwood & Co. 1849. 12mo. 411 pp. Sheep. Several copies are in the writer's possession, but like Williams's "History," it is now rare.

* Official Manuscript Minutes.

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	OHIO	<i>Laymen</i>
A. H. Bassett		James Foster
R. M. Dalby		D. C. Carson
Jos. J. White		M. Kennedy
James E. Wilson		H. Snowden ¹
	ILLINOIS	
John Clarke, Jr.		Joel Rice
W. H. Collins		C. Rice
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
W. E. Martin (Alt.)		S. Turner
	MICHIGAN	
James Gay		H. Brownson
	PENNSYLVANIA	
R. Baird ¹		B. Marvin ¹
	INDIANA	
D. H. Stephens		William Smith
Samuel Morrison		N. T. Catterlin ¹
Cyrus Jeffries		Wm. Morrison ¹
W. B. Evans ¹		Edward Jeans ¹
	GENESEE	
S. M. Short		Daniel Upton
	ONONDAGA	
Ira Hogan		L. B. Morris ¹
	MAINE	
B. Danforth ¹		R. Johnston ¹
	VERMONT	
Z. Boynton		Eli Smith ¹
	VIRGINIA	
J. G. Whitfield		M. Langhorne, Jr. ¹
R. B. Thomson		J. G. Atkins ¹
	SOUTH CAROLINA	
A. G. Brewer ¹		Geo. M. Keils ¹
	NORTH CAROLINA	
Wm. Bellamy		Spier Whitaker
Wm. H. Wills		John F. Bellamy ¹ (deceased)
John Paris		J. L. Swift ¹
	¹ Absent.	

<i>Ministers</i>	GEORGIA	<i>Laymen</i>
M. W. Smith		John Webb ¹
J. C. Wallace ¹		John Bass ¹
	ALABAMA	
W. W. Hill ¹		B. Little ¹
P. S. Graves ¹		B. S. Bibb ¹
A. A. Lipscomb ¹		J. H. Smith ¹
J. Meek ¹		E. Fowler ¹
	MISSISSIPPI	
Enos Fletcher		N. B. Whitehead
	TENNESSEE	
R. W. Morris		J. L. Armstrong
	ARKANSAS	
J. G. Walker ¹		Abel Johnston ¹
	LOUISIANA	
A. Rushing		S. P. Gee ¹
	CHAMPLAIN	
J. B. Goodenough ¹		Allen Windsor ¹
	HUNTSVILLE	
H. C. Stillwell		H. R. Beaver
	NEW JERSEY	
Samuel Budd ¹		E. Carlisle ¹
	MARYLAND	
Francis Waters		J. W. Richardson ¹
Eli Henkle		Wesley Starr
Jno. S. Reese		Wm. Doughty ¹
J. Varden		A. L. Withers
Isaac Webster		T. R. Brown
U. Ward		J. Shriver
J. R. Williams		R. Tall ¹
Thomas Sims		Peter Light ¹
L. R. Reese		J. B. Mathews ¹
	BOSTON	
T. F. Norris ¹		W. H. White
	NEW YORK	
T. K. Witsel ¹		Wm. Wood ¹
	¹ Absent.	

This roster shows that 120 had been elected, and 48 of these were not present. Twenty-seven Conferences were recognized, indicating that the new Church had now become continental, with an organization in nearly all the States of the Union, and in some of them two Conferences. While there is no extant evidence that the slavery agitation had anything to do with this large absenteeism, as entire delegations of the extreme sections, such as South Carolina and Alabama, were solidly absent, as well as a number of the smaller ones of the North and East, this consideration may have entered into it, but the proportion of over one-third absent can easily be accounted for by the distance, expense, and hardship of such a journey as it involved. In Maryland four of the nine ministers are unstationed. The question of the legality of alternate delegates came up in this Conference, as no provision had been made for such in the Electoral College; and it was decided that all alternates should have their seats, and the defect of legislation was remedied. T. H. Stockton was elected to honorary membership with the privilege of debate, as it was known that he was present in the interest of the Philadelphia "mission" question. Thus, on this, and not a few other occasions, the Church expressed its respect and deference to this gifted brother, a fact he did not always seem to appreciate. Evidence was called for in proof of the legal existence of a number of Conferences, of whose organization the official paper had received no account, but were represented in the General Conference. On the afternoon of the second day an election of permanent officers was held, and on the first ballot James G. Wilson and Ancil H. Bassett were elected Secretaries, both of the Ohio Conference, and on the fourth ballot Dr. Francis Waters of Maryland was elected President, the vote not recorded.

It is evident from the minutes that Rev. James Gay of Michigan was the extreme antislavery representative of the body, and John H. Deford of the Pittsburgh representative of the conservatives. Their motions and counter motions, reports and counter reports, run through the deliberations. This and the Philadelphia "mission" question occupied nearly all the time of the Conference. On the slavery question a resolution, offered by H. Brownson, lay-member from Michigan, reads, "Resolved, that this Conference declare slavery, or slaveholding, to be sinful in all its relations, and that no Conference shall be bound to hold fellowship with any Conference that sustains slavery." J. H. Deford of the Pittsburgh Conference offered a resolution, "Re-

solved, that this Conference regard the efforts of Abolitionists, and all other attempts to interfere with the slave question, as improper, on the part of a religious body, and an unwarrantable disturbance of the regulations of the civil government." To complete a triangle South Carolina Conference had passed a series of resolutions indorsing slavery and recommending Alexander McCaine's "Defence of Slavery from the Scriptures." One sagacious, quiet man, himself in sentiment antislavery, amid all this conflict and divergence, was moving among the representatives, and, when he was sure of his ground, toward the close of the session, and after the majority and the minority reports on slavery had been discussed to the full, offered the following compromise resolution: "Resolved, that in the judgment of this General Conference, the holding of slaves is, under many circumstances, a sin against God, and, in such cases, should be condemned by the Methodist Protestant Church; nevertheless, it is our opinion that under some circumstances it is not sinful. This General Conference does not feel itself authorized by the Constitution to legislate on the subject of slavery, and by a solemn vote we present to the Church our judgment, that the different Annual Conferences, respectively, should make their own regulations on this subject so far as authorized by the Constitution." Signed, John S. Reese; while Cornelius Springer moved its adoption. Then a division of it was called for, and, after much manoeuvring, it was passed in sections. The first was carried by a vote of 54 to 6, the second by a vote of 45 to 11, the third by a vote of 45 to 16. Subsequently James Gay and others offered protest, and the question was only disposed of by a motion to admit no more reference to it during the session.

Running abreast with this question, the Philadelphia "mission" subject was considered. The action of the Maryland Conference in recognizing Stockton's church in Philadelphia and St. John's, Baltimore, as missions, was declared unconstitutional. This was a score gained by the Restrictive rule men. Then, after reports and counter reports, Dr. Waters found a medium of settlement, to the effect that the General Conference set off the churches in Philadelphia as a Mission Conference, under certain regulations. The motion setting off a new district, to be called Philadelphia, was carried by a vote of thirty-five to twelve, those voting in the negative being Springer, Henkle, L. R. Reese, Williams, Varden, Rodman, Foster, Whitaker, Beaver, Starr, J. Rice, and William Collins. Levi R. Reese made strenuous

efforts to have it modified, so that any churches formed in the new district of thirty or more members should be subject to the Restrictive rule; but it failed by a large majority, and the question passed out of the General Conference, leaving it, in fact, as unsettled as it was before; and the respective champions returned home to renew the discussion on "Missions."

The unstationed minister question came in for its share of attention, but nothing was done to alter the status of this class. The ratio of representation was fixed at fifteen hundred instead of two thousand. Delegates were appointed to the "World's Convention of Christian Protestant Ministers," to meet in the city of London, England, August, 1846. T. H. Stockton, who was one of the delegates named, proposed to attend, but declined after correspondence with the originators, who had not invited Universalists and Unitarians as "Christian ministers." On the election for editor of the official paper the vote stood, E. Yeates Reese, 25; D. B. Dorsey, 15; T. H. Stockton, 8. The Book Committee was instructed to inquire into the expediency of establishing a Branch of the Book Concern in the West. Dr. Waters offered a series of resolutions on the decease of Nicholas Snethen. On motion "the Champlain District was dissolved." There had been some irregularities in its proceedings, and now, yielding to the pressure and in full sympathy with the Abolition movement, as it was distinctively called in those days, they had passed over to the Wesleyan Methodists. The membership was about eight hundred, and the action was a menace to the new Church in the Northwest, which finally necessitated the separation of 1858; not individuals only were implacably dissatisfied with the relation of the Free State Conferences to those of the South, but whole churches and Conferences seceded as the politico-antislavery party strengthened in the North. Action was taken looking to the enlargement and extension of Williams's "History of the Church" as a permanent record of Reform, with Williams, Waters, and Levi R. Reese as a committee; but nothing ever came of it.

The following chairmen of standing committees were announced by the President on the third day of the session: Journals, P. T. Laishley; Judiciary, John S. Reese; Executive, George Brown; Literary, John Burns; Means of Grace, Eli Henkle; Finance, Wesley Starr; Orders, Isaac Webster; Home Missions, J. S. Reese. A Committee of Foreign Correspondence, appointed by the previous General Conference, was continued, to keep in

touch with the Reform Methodists of England. The affairs of the Book Concern were thoroughly investigated, and its relation continued by resolution offered by J. S. Reese, "Resolved, that in our opinion the Church Periodical should be continued, and remain under the control of the General Conference." The *Western Recorder* was commended to the patronage of the Church. For the first time the new Church had methodized its affairs sufficiently to be able to offer something like a full tabulation of its statistics; still they were very imperfect. A summary of the full table presented by the committee, A. H. Bassett, Chairman, is as follows: Annual Conferences, 26; stations, 66; circuits, 325; itinerant ministers and preachers, 746; unstationed ministers and preachers, 628. Members by Conference segregation: Pittsburgh, 6412; Muskingum, 7244; Ohio, 4509; Indiana, 3764; Illinois, 2393; North Illinois, 788; Michigan, 1733; Pennsylvania, 1022; Genesee, 1443; Onondaga, 1400; Vermont, 1024; Maine, 500; Boston, 500; New York, 1730; New Jersey, 840; Maryland, 9175; Virginia, 2675; North Carolina, 3689; South Carolina, 1645; Georgia, 2078; Alabama, 4082; Mississippi, 1008; Louisiana, 500; Arkansas, 1000; Huntsville, 800; Tennessee, 1609. Total, including ministers stationed and unstationed, as reported, 64,944. Value of church property, total, \$563,971, of which amount sums over \$10,000 were in: Pittsburgh, \$65,490; Muskingum, \$58,756; Ohio, \$42,000; Indiana, \$16,900; Genesee, \$10,800; New York, \$53,000; Maryland, \$160,000; Virginia, \$41,150; South Carolina, \$29,500; Alabama \$37,000. Yet with these totals, an accretion of thirteen-fold in members, taking 5000 as the unit for 1830, within 16 years, and an excess of half a million of church property, 746 travelling ministers, and 325 circuits, and 66 stations in 26 Annual Conferences, the new Church made answer to the knowingly false declaration of Dr. Bond, in 1833, "Reform is dead; let its ashes be undisturbed," and to Dr. Stevens's equally false dictum of 1845, only a year before these statistics were published, "It cannot be denied that their innovation has proved abortive."

Such bald statements can be accounted for only on the score of gross ignorance, deep-seated prejudice, and a perpetuation of Dr. Bond's impotent purpose to "write down Reform." For nearly fifty years since this General Conference the press of the mother Church, largely, it may be conceded, by mere echo of each other's voices, has continued to write down Reform; and, truly, if it had been possible in the nature of the case to write it

down by slurs, minifications, disparagements, invidious declarations, not wanting in some of the latest issues of their *Advocates*, it had long since ceased to be. Bishop M'Tyeire, only a decade of years ago, in his "History of Methodism" from the point of view of the Church, South, sees and deplors this weakness of historiographers, and employs language in his Preface which the writer adopts, but from which it shall be shown M'Tyeire departs when he comes to speak of the Reformers: "Moral or abstract truth knows no point of the compass, but historical truth does; and the truth of history proves this. Methodism in the South has suffered injustice from the manner in which it has been presented by learned, honest, and able writers in the North. The writer does not presume to be free from the infirmities to which he is liable in common with others. He proposes to tell the truth as he sees it; and this may lead him to tell truths affecting others which they have not seen, and to present admitted facts in a different light." Applying this touchstone, how well does he succeed when he comes to speak of the new Church? Let him be cited: "A pure doctrine has been ministered at its altars; and while the denomination has not prospered, not a few bright examples of devout congregations, and of personal piety, have adorned it. Its ministry and press have never been without strong men, and the members have been generous. Its polity has been marked with an extreme jealousy of power, which is lodged nowhere, but 'distributed'; and there are guards, and balances, and checks. A brake on the wheels of a railroad train is a good thing to keep from going too fast; but a railroad train constructed on the principle of a brake, will not go at all. This honor justly belongs to the Methodist Protestant Church: its one good, peculiar principle — lay-delegation — has of late been incorporated into the chief Methodist bodies of Europe and America."¹ The compliments are extorted — the detractions

¹ "History of Methodism," p. 574. It may be well to note another deduction he makes from partisan information, for it is evident the Bishop never read the Reform literature of 1820-30; he says, p. 573: "Unfortunately, a reform which began in principles drifted largely into personalities. 'The most ungracious assault,' says a writer well informed in the literature of the day, 'was that which was made upon Bishop George.'" It ought to be sufficient to offset this averment with Alexander McCaine's own review of the case, as he was the other party to it, as found in the *Mutual Rights* of that day. And if anything were wanting to rebut the statement of a "writer well informed," the testimony of Dr. Francis Waters ought to be sufficient. By general consent of Reformers and anti-reformers he was a witness of unimpeached veracity and calm, judicial mind, who knew every Reform writer personally, and what he wrote from end to end of the

may be excused. The good man chuckled, it may be imagined, when he penned the railroad brake illustration; but what about the "will not go at all," as a "truth of history"? Dr. M'Tyeire's knowledge was confined to the South during and after the Civil War, when the new Church had been scattered and peeled, and, like his own, its houses of worship burnt, and congregations disintegrated by the threshing of the iron-teethed harrow, and may excuse his "has not prospered." Like the plumed knight, it has one bright feather streaming in the wind: "its one, good, peculiar principle — lay-delegation." But his Church and the parent Methodism everywhere had been proclaiming for a hundred years that it was not "good." They had remorselessly expelled and persecuted its advocates; and is it not a fact that it is time ingenuous treatment should acknowledge that but for the New Connexion and the Primitive Methodists in England and the Methodist Protestant Church in America the "principle" of lay-delegation would never have been "incorporated into the chief Methodist bodies of Europe and America"? The absolutely jocose thing about this "damning with faint praise," by Bishop M'Tyeire, is the fact that in immediate connection he says: "An irrepressible cause of discontent and schism was thus removed by a secession, which carried with it ministers and members, who were followed by sincere regret. Then the Church had rest for a season, and entered upon an era of unprecedented prosperity." And then he cites the statistics, showing that from "1828 to 1832 — the chief period of secession — etc.," the increase of the old Church was about an hundred and thirty thousand, or "the largest increase the Church has ever known in the same period." That is, the Lord prospered them, for getting rid of lay-delegation and its agitators, to this unprecedented extent, and yet, at the same time, their increase does not compare with that the Lord gave the Reformers for introducing lay-delegation for the sixteen years from 1830 to 1846. The brethren have so little skill in handling edged-tools that it could be wished they would let them severely alone in certain connections.

The reader will excuse this long, but important, digression

controversy, and yet as touching personalities, abuse of speech, evil speaking, and all the other forms of crimination, he deliberately declared, "No other use of personal character had been made in the *Mutual Rights* than personal illustrations of the defects of the government and its administration, and that any travelling preacher had been defamed in its pages amounted to mere assertion." And if any critical reader would farther verify its truth the literature complained of is all accessible.

from the General Conference proceedings, and recurrence is made to record the fact that in the light of the favorable statistics it was moved that "the Board of Foreign Missions be continued," and it was further moved that this Board "be authorized to employ missionaries to serve in Oregon"; and out of it came the devoted and successful labors of Rev. Daniel Bagley, who survives to see the fruition of his labors there and elsewhere. Place and time for the first meeting of the Iowa and the Wabash Conferences were made; and then, by special request, the Conference closed with prayer by the President, Dr. Waters, to meet in Baltimore, May, 1850.

CHAPTER XX

E. Yeates Reese reëlected editor of the official paper—Obituaries of Reformers; new Conferences—The slavery issue—Inauguration of fraternity between the new Church and the old at the General Conference of the latter in Pittsburgh, 1848—Secessions in Brooklyn, N.Y., and Philadelphia, but stood aloof from the new Church—More obituaries of Reformers, notably of Rev. J. R. Williams—Madison College at Uniontown, Pa., tendered to the new Church, and finally accepted; brief history of the misadventure; sectional questions at the bottom; heroic efforts of Rev. Dr. Brown to save the college; after five years it was abandoned—College started at Cambridge, O.; buildings first destroyed by a storm, and, when rebuilt, destroyed by fire, ending the project—Sketch of Rev. W. W. Hill, the "Luther" of Reform literature, deceased—Anxiety among the representatives elect to the ensuing General Conference of 1850 on the slavery issue.

JUNE 30, 1846, Augustus Webster retired from the temporary extension of his editorship of the official paper, and the reëlected editor, after a retirement of one quadrennium, E. Yeates Reese, took charge of it, with new type and a promising outlook. The circulation at this date was about three thousand, and its financial condition would have been fair but for the credit system, which kept its reported assets in the hands of non-paying subscribers. Rev. D. H. Stephens, President of the Indiana Conference, deceased September, 1846. He had been an active member of the preceding General Conference. Rev. Samuel Norment passed away August, 1846, an able member of the Virginia Conference from 1832. Alexander Waugh, brother of Bishop Beverly Waugh, heretofore noticed, deceased October, 1846. Rev. W. H. Bordley of the Maryland Conference, an original Reformer and devoted minister, died October, 1846. Rev. William Bellamy of the North Carolina Conference, an original Reformer, deceased November, 1846. Rev. R. Davidson of the same Conference, died November, 1846. Rev. James H. Overstreet of Kentucky, an original Reformer, deceased February, 1847. Rev. J. D. Hines, original Reformer of Kentucky, deceased June, 1846.

A Convention was called in New Jersey, December, 1846, to protest against being set off from the New York Conference; J. F.

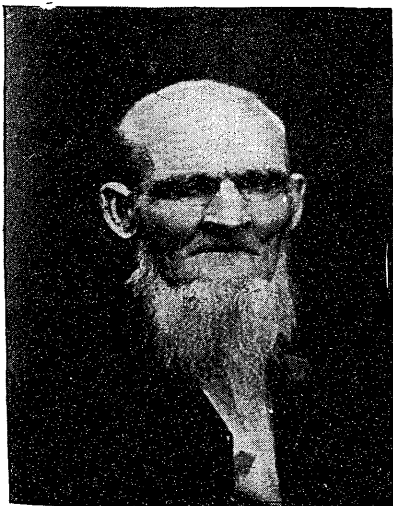
Felty, Chairman, and W. W. Strickland, Secretary. It was confined to the northern section of the State, and as the outcome Paterson and a few other points were annexed to New York, and so remain to this day. September 16, 1846, the first Wabash Annual Conference, as set off from the Indiana by the General Conference, was organized at Pleasant Hill chapel.¹ The first Iowa Conference, as set off by the General Conference, met in the State House, Iowa City, October 13, 1846.² The first Philadelphia Conference organized after the action of the General Conference, and as a sequel to their temporary agreement so to set themselves off in the autumn of 1846, met at First church, March 17, 1847. It elected J. G. Wilson, President, and E. W. Davis, Secretary. T. H. Stockton offered a series of six resolutions, which prevailed with some dissent, the substance of which was that each congregation should elect their own relation to the Conference, whether as circuit, station, or mission, and that all the territory should be declared "unoccupied" for this purpose. As the General Conference of 1846 granted this Conference exceptional privileges, there were counter petitions which expressed a preference for the Restrictive Rule feature. After the action of the General Conference a number of the members of the First church withdrew on this issue and organized the "Bethlehem Station." Stockton, in an after conversation, admitted that they were the "cream of his church." As a consequence he found himself without the usual financial support, and resigned the charge, accepting a call to Cincinnati, where he organized "The Association of Brotherly Love," an ideal Christian society, which he continued to foster for some years, but which was in evidence of his utter unfitness for practical affairs. The Philadelphia Conference survived three years, with varying condition, but its abnormal relation to the Church as connectionally established, as well as the relation of St. John's, Baltimore, produced continued friction, and the itinerant party under the Presidency of Levi R. Reese, in Maryland, getting the ascendancy, and his merited

¹ Joseph Shipp was elected President, and C. Jeffries, Secretary. The ministers were: G. Williams, J. C. Wright, J. Alter, H. Beal, W. Williams, A. Paris, J. McClure, P. Smith, G. L. Bodell, G. Evans, F. Long, R. G. H. Hanna, S. W. Widney, T. S. Fackenburg. The delegates: A. Pearson, A. Scales, L. Garrettson, A. H. Whitford, J. Boxell, N. T. Cutterlin, J. G. Crawford, J. Bice, T. N. Jones, J. Zipes, J. Barbee, S. Duling.

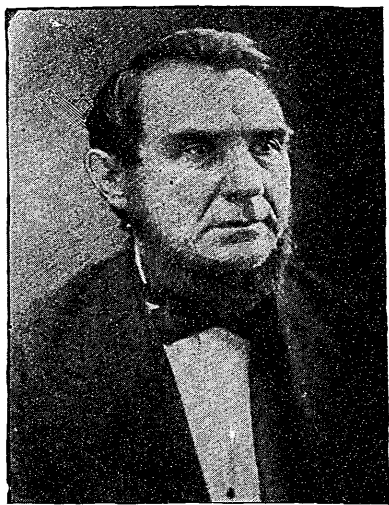
² The ministers were: Wm. Patterson, Robert Miller, Geo. S. Pierson, W. K. Talbot, W. K. Barnes, Oliver W. Kellogg, Alexander Coldwell. The delegates: Preston J. Friend, Dr. Enos Metcalf, Henry Nesmith, Geo. Davison, Wm. H. Collins (honorary).



JAMES ROBINSON.



ISRAEL THRAPP.



JOHN BURNS.

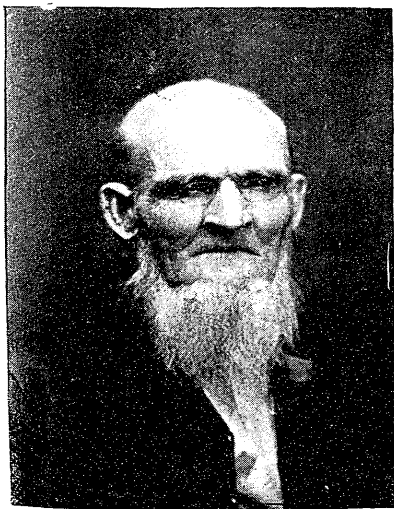
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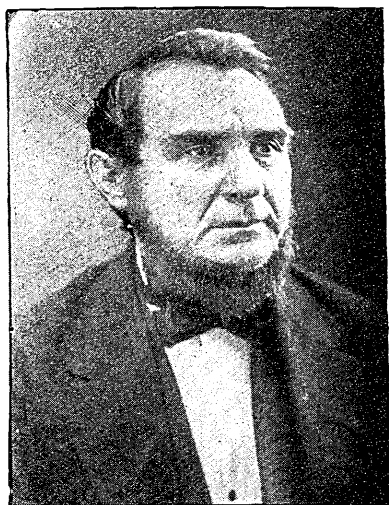
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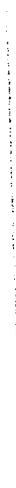
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ISRAEL THRAPP.



JOHN BURNS.



preferment as the President of the ensuing General Conference of 1850, which met in Baltimore, led that body to undo what it had done four years prior, and the Philadelphia Conference was annexed to the Maryland, leading to the independence of several of the congregations, and the final destruction of the cause in that city.¹ The membership within the Philadelphia Conference at its first session was 843.

The Michigan Conference proposed to establish the Michigan Literary Institute, at Leoni, Jackson County, with Rev. R. Bamford as Agent, but it did not materialize as to buildings, though its initial work was promising, forty pupils being in attendance. Rev. Edmund Rockford, original Reformer, deceased April, 1847. Rev. Dr. Samuel M. Meek, an original Reformer, died April, 1847. Rev. Thomas Taylor, of North Carolina, deceased just before the General Conference, and to which he was a representative-elect. Amasa Hollister, a Reformer of the Pennsylvania district, deceased June, 1847, aged seventy-nine. Rev. Solomon Longworth, original Reformer, deceased November, 1847. Rev. Arington Gray, original Reformer, deceased December, 1847. Henry Wigert and Francis Coates, of Baltimore, original Reformers, deceased December, 1847.

The official paper makes note that Rev. Asa Shinn, accompanied by his son William, spent a short time in Baltimore on his way home to Pittsburgh from Philadelphia, apparently again restored to mental soundness, June, 1847, but it proved illusive. The Genesee Conference, at its session of 1847, passed resolutions asking the other Conferences to unite with them in a call for a Convention to legislate upon slavery and blot it from the Church. The Muskingum Conference reported through a committee,—W. Marshall, Israel Thrapp, and John Burns,—declining to unite, and assigning in substance three reasons: They did not feel themselves as a Conference implicated in the sin of slavery, though convinced of its moral wrong; it would result in a division of the Church; it would not further the cause of emancipa-

¹ It will preserve an interesting episode in the church history from oblivion to give the Plan of Appointments of the first Conference, etc. First church, T. H. Stockton (mission); Ebenezer, J. G. Wilson (mission); Brickmakers, J. R. Nichols (mission under the pastor's protest); Schuylkill, 6th street, W. T. Eva (mission); Penn township, W. Matchett (mission); Aston, P. Price; Bethlehem, A. S. Eversole (station). Conference missionary, H. D. Moore. The lay-delegates present: John Porter, John Mills, James Galliard, John S. Fellton, John Weble, E. W. Davis. Unstationed ministers and preachers: James Moore, Allen Worthington, G. A. Shryock, John Mills, J. J. Gray. The printed Minutes of the three Conferences held are in the writer's possession.

tion. But as the years passed by and the political power of the antislavery party augmented, it was found impossible to adhere to such conservative ground in the West and North. The Methodist Episcopal Church, North and West, had emancipated itself from all complicity by the act of separation; the Wesleyan Methodists, growing strong upon this issue, sent messengers to the Conferences, and invited them to come out of "Sodom," and these were the upper and nether millstones that were grinding the new Church into a coalition with them.

Rev. James M. Coy of Pennsylvania, original Reformer, deceased November, 1847. In September, 1848, the Onondaga Conference undertook to establish a weekly religious paper at Clyde, N. Y., *The Northern Methodist Protestant*, with J. H. Hogan and James P. Long as editors; but after a year or more debts were contracted, and the enterprise was abandoned at considerable loss to members of the Conference. The *Western Recorder* for 1847-48 contained obituaries of Rev. Jeremiah Johnson, Reformer, December 9, 1847; Nicholas Amos, layman, and delegate to General Conference, March 16, 1848; Rev. Daniel Ireland, Reformer and member of Genesee Conference at the time of his death, April 13, 1848; Rev. John Fordyce, of Green County, Pa., early Reformer, June 15, 1848. September 20, 1848, the first Texas Conference, at Spring Grove, met near Moore's store, Bowie County, with H. M. A. Cassiday, President, and W. S. McClure, Secretary.¹ Rev. William Reeves of the Ohio Conference published a defence of the ministry of women, at Putnam, O. His devoted wife, Hannah, had license in England, and in this country throughout the West, and occasionally in the East, officiated acceptably in the pulpits, and that of the old Church at times, and her case raised at this early period a question which has been slow of solution among Methodists. Though sanctioned by John Wesley, the new Church has been much agitated by it in the West, and, as will be seen, it later became a General Conference question. During the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church held in Pittsburgh, Pa., May, 1848, the pulpits of the two Reform churches were tendered it. The tender led no doubt to careful consideration, as on its determination not a little

¹ The ministers were; Azariah Bone, A. Rushing, Wm. Southward, W. M. Elliott, R. R. Tucker, Jesse Mings, Geo. P. King,* John Freeman, Joseph Friend.* Unstated, Thomas Stalleup,* Ward Taylor, W. S. McClure, W. R. Hart. Laymen: Iredell Southward, J. H. Painter, Samuel Davis, W. S. McClure, James L. Weir,* Bryant Brown,* John Hart, Sr., David Lowe.*

* Absent.

depended, but, whether from a high expedience or true Christian recognition and denominational fellowship, it was accepted and emphasized, Bishop Waugh preaching in the Pittsburgh church and administered the Lord's Supper with its Discipline, and Bishop Morris next Sabbath preached in the Allegheny church. They were both strong, flourishing congregations; and with nearly thirty Annual Conferences and seventy-five thousand members, these high functionaries, both of whom were parties to the proceedings of 1828, must have had curious speculations upon the subject of Methodist Reform, and the treatment meted out to its originators. In this act, however, the olive branch was tendered by the new to the old, and accepted by them, and Christian fraternity inaugurated between the two denominations. Charles Kennon of North Carolina, an original lay-Reformer, deceased, June, 1848. Elijah Philips, of Accomack County, Va., died July, 1848. Rev. Slingsby Linthicum of Maryland, original Reformer, deceased August, 1848.

In the summer of 1848, an agitation over church government led to a secession from one of the large Methodist churches of Philadelphia, and an organization on a congregational plan, supplemented by a secession in Brooklyn, N. Y., from the Centenary church, by the summary expulsion of the pastor, Dr. Green, who was implicated in the matter of Rev. John Newland Maffit. An Association was formed, and the dissension grew into four churches in Philadelphia and others elsewhere. Why did they not seek an alliance with the new Church? For two reasons, perhaps: first, it was not a pure lay-representation movement—a large personal equation was in it; and, second, "Radicalism" had been so stigmatized and slandered that most Methodists of this later day knew of it only by "bad report." As was inevitable, the Association, for want of connectional bonds, was short-lived, and left only disaster in its trail. Daniel Bagley, volunteer missionary to Oregon, organized the first mission church in the autumn of 1848. The Illinois Conference repudiated the *Protestant Monitor*, and proposed to establish, if found practicable, the *Western Fountain* in its stead, in the autumn of 1848. Accordingly the attempt was made, and the paper started at Greenville, Ill., with Rev. John Waite as editor. It was about half the size of the official paper, and at half the price. Rev. Benedict Burgess of the Virginia Conference, original Reformer, deceased November, 1848. Also Rev. James Hunter of North Carolina, one of the "expelled" ministers for Reform, January, 1849; Rev.

Robert Wilson of Maryland, an original Reformer, March, 1849; Rev. George Reed of Winchester, Va., original Reformer, April, 1849; Rev. James Moore of the North Carolina Conference, original Reformer, April, 1849. Rev. Gamaliel Bailey, aged eighty-four years, an ex-itinerant of the old Church, and original Reformer, and father of Gamaliel Bailey, once editor of the official paper, deceased April, 1849. Rev. James Jenkins of Alabama, original Reformer, deceased June, 1849. Rev. Elijah Eliason of Maryland, original Reformer, deceased July, 1849. Thus the participants in the movement of 1828-30 were passing away, and the plan of this History calls for such record that their names at least may be rescued from oblivion. Rev. G. Cumming Wild was appointed missionary to California by the New York Conference; he reached his destination with the migration of gold-seekers of this period, and began operations, but his untimely death ended the movement to introduce the cause in this Eldorado. Rev. Thomas Stillwell, original Reformer, of the Indiana Conference, deceased June, 1849. Rev. John Philips, original local Reformer, died June, 1849. Isaac Conkling, lay-Reformer of Cincinnati, deceased July, 1849. Rev. Thomas Maple, local original Reformer, of Pittsburgh Conference, deceased October, 1849. Rev. David Ferris of Vermont Conference, died December, 1849. Rev. Jeremiah Mason, of Maryland, original Reformer, deceased November, 1849.

Rev. James R. Williams departed this life October 2, 1849. Born in Baltimore, November 11, 1780, a dyer by trade, which he carried on successfully until his death; with such educational advantages as the city schools furnished, he diligently improved his mind until he acquired a creditable knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French, as well as of the physical sciences. In 1800, in his twentieth year, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, was soon after licensed as a local preacher, and so continued until September, 1827, when, with ten other preachers, he was expelled for advocating the Mutual Rights of the ministry and laity in that Church. He was a contributor to the *Western Repository*, and took an active part in the controversy for Reform, commanding as he did a vigorous English style and exhibiting a rare judgment in counsel. Leadership in the movement for Reform came to him unsought, and he ever proved himself worthy of the trust reposed in him. He was a member of all the Conventions and General Conferences, and his name is inseparably connected with the Constitution and Discipline of the

Church, as to him, largely, must be ascribed the framework of these instruments. A Methodist of the olden type, he clung tenaciously to the usages and methods, and departed only in the fundamentals of governmental reform. He was one of the earliest of the unstationed preachers to discover that the claims of this class could not be successfully pressed, as at first proposed; and while in this and other features of the changes suggested his convictions were clear, he was not stubbornly unyielding, so that in the close contentions his answer was, "Brethren, if you will not go with me, then I will go with you." He stood, perhaps, fifth among the voluminous writers for the cause of Reform, both under his favorite *nom de plume*, "Amicus," and his proper name, as historian and author of several valuable treatises on religious subjects. As a preacher he was instructive, but not popular in the sense of large congregations; and as a Christian, his reputation was unblemished and commanded the respect of his church opponents. He retained the full possession of his faculties during his protracted death sickness, and, on being interrogated by his close friend, J. J. Harrod, he answered with characteristic thoughtfulness: "Yes, all is well! All is clear! There is not a cloud in my sky! I have power over sin. I am saved by grace alone, through faith in my crucified Saviour. My faith has two fruits. The first is dominion over sin; the second, peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." A large concourse attended his funeral services at West Baltimore station, and his mortal remains repose in Greenmount cemetery, to await the resurrection of the just.

In the spring of 1849, the trustees of Madison College at Uniontown, Pa., tendered to the Church that institution, as after the connection of Bascom and Fielding of the old Church had been severed it was abandoned for another enterprise. Founded and partly endowed by ex-President Madison, it had a chequered history. The proposition was favorably regarded; and a large majority of the Annual Conferences having meanwhile signified their approval, it was formally accepted by the ensuing General Conference of May, 1850, in Baltimore.¹ The connection with it

¹ As early as January, 1848, in the *Western Recorder*, Rev. William Hamilton, one of the ablest of our Western ministers, submitted a proposition for the organization of a new college in the West. The Zanesville circuit took up the subject favorably soon after, and the citizens of Brownsville, O., made a move for the proposed institution in their midst. Hamilton continued to write, and proposed a plan in 1849. J. H. Deford and others took part in it, bringing forward the offer of Madison College and its acceptance as here detailed.

proved disastrous, and its brief career under such auspices may be here succinctly narrated. The Board of Trustees selected and secured the acceptance of the Presidency by Rev. R. H. Ball, A.M., a successful educator and well-furnished man, but, in the judgment of Dr. George Brown, whose opinion is weighty as more intimately associated with its whole course than any other, a primary mistake was made in the effort to open it as a full-fledged college instead of an academy or high school. The Pittsburgh Conference of September, 1850, was held in Uniontown, and the college came largely under its immediate care as to trusteeship, etc., while the Faculty was drawn, — except the notable instance of Rev. Dr. G. B. McElroy, so distinguished for his lifelong adhesion to the Church of his choice under embarrassments of a most discouraging nature, and who remains in the front of the Western educational work to this day, loved and honored of all, — from the South: Maryland and Virginia. Rev. P. T. Laishley was selected as college agent, and did yeoman service for the institution. But it is evident that an error back of too pretentious a start, was the acceptance of the college at all after the Methodist Episcopal Church had found it expedient to abandon it for obvious reasons. Early and commendable zeal for education in the new Church, and the disaster by fire at Lawrenceburgh, Ind., led to the favorable consideration of almost any opening for a new venture.

It would not be to edification or instruction to detail the personal difficulties between the President, R. H. Ball, the students, faculty, and trustees, which led to his resignation, broken in health by the harassments to which he was subjected. Appeal was then made to Dr. Francis Waters to accept the position, which he did as there had been a fair attendance of students and the outlook was not altogether without promise; but, after a brief residence with his family, Dr. Waters resigned, assigning no reason at the time, but it was afterward ascertained that the climate was uncongenial to the delicate health of his wife. Dr. Brown was President of the Board of Trustees, and, for a time, President of the college and professor in the faculty. Dr. Waters recommended, as a successor, Rev. S. K. Cox of Maryland, who accepted, and, in the autumn of 1854, removed to Uniontown. A pupil of Dr. Waters, well educated and gifted, but of highly sanguine temperament and a lofty ideal without practical business endowment, he faced the situation boldly; introduced the military drill for the students, and extravagantly involved

himself and the institution. In March, 1853, the trustees had contracted debt to remodel the college building, adding another presage of ultimate disaster; but the college was kept running, and graduates were sent out, some of whom have since made a mark in the world; and so matters continued until the spring of 1855, when a case of college insubordination among two of the students occurred, which set President, faculty, and trustees by the ears, with crimination and recrimination. Dr. Brown, in his "Itinerant Life," details the matter with microscopic particularity. Mr. McElroy, under pressure from the President and faculty, Dr. Brown avers, because the only member not from the South, was called upon to resign; though, on the other hand, it was put on the ground that he was not a college graduate at the time and so did not measure up to his colleagues. The military system was in full glory, drills, muskets, and the college an armory, and in violation, it is said, of the charter. In fine, the Southern question was at the bottom of the differences; and the ferment went on, with rumors and denials, the choice tidbit being that colored students would be pressed for admission, and that endowment had been promised by Charles Avery to this effect. Denial did not arrest the rumor, and the finality was, at the Commencement of 1855 the President announced that the faculty had resigned, and that a college would be opened at Lynchburg, Va., in the autumn of the same year. It transpired that arrangements had been made to this effect. Dr. Collier was now President of the Board, and steps were at once taken to reorganize the faculty, with Dr. Brown as President, the recall of Mr. McElroy, and the election of Bancroft and Hutton as coadjutors, all from the free States.

The college was reopened in September; but eighty-five of the ninety Southern students did not return, and the whole situation was most discouraging. At this juncture Charles Avery came to its relief with a donation of \$1500. Mrs. T. A. Reese of Maryland had conditionally given \$2000, which finally reverted to the Book Concern at Baltimore. Uniontown did but little for the college, owing to partisan influences and the decadence of the place. The narration of the personal sacrifices made by the President and the faculty to run the institution is a story of martyr-devotion to ideas and principles as they understood them. The following year a successful Commencement was held, with McElroy as the only graduate, however. The herculean efforts of the President to relieve the financial situation make a page

unequaled in the Church history, as he and others travelled not North only, but South, in Maryland and Virginia; and he candidly admits that he met with success in securing the payment of old obligations, and, on visiting Lynchburg, where the new college had been inaugurated, he relates his hospitable reception by old students and the founders of the new *régime*. He met with but meagre success in the North and West, and the upshot was, that by the ensuing September Dr. Brown announced his failure to make possible the further continuance of the college; and it was closed, involving much pecuniary loss, more in prestige, with an aggravation of the internal slavery dissensions in the new Church.

Returning to the autumn of 1849, the Michigan Conference declined to elect representatives to the General Conference to meet in Baltimore the ensuing May, 1850, thus ridding themselves of complicity with slavery, as they interpreted it. It was probably this, or disintegration, so extreme had the situation become in the Northwest. The Muskingum Conference at its September session, 1849, took steps to inaugurate a college in Cambridge, O.; buildings were erected, and considerable money spent upon the enterprise, but a storm demolished the erections, and a collapse was threatened, when, principally through the efforts of Rev. George Clancy, they were rebuilt; but again, before completion, a fire destroyed the whole, and the enterprise was abandoned.

The new Church was now called to mourn the loss of Rev. W. W. Hill, the "Luther" of the Reform controversy. William Wallace Hill was born in 1788, in Halifax County, N. C., received a liberal education, was converted, united with the old Church, entered the Conference, embraced Reform principles, and, in August, 1825, was tried for "sowing dissensions" in the Church, but was triumphantly acquitted owing to his masterful defence. With others he organized the North Carolina Conference, December 19, 1828, and was elected President, and travelled extensively as a missionary propagandist throughout the State. He was a member of all the Conventions and early General Conferences, a frequent contributor to the periodical press, and a leader in the best sense. Colhouer says: "Mentally, he was profound in thought, clear in comprehension, positive in conviction, and fearless in expression. Physically, he was a grand specimen of the human family. Tall in stature, symmetrical in proportion, intelligent in countenance, classic in feature,

with a melodious voice, and an emotional spirit, he presented a majestic appearance before his audiences, and would move them with the power of his eloquence, as the trees of the forest are swayed by the mighty wind." In 1835 he removed to Alabama, where he took up the work of the Church as a leader in organization, and was elected President in 1846, and a representative to the General Conference of that year. He was unremitting in labors to the close, which came to him peacefully, September 7, 1849, in the sixty-first year of his age. "He lived beloved; he died lamented!"

Colonel R. Blount of North Carolina departed April, 1850. He was an early Reformer and one of the stanchest of its lay-advocates. American Methodist Reformers received much encouragement from the extensive Reform movements in England and the establishment of their organ, the *Wesleyan Times*, of which note was made in the first volume of this work. Rev. James Coval of the New York Conference deceased March, 1850. As the General Conference approached and the several Annual Conferences elected their representatives, much anxiety was felt as to the issue of the slavery question, which impended as a discussion in it. In April the *Western Recorder* contained an address to the body by anticipation, on slavery and other matters, by W. M. Reeves, and there were other indications of a renewal of former contentions. This quadrennium may be closed with the record in the Western paper of the decease of Thaddeus Hanford, a prominent lay-Reformer, May, 1850.

CHAPTER XXI

The Fifth General Conference, of 1850; roster of members; large absenteeism; reasons for it—The slavery question in abeyance largely—Madison College accepted—Charleston, S. C., and Steubenville, O., in nomination for the next Conference and the latter carried by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-three—Statistics show a small gain for the quadrennium; significance of it; a like arrest of development in the old Church—Report of the Book Concern the most favorable ever made; E. Yeates Reese unanimously reelected editor—Two other measures; right of appeal to the General Conference, and option of Annual Conferences to have a travelling President or not; the last indorsed by the Annual Conferences; reflections on the first—The Constitution of the new Church after twenty years' trial a success; tentative efforts in both the Church North and South to introduce the principle of lay-delegation—Moralizing upon the cultivation of individualism in the new Church in opposition to automatism in the old Church.

THE fifth General Conference assembled at West Baltimore station in Baltimore, Md., on the 7th of May, 1850. George Brown was called to the Chair, and A. H. Bassett appointed Secretary. The following is the certified list of the members as made from both the manuscript and printed Minutes.

<i>Ministers</i>	MAINE	<i>Laymen</i>
N. S. Davis ¹		A. Ransdell ¹
	BOSTON	
Thomas F. Norris		Wm. Wyman
	VERMONT	
Z. Boynton ¹		M. Smith ¹
	NEW YORK	
J. J. Smith		Thomas Brown
	ONONDAGA	
J. H. Richards ¹		G. White ¹
	GENESEE	
Isaac Fister		E. Foster ¹

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i> Samuel Budd	NEW JERSEY	<i>Laymen</i> James Clark
J. G. Wilson	PHILADELPHIA	John Porter
A. Abbott ¹	PENNSYLVANIA	J. Van Camp
George Brown	PITTSBURGH	J. W. Phillips
John Cowl		J. H. Deford
J. Robison		Wm. Miller
Samuel Clawson		Dr. Z. Kidwell ¹
Z. Ragan	MUSKINGUM	A. W. Beatty ¹
Geo. Clancy ¹		B. S. Cone
John Burns		T. Hanna ¹
C. Springer		F. Scott
A. H. Bassett	OHIO	D. C. Carson
J. M. Young ¹		J. McCabe ¹
Joseph J. White ¹		J. Foster, Sr.
	MICHIGAN	
	Declined to send delegates	
Samuel Morrison	INDIANA	L. Barton ¹
Joseph Shipp ¹	WABASH	N. T. Catterlin ¹
Reddick Horn	ILLINOIS	Joel Rice
Daniel Bagley	NORTH ILLINOIS	S. Loy ¹
	IOWA	
	No delegates sent or announced	
Wm. Collier	MARYLAND	Wesley Starr
Josiah Varden		J. M. Fooks
L. R. Reese		P. B. Hopper
W. C. Lipscomb		Alexander Norris
	¹ Absent.	

VIRGINIA	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
R. B. Thomson	J. J. Burroughs
J. G. Whitfield	H. F. Woodhouse
NORTH CAROLINA	
John Paris	Dr. B. F. Folger
W. H. Wills	Dr. L. W. Batchelor
SOUTH CAROLINA	
James Newberry	H. D. W. Alexander ¹
TENNESSEE	
B. F. Duggan	R. Warner ¹
GEORGIA	
M'Kendree Tucker	John Bass
FLORIDA	
Dr. M. Nash ¹	R. Whitaker ¹
ALABAMA	
S. Johnston	B. S. Bibb ¹
W. Rice ¹	Bolling Hall
B. S. Anderson	Edmund Harrison
HUNTSVILLE	
H. K. Beaver ¹	S. Goodner ¹
MISSISSIPPI	
Elisha Lott	Peter Loper
MISSOURI	
B. T. Nowlin ¹	C. Edmundson ¹
ARKANSAS	
John Miller ¹	John Gott ¹
LOUISIANA	
Peyton S. Graves	S. P. M'Gee ¹
TEXAS	
Azariah Bone ¹	David Lane ¹

There were eighty-eight in all, of whom but thirty-five were present on the first day, and thirty-three were not present at all, a majority of them from the extreme North and South, indicating that distance, expense, and hardship of travel were the causes, there being as yet no continuous lines of railroads, except

¹ Absent.

the Baltimore and Ohio, which had just surmounted the almost insuperable physical barriers to the West by piercing and scaling the mountains, and over which the members of Conference westward bound were invited to accept free return passage through Wesley Starr, who was largely interested in it. Thirty-two Conferences are recognized. On the second day Levi R. Reese was elected President on the fifth ballot, A. H. Bassett and B. H. Anderson, Secretaries on first ballot.

The President announced as Chairmen of the following committees: Journals, John Burns; Boundaries, T. F. Norris; Judiciary, George Brown; Executive, C. Springer; Literary, Z. Ragan; Means of Grace, J. G. Whitfield; Finance, Bolling Hall; Orders, P. S. Graves; Sabbath-schools, D. C. Carson. The minutes cover fifty printed pages, and are made up of slight changes in the Discipline; the two salient questions before the body being the status of the Philadelphia Conference and the acceptance of Madison College; the slavery question, when introduced, being speedily disposed of in accordance with decisions of previous Conferences. A running synopsis will be given of the more important items. A recommendation for the purchase of the *Western Recorder* by its editor and proprietor, A. H. Bassett, was declined. A recommendation to discontinue the order of Deacon was favorably reported, but referred to the concurrence of two-thirds of the Annual Conferences. A memorial from Charleston station, S. C., asking to be annexed to the Maryland Conference was conditionally approved. An Oregon and California Conference was set off. A republication of McCaine's "Defence of the Truth" was recommended to the Book Committee, and afterward carried out by them. John Cowl presented a memorial from Manchester circuit, Pittsburgh Conference, asking that "a more definite expression be given upon the sinfulness of slavery . . . and that the extent of the power of the Annual Conference to legislate on the subject be defined." Ragan moved that it be referred to Committee on Executive, and the Secretary says, "After a friendly and fraternal interchange of sentiments by numerous brethren from both North and South, the motion to refer prevailed." Dr. J. G. Morris of the Lutheran Church offered, unofficially, to the Church the advantages of Gettysburg College and Seminary, with special privilege—in lieu of the acceptance of Madison College, the difficulties and expense of its rehabilitation being pointed out in a friendly and foreseeing manner in his letter. An investigation of the Philadelphia Conference was ordered through a committee

of five: Hopper, Brown, Deford, Paris, and Burroughs. A resolution from the New York Conference asking that the word "white" be stricken from the Constitution was referred to Committee on Executive. It was the only other action on slavery and its incident referred to this Conference. C. Springer, Chairman of the Executive Committee, reported on the Manchester resolution and that from New York anent the slavery matters as follows: "That they are of opinion this General Conference has no jurisdiction over the subjects referred to in these papers. In reference to the request of the Manchester brethren asking this body to define the powers of the Annual Conferences to 'legislate on the subject of slavery,' they do not think that the General Conference should assume the right to expound the Discipline to the Annual Conferences; but that each Annual Conference is the judge of such matters as are referred to it by the Constitution, respectively for themselves, and are only held responsible to the General Conference, when, in their judgment, they shall have passed 'rules and regulations' contravening the Constitution." The simple record of the Secretary on this report is, "The above report was, on motion, adopted." A pacific spirit obtained, and the brethren, North and West, without the slightest change in their views as to the sinfulness of slavery, had agreed, in their love for the Church, that this disposition should be made of it as an ecclesiastical question. But the winds of a manifest destiny could not be long locked in their caves, — it will be seen how they presently burst forth, and a great and condign moral retribution swept over not the South only, but the North; and a moral wrong, entailed alike by the fathers in both sections, was righted in a baptism of blood.

Madison College was accepted, and commissioners appointed to adjust the conditions. Its history has been given. A paper asking the Conference to define the rights of females as voters reported "that they only possess the right of voting in the election of class leaders, in the appointment of committees of trial of accused members, in cases where trials are had before classes, and the reception of members into the Church." It was adopted. Steubenville, O., and Charleston, S. C., were nominated for the next place of meeting of the General Conference, and the former selected by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-three. The Philadelphia Conference, it was declared, had acted unconstitutionally in allowing the charges to elect whether they would be stations or missions, and ordered that the district be annexed to the Maryland Conference.

The disastrous results of this action have been elsewhere detailed. They were honest and able men, such as Williams, Hopper, Levi R. Reese, Starr, Brown, Varden, and others, who believed that a menace to the Restrictive Rule was a menace to Methodism; but the light of events has shown the gravity of the error, and however precipitate the methods and indiscreet the resolves, the more far-seeing wisdom rested with J. S. Reese, Webster, the Stocktons, father and son, as they were taught by the prescient Snethen. The Committee on Statistics submitted a report from the thirty-two Conferences, and the summation is: stations, 63; circuits, 351; missions, 104; itinerant ministers and preachers, 778; unstationed ministers and preachers, 697; members, 65,694; houses of worship, 803; parsonages, 57; value of church property, \$708,415. A comparison with four years previous does not make, seemingly, a favorable exhibit, and it is full of instruction. The Maryland Conference had lost in the quadrennium nearly three thousand members. Wherefore? There is no answer but the acrimonious and alienating "mission" controversy, already referred to, which prevailed through this period. There was a loss of about a thousand in the Muskingum Conference for the same time, and also in the Indiana and Wabash combined of about a thousand, due, it must be assumed, to the "Abolition" controversy; and for the same reason there are losses in most of the Northwestern Conferences. Yet there is a slight aggregate gain, due to the active evangelistic efforts in a number of the Southern Conferences, the statistics for 1850 reporting a separate column for "missions" to the number of 104, which were so in the accepted sense of the word, as there is no decrease of stations and circuits. There is also an increase of two hundred houses of worship, with an advance in property valuation of \$150,000. So it will be seen that, discriminately considered, the Church had done well to hold its own with growth in material of about twenty-five per cent. The Methodist Episcopal Church experienced a similar arrest of development, not fully accounted for by the Southern separation. The reunion of the Wabash with the Indiana Conference was recommended and consummated.

The report of the Book Concern and Periodical was an exhaustive one, and must be noted in its recapitulations and special features. Assets, \$16,402.94, but these were largely in stereotype plates, subscriptions due, and book stock which, though discounted, were found unrealizable to a much larger extent. Liabilities, \$6610.67, by far the best showing that had ever been

made, and the editor and agent, E. Yeates Reese, was complimented by increasing the salary from \$900 to \$1100 a year. Wesley Starr had been generous, and Mrs. T. A. Reese made two donations of \$1500 and \$500, with life annuity in books, etc., attached. The favorable outlook for the Concern was due largely to the sale in the quadrennium of ten thousand copies of the hymn book, and an increase of the periodical from 2337 to 3187. The Book Committee says, significantly, in the light of future events, "The profits on the *Book Business* are inconsiderable—probably little more than will pay its proportion of the general expenses of the Concern." The principal supporting Conferences of the periodical were: Arkansas, 101; Illinois, 123; Alabama, 309; Georgia, 162; Tennessee, 103; North Carolina, 219; New York, 217; Pennsylvania, 229; Virginia, 403; Maryland, 614. E. Yeates Reese was unanimously reelected editor and agent, and the same Book Committee was reelected, except Dr. Francis Waters, Chairman, in lieu of James R. Williams, deceased, Wesley Starr, Joseph Brown, John Coates, J. W. Richardson, and Robert B. Varden, with the ex-officio addition of the ministers of West and East Baltimore stations. The Board of Foreign Missions was changed from Baltimore to Pittsburgh with the following members: William Collier, Charles Avery, George Brown, and the ministers of Pittsburgh and Alleghany stations, ministerial; and J. L. Sands, William Troth, J. Macaskey, William Miller, J. W. Phillips, T. Hanna, and M. M. Laughlin, laical.

Two other actions were had looking to emendation of the Constitution, the one investing the General Conference with "authority to hear and decide on appeals," which meant further protection of personal rights in accord with the fundamentals of the Church; and the other to provide amendment "by which presidents of the Annual Conferences may be stationed, if these bodies see proper to do so." This call for relief to the diocesan episcopacy of the Church grew out of the fact, not fully considered by the framers, that in not a few cases the poverty and paucity of numbers in an Annual Conference made it practically impossible for the President to travel and secure a support. The last measure received a two-thirds vote of the Annual Conferences, and so prevailed.¹

This and other minor emendations to the Constitutional instru-

¹ The first proposition to grant the right of appeal to the General Conference came from the Judiciary Committee and after discussion a vote by order was called, and it was passed by twenty-four to twelve, just a two-thirds majority; and yet this measure on submission to the Annual Conferences was rejected, a

ment were in evidence that, as a whole, the framers had builded even wiser than they knew. Twenty years had now elapsed since its formulation, a reasonable time in which to test its provisions; and it had disappointed all the dire forebodings of its enemies. It was pronounced a "rope of sand," and such prophets of evil as Dr. Bond gave the new Church three years as a limit in which to disintegrate and perish. To the contrary, it was found that with the utmost flexibility it was yet sufficiently cohesive, and though "built upon the principle of a brake," as Bishop M'Tyeire felicitously phrased it, as a working hypothesis it was found to run smoothly, and yielded unexpected satisfaction to its framers and friends. The Methodist Protestant Church stood forth as a demonstration that a lay-representative form of government, so far from being a hinderance to Methodism, was an unprecedented success, and began to extort the reluctant admiration of its critical foes. In evidence, in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1848, Rev. Dr. W. A. Smith introduced a plan for a lay-delegation; and though it had some peculiar features that differentiated it from lay-representation in the new Church, it, nevertheless, was a confession of the rightfulness of the principle. Dr. Smith probably acquired his ideas from the Shiloh controversy with Rev. J. G. Whitfield, already noticed; for it was easy enough for the most uncompromising of exclusive-rule preachers to modify his views when once contact with liberal men had chance to break the hard crust of ecclesiastical prejudice. And in the ensuing General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1852, a similar movement for lay-delegation occupied its attention, as shall be exhibited. The simple truth is, that lay-representation was an undying principle in Methodism, and was again sapping at the old foundations. But in neither of these cases was there any admission of the modifying effects of the new Church success;—it was no such naughty "radical" thing they proposed, it was a new discovery, and it was brought forward on its unique merits!

It had been a crucial period; it was a test between centralized authority and individual spontaneity. This differentiation has never been better phrased than by a recent writer: "The polity of the Methodist Protestant Church is peculiar in this, that the success or failure of our work depends largely on the individu-

singular and instructive illustration of a reversal of judgment by the sober second thought of the body of ministers and laymen in the Annual Conferences. See General Conference Minutes, p. 44.

ality of her pastors. They are not so many automatic machines controlled by a grand central power, but each an individual entity, supposed to be competent to stamp upon his parishioners a consciousness of his own individuality to the upbuilding of the Church. Methodist Protestantism will suffer the loss of many, otherwise excellent men, who can not use their individuality to advantage. Made a part of a great machine, such as episcopacy is, they fill a place, draw a support, and become so many automata, acted upon from without, surrounded on all sides by a pressure which, sooner or later, effaces their individuality and makes them parts of one stupendous whole, intercogged with other portions of the machinery, and receiving power from that grand motor known as ecclesiastical authority."¹ It is an exact philosophy of the Roman hierarchy and of the Methodist Episcopal polity as well. And as a prophecy in part, for over sixty years the observant have marked its fulfilment. The new Church has and must continue to lose, such men as cannot use their individuality — they have no place in manhood suffrage and individual responsibility. It need not be said, however, that this ideal is levelling and descending in its trend; to the contrary, the ideal of Christian manhood taught in the New Testament gathers about it all of that type, and utilizes many others by its upward educating process. There is no other way to account for the accumulation in the itinerant ministry of the new Church of over fifteen hundred men contributing everything, not to further their own selfish advantage, but to cultivate and perpetuate the ideal of equal brotherhood in a Methodist Church. It is a spectacle for the admiration of thinking men, and receives it from all denominations having the same ideal.

¹ Rev. A. H. Widney in *Methodist Recorder*, December 1, 1894.

CHAPTER XXII

Bascom elected Bishop in the M. E. Church, South; his decease—Obituaries of Reformers—Missions to Oregon and China—Reform agitations in England and in the M. E. Church renewed—Obituaries of Reformers—McGehee College in Alabama; history of it—Dr. T. E. Bond, Sr., recalled as editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*; the purpose of it—Obituaries of Reformers; Harrod, Chappell, and others—The North Illinois Conference on Slavery; renewal of the controversy—The Platte Annual Conference organized; local conference papers—South Illinois Conference organized—Sketch of Asa Shinn and his decease.

THE General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, met in St. Louis, May, 1850, and Rev. Dr. W. A. Smith, probably enlightened by his controversy with Rev. J. G. Whitfield, at Shiloh, heretofore noticed, introduced a plan for a lay-delegation. It was unique in its features and ardently pressed by him, but the body was not yet ripe for the innovation. A step in advance, however, was taken: the Joint Board of Finance made provision for an equal number of ministers and laymen—one from every Elder's district—to take charge of the money matters of each Annual Conference, etc. It was at this Conference that Bascom was elected Bishop, on the second ballot, by a vote of fifty-nine out of one hundred. He died the ensuing September 8, leaving the testimony, "All my trust and confidence is in Almighty God as revealed in the cross of Christ." This year noted the decease of the following early Reformers: Rev. James Covell, M.D., June 8; Rev. Samuel S. Prather, June 22; Rev. Joel Whitley, August 3; Rev. G. Cummings Wild of New York, missionary to California, of typhoid fever, at Sacramento, August 9; Rev. James Williams of North Carolina, November 30. The dates are of obituary publications in the Baltimore paper. Also of William Disney, of the Cincinnati original Reformers, August 15, and Thomas Wright, of the Missouri Conference, one of the Expelled, August 15. These are from obituaries as dated in *Western Recorder*.

Union Academy of Washington County, Vt., was dedicated October 15, 1850, with Rev. Ruel Hanks, a rising young min-

ister of the Church as Principal. Rev. Frederick Stier, an original Reformer of Maryland, was appointed Agent of the Board of Foreign Missions, October, 1850, with China as the objective for missionary operations. The writer formed the acquaintance of this venerable and pious man in this, the first year of his itinerant connection with the Church, at the hospitable home of Hon. P. B. Hopper. Final notice of him later. It was during this year that the Wesleyan trials and expulsions took place in England, and the reforms agitated convulsed the parent body to its centre. The *London Wesleyan Times* was established as the organ of the Reformers. What infinite pains autocratic Methodism has taken to suppress the natural and acquired rights of Christian freemen! Impartial generations coming will marvel at the blindness of entailed power. The Alabama Conference proposed to establish a Male High School at Robinson's Springs, January, 1851. The Muskingum Conference College at Cambridge was reported under roof, \$2700 having been raised in the town and \$3000 to be raised by the Conference, March, 1851. July 26, 1851, it was reported that the Southern Institute of the Alabama Conference at Robinson's Springs had secured land worth \$2000 or \$3000 and subscriptions to the amount of \$25,000. The Board of Foreign Missions selected Rev. David Wilson for the China mission, and Rev. Daniel Bagley for Oregon, March, 1851. The latter reached his destination and did a successful work, whose fruit remains to this day, in the Oregon Conference; the China mission miscarried. The Wesleyan English Conference for 1851 reported the loss of 55,000 members, due to the expulsion and secession of Reformers. Bascom's "Declaration of Rights" was published as an extra to the official paper, September 6, 1851.

A controversy took place in Virginia between Rev. Alexander Doniphan and Presiding Elder Rousee on the "Question and Answer" book of Evans and Honour, with the usual outcome of polemical defeat for the defender of exclusive prerogatives in the ministry. A prospectus was issued for a Southern paper to be called the *Christian Telegraph*, November, 1851. Some of the averments and expositions of the early Reformers as to the governmental structure of the old Church were fully vindicated in the opinion delivered by Judge Nelson for the Supreme Court, sitting in New York City, in the suit of the two old Methodisms over the Book Concern property. The full text is published in the official paper, December 15, 1851, with comments by "S.,"

W. S. Stockton, through the December numbers of the paper, in which striking parallels are pointed out, thus putting the highest legal authority of the country on the side of the Reformers of 1820-30. It was during this year that extensive agitation took place among the Philadelphia Methodist churches in favor of lay-delegation. Conventions were held, and the rights of the laity to participate urged with much moral force and intelligent conviction. It became widespread. A Convention was held in Washington, D. C., to sustain the Philadelphia Reformers, in January, 1852. W. S. Stockton and Hon. P. B. Hopper offered strictures on the movement in the official paper, showing the perfect parallel; while these enlightened brethren of the new Reform carefully abstained from any reference to the "Radicals," either through ignorance of history twenty years before or a prudent expediency. The now venerable Dr. Thomas E. Bond nibbed his prolific pen anew to "write down" both Judge Nelson and the new Reformers in a series of articles in the *New York Christian Advocate*, addressed to Hon. Reverdy Johnson, reproducing his stale "purse-string" argument, republishing his "Appeal to the Methodists," etc. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met in Boston, May, 1852, and not only was it confronted by numerous memorials, but large and influential delegations appeared advocating the reforms specified; they were heard before a committee, which finally reported that "any action at that time was inexpedient, as there was no evidence that it was generally desired by the members or ministers of our Church."¹ It was adopted by vote of one hundred and sixty-nine to three, and was precisely what officials answered twenty-five years before, to the disgust of the loyal but intelligent men of the delegation, who knew the answer was but an evasion of the issue. Rebuked and discouraged, they did not surrender, and, at the General Conference of 1860, a more favorable report was wrested from the official body. It was in the early part of this agitation, February 7, 1852, that E. Yeates Reese, editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, made the prophetic declaration, "Lay-delegation is a certain futurity in the Methodist Episcopal Church." It was received with hooting and derision by the entire circle of its official press. It was also during this general discussion that W. S. Stockton made plain in an article for the Baltimore paper, January 10, 1852, that the forms of ordination of bishops, elders, and deacons, as taken from the Church of England, were added to the Discipline of

¹ Simpson's "One Hundred Years," p. 174.

1784 by Dr. Coke without Wesley's authority or knowledge. The question has been heretofore considered and need not be reopened.

Rev. Isaac Webster, of the Maryland Conference, departed this life on the fourth day of February, 1851, and was buried in the Westminster cemetery, Carroll County, Md. His father was Rev. Richard Webster, a local preacher of Harford County, Md. Isaac was born March 4, 1787, licensed to preach in 1819, and, soon thereafter, embraced the principles of Reform, and, in 1828, withdrew from the mother Church and entered the itinerancy of the new Church, 1829. In 1848 he was paralyzed, which ended his active career. He made a farewell visit to the Maryland Conference in 1850, the first the writer ever attended. He was of respectable abilities and unflinching in his loyalty. Colhouer's "Founders" contains a full sketch, pp. 244-248. Rev. William Lamphier, an original Reformer, died May, 1851, a local preacher of Maryland. Rev. James H. Harris of North Carolina has obituary embalmment, May 7, 1851. He was honored by his brethren. Rev. Daniel Weeden of Maryland, local preacher, died July 19, 1851. Rev. Archibald Hawkins, of the Pittsburgh Conference, is recorded departed August 23, 1851,—an early Reformer and a leader in his day.

Rev. Levi R. Reese of the Maryland Conference departed this life in Philadelphia, September 19, 1851. His obsequies took place at West Baltimore station Sabbath morning, September 21, Dr. Francis Waters preaching the sermon and Rev. Augustus Webster, Thomas H. Stockton, L. W. Bates, and W. T. Wright assisting in the services. His remains were deposited in the Baltimore cemetery. He was born February 8, 1806, in Harford County, a son of David and Mary Reese. As a Christian he was consecrated, as a scholar studious, as a preacher popular and successful, as a Reformer one of the eleven Expelled in Baltimore city, and for a score of years he asserted and maintained leadership in the Church of his choice. He was chaplain of the House of Representatives for two years, 1837-38, and had the close friendship of Henry Clay. In the autumn of 1848 he was married, for the second time, to Miss Tamsey Ann, daughter of Colonel William Hughlett of Talbot County, Md. After the death of her gifted husband, she devoted what was then esteemed a large fortune to the benevolences of the Church and other Christian enterprises, and so continues to this day to dispense almost her entire income in works of charity and mercy, with

shrinking modesty. She is preëminently Maryland's "elect lady." Thus passed away in the prime of his days a man of noble physique, exalted intellect, warm heart, and magnetic presence, whose seals and impress are all over his native State. He died of malarial fever, and his death-bed was a scene of Christian triumph. Colhouer's "Founders" has a full sketch, pp. 206-212. Rev. Frederick Stier, while pursuing his agency for the Board of Foreign Missions, was stricken with paralysis at Fremont, O., and died at the home of Rev. A. Abbott, October 17, 1851, after penning the experience, "my mind is at peace; my soul cleaves to my Saviour." He was born in Frederick County, Md., May 17, 1784. Received as an itinerant in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Baltimore Conference, in 1802, in his nineteenth year, he continued to travel, one term as Presiding Elder, for twenty-three years, when he became one of the original members of the Maryland Conference, in 1829. A full sketch is in Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 261-266. Rev. Joshua W. Rutledge was appointed to succeed him as Agent, February, 1852. Rev. Horatio Hall, an original Reformer of Virginia, is recorded departed February 7, 1852. He was prominent in Christian and Reform work. Thus, the necrology of the new Church grew apace as her worthies departed, and the least recompense that can be paid them is this rescue from oblivion.

The Tennessee Conference at its twenty-third session, at Gainesville, October 17, 1851, was divided into Tennessee and West Tennessee. The boundaries are in the Discipline of 1858.¹ Bascom's "Summary of Rights" was published in the *Wesleyan Reformer*, organ of the expelled and seceding English Methodists, from a copy sent by E. Yeates Reese, in 1852. October 18,

¹ The following ministers and preachers were retained in the Tennessee: J. L. Hawkins, B. F. Duggan, Joseph Camper, W. J. Finley, J. Hutchinson, R. P. W. Balmain, B. H. Stewart, Thomas Burgess, R. Hooper, G. Yost, George Jones, N. A. Keys, J. B. Saunders, M. P. Thompson, Z. Taylor. R. W. Morris removed to Texas. Unstationed ministers and preachers: Samuel Elliott, Allen Wallis, Isaac H. Williams, M. Nelson, John Spinks, Jordan Chandler, R. B. Collins, Isaac St. Clair, Samuel Cash, L. Satterfield, P. M. Meyers, James Tillett, J. A. Sharp, William Gambol, John Spaw, William Brogdon, Uriah Davis, and Mark Murry.

In the West Tennessee, ministers and preachers: Aswold Potts, Coleman Smith, J. C. Lewes, J. H. Cobb, J. C. Crues, Joseph Holms, W. D. Wilkenson, Lewis Davis, Thomas Smith, T. D. Stanley, B. H. Hunt, E. G. Williams, H. N. Ausbrooks. Unstationed ministers and preachers: Z. Biggs, D. Simons, J. J. Rodgers, William Blair, P. White, W. M. Ray, R. Burton, B. W. Johnson, W. R. Payle, William Cottingham, R. Wright. A number of these unstationed men in both conferences joined the itinerancy.

1851, the Wisconsin Annual Conference was formed under circumstances that make detailed mention instructive as illustrating the heterogeneous character of Western population.¹ The *Western Fountain*, at Greenville, Ill., heretofore noticed, was enlarged, price fifty cents a volume, Rev. John Waite, editor. Rev. Josiah Varden of Maryland, now stationed in Cincinnati, as Western correspondent of the official paper, February 28, 1852, recites the following facts: "To-day I met an aged and honorable member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This brother was one of the prosecutors in 1827-28 in this city. Having informed me of the part he took in that sad affair, and assuring me that in seeking the expulsion of those men he thought he was 'doing God service,' viewing them as 'restless spirits' up to the last General Conference of the entire body; 'but, since that time,' said he, 'I confess my opinions have changed, and I now see differently. The action of that body dividing the Church [1844] without its request, or without even asking the members to consent to division, convinced me that the preachers had a power beyond their right, and that a change of government was indispensable; for, had laymen been in that Conference, this chopping of the Church in two had never occurred.' Then, looking me full in the face, he said, 'Ezekiel Hall and others whom I helped to expel are in heaven, whilst I am here; and now I honestly confess to you, brother, that these men were right and I wrong.'"

Rev. Abner McGehee of Alabama donated \$10,000 to Robinson Springs College. The Central Female College of Atlanta, Ga.,

¹ The following is the unique record of the organization as officially reported to the Baltimore paper, October 18, 1851: "Immediately after the first quarterly conference of the First Methodist Protestant Church, town of Marcellon, Wis., organized April 13, 1851, a convention was called to organize an Annual Conference. Rev. Z. Boynton was called to the chair and L. A. Bliss appointed secretary. It was then declared by the convention that the first Church might be organized into a Conference, whereupon those present proclaimed the Conference organized. An election for President by ballot resulted in the choice of Z. Boynton, formerly of New York. Members: Rev. J. Briggs, formerly of North Indiana, nativity South Carolina; Rev. E. Leahey, formerly a monk of La Trappe; Rev. E. Pickering, formerly of M. E. Church, nativity England. Laymembers: L. A. Bliss, formerly of M. E. Church, nativity Petersboro', N. Y.; John Cruckson, nativity England; H. E. Austin, formerly of M. P. Church. It was resolved that the Conference should be bounded by the state lines. E. Leahey was made a Conference missionary. Done by order of 'the Annual Conference of the First M. P. Church of Wisconsin.'" Marcellon, August 23, 1851. Monk Leahey afterward travelled in the Church, making something of a sensation, as such perverts from Rome are apt to do, but he passed under a cloud and so departed. At the General Conference of 1854 the Wisconsin Annual Conference was represented by S. P. Huntington, minister, W. J. Ensign, layman.

organized with Rev. M. F. Rosser as Agent. Rev. Andrew Adgate Lipscomb, D.D., was elected President of the McGehee College, Robinson Springs, Ala. Anent the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Boston, May, 1852, Hon. Daniel Webster was invited to address the body in Faneuil Hall, in the course of which he made some remarkable animadversions upon the division of the Church, in 1844, not very palatable to the brethren. Just before the Conference assembled, to offset the laymen's Convention in Philadelphia favoring lay-representation, Dr. Thomas E. Bond, Sr., and his son Thomas E. manipulated a counter meeting of laymen in that city. It was known as the "Scapegoat Conference." Dr. Bond, Jr., addressing the laymen's Convention, had the effrontery to declare that Nicholas Snethen on his death-bed had acknowledged lay-representation in the new Church a failure. It evoked an indignant and absolute denial from Worthington G., son of Nicholas Snethen, then a practising lawyer in Washington, D. C. Thus, the tongue of slander was employed by the fervid partisans of the old Church, not for the first nor for the last time, as will be seen. How thoroughly alarmed the leading members of that General Conference were at the progress of lay-sentiment in the Church may be inferred from the fact that, casting about for an editor of the New York official paper, the most thoroughly equipped for a controversial bout with its advocates, they recalled Dr. Thomas E. Bond to the position. He entered upon his second contest with laical Reformers with such a heated zeal, and gave such an insipid rehash of the old arguments, and exhibited so much mental enervation, as to disappoint expectation. He was now nearing the close of his eventful career. About this time, also, the *Southern Methodist Pulpit*, edited by Rev. Dr. Charles F. Deems, expressed sentiments favorable to the lay-delegation movement in Philadelphia. He was at once taken to task by Rev. Dr. M'Ferrin, in the *Nashville Christian Advocate*, for his audacity. Among other things, in reply, Dr. Deems uttered the following prophecy, "In regard to the question at issue, we have no doubt that if he [Dr. M'Ferrin] should be living twenty years hence, he will sit in his Conference beside lay-delegates." It came to be literally true within fifteen years, as will be seen. Like the movement of 1820-30, it would not down at the frown of officialism; but the experience of that period taught them that the thumb-screws of expulsion and defamation could not be successfully employed the second time. No extreme measures were

attempted against the gritty and determined leaders.¹ It will be seen how it culminated, and, at the very verge of enforced success, in 1860, was swallowed up and defeated by the Civil War crowding out all other issues for the time in that Church.

Rev. Benjamin Richardson, local minister of Maryland and an original Reformer, passed away; obituary March 6, 1852. His worthy sons, John W. and Beale H., honored their father's principles to the close of life. Obituary of Rev. Theron Newman of the Maryland locality, March 13, 1852, an original Reformer. Obituary of Rev. Samuel Butler, an original Reformer of Alabama, April 10, 1852. Obituary of Rev. Randolph S. Smith of Virginia, an original Reformer, May 1, 1852. Obituary of Rev. Rhessa Norris, an original Reformer of the Maryland locality, May 8, 1852. Obituary of Rev. Jesse Wright, M.D., an original Reformer of Pennsylvania, June 26, 1852. Obituary of Rev. Mark Howard of Alabama, an original Reformer, July 3, 1852. Obituary of Rev. John Coe, original Reformer of North Carolina, September 25, 1852. Obituary of Rev. Elias Carroll, original Reformer, January 29, 1853, resident in North Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana. Obituary of Rev. Thomas Dunn, M.D., original Reformer, March 19, 1853. His labors and fidelity must not be forgotten in Maryland and Philadelphia. See sketch in Colhouer's "Founders," p. 382. He died at the residence of his eldest son, in Louisiana, in 1852, in his seventieth year. Obituary of Rev. Noah Dunin, original Reformer of New York, May 7, 1853. Obituary of Rev. Avery Melvin, original Reformer of the Maryland locality, June 4, 1853. Obituary of Rev. David Watts, original Reformer of the Maryland locality, June 11, 1853. Obituary of Rev. William Coman, original Reformer of Virginia Conference, July 28, 1853. He was abundant in labors and sacrifices. Rev. Thomas Melvin of the Maryland locality, original Reformer, obituary June 18, 1853. Obituary of Rev. William E. Bellamy, original Reformer of North Carolina, September 3, 1853. The name of Bellamy is inseparable from the history in North Carolina. Obituary of Colonel William R. Stuart, elected President of the initial Reform Convention of 1827, November 12, 1853. Obituary of Rev. Samuel Elliot, original Reformer of Tennessee, November 19, 1853. He did a noble work for the cause of Christ and ecclesiastical liberty. Obituary of Rev.

¹ For several years they had an organ, the *Philadelphia Christian Advocate*, but in the autumn of 1853 it met an enforced discontinuance from want of support and pressure to squeeze it out by those unfriendly.

Thomas F. Norris of the Boston Conference, and editor and proprietor of the *Olive Branch*, April 22, 1854. He was born on the 7th of November, 1792, was self-educated, and, in 1811, was admitted to the itinerancy of the New England Conference of the old Church, being in his nineteenth year. He withdrew and united his fortunes with the Reformers of 1827-30, and spared neither labor nor means to further the cause. As a preacher, he was commanding in appearance and effective in address; was frequently elected President of the Boston Conference, and was a member of the General Conferences of 1842 and 1850. He peacefully expired on the 21st of December, 1853, having successfully conducted the Boston *Olive Branch* for seventeen years. See Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 393-396.

Obituary of John Jolly Harrod. He was born in Harford County, Md., in 1785, and early in life united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1806 he opened a book store in Baltimore, which was the headquarters of the preachers, and where he heard, in later years, the reforms in the Church government discussed; which he intelligently embraced, and for whose advocacy he was Expelled the Church of his conversion and choice, being of the twenty-two who suffered proscription in 1827-28 as laymen. He was the father of the Methodist Protestant Book Concern; of great administrative ability, though over-sanguine in temperament, and lacked the cautious sagacity of John Dickins, who sustained the same relation to the mother Church. He died peacefully on the 6th of January, 1854, and was buried from West Baltimore station, Rev. Drs. T. H. Stockton, S. K. Jennings, and S. B. Southerland officiating; and was buried in Greenmount cemetery, Baltimore. Obituary of John Chappell of Baltimore, original Reformer and another of the Expelled of 1827 for opinions' sake. Born in England, June 24, 1765, he was converted and united with the Methodists in the fourteenth year of his age. He was well acquainted with John and Charles Wesley, and heard the former preach the funeral discourse of Whitefield when he was about six years old. It was from a daughter the writer obtained the copy of this sermon, now in his possession. Accompanied by his parents he left London on the 7th of April, 1795, arrived in Philadelphia, and soon thereafter settled in Baltimore and united with the Light Street church. As early as 1824 he embraced the principles of Reform, and steadfastly adhered to them at every sacrifice. He was honored by the new Church, filling all the official positions. His reputation was without a

stain, and his piety of the highest order. He aged grandly, reaching his eighty-eighth year, expiring peacefully on the Sabbath, October 23, 1853. He was buried from St. John's church. The obsequies were by T. H. Stockton, Dr. Jennings, Rev. Henry Furlong, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Augustus Webster, pastor of the church, and Josiah Varden. That such a man should be esteemed unworthy of membership in the mother Church, is a blot upon her persecuting history which cannot be wiped out—worse than this, no attempt has ever been made by her historians even to qualify the declaration of the senior Dr. Bond, that the expulsions of that day were a "high and holy vindication." See Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 325-328. Obituary of Rev. Allen W. Blankenship, original Reformer of Tennessee, February 18, 1854. Obituary of Rev. Samuel Budd, original Reformer of New Jersey Conference, March 25, 1854. Obituary of Rev. Seth Speight of North Carolina, original Reformer and one of the pioneers of this Conference not to be forgotten, April 1, 1854. Obituary of Rev. Nicholas Dorsey, original Reformer of Maryland, April 15, 1854. Obituary of Rev. Joshua Inskeep in *Western Recorder*, Reformer of Ohio Conference, August 28, 1851. Obituary of Rev. John Williams, Reformer of Ohio Conference, April 22, 1852. Rev. Joseph Shipp, early worker in Indiana Conference and first President of Wabash, August 5, 1852. Obituary of Rev. Lewis Browning, local Reformer of West Virginia, December 1, 1853. Obituary of Rev. Daniel Inskeep, local Reformer of Ohio, December 1, 1853. Rev. Jeremiah F. Pratt, one of the founders of Michigan Conference, January 12, 1854. Rev. James Munden of Pittsburgh, Pa., March 9, 1854. Basil Longworth, lay-Reformer of Ohio, May 18, 1854.

The North Illinois Conference having passed emphatic resolutions on slavery, it led to a controversy in *Western Recorder* between C. S. Callgan, Samuel Dilly, and Daniel Young, in 1851-52, as also between the editor and the Baltimore paper.¹ The *Christian Telegraph*, of Atlanta, Ga., lost its editor by death, the Rev. B. S. Anderson, who was succeeded by Rev. M. F. Rosser, and he by Rev. A. G. Brewer, 1852. A storm damaged Cambridge College, to the extent of \$1500, October, 1852, and it never was put in operation. The first session of the Platte Annual Con-

¹ Bassett's "History," pp. 170, 171, gives these resolutions in full, with the details of the controversy growing out of their publication in the two papers of the Church. Subsequent resolutions of the same conference were refused publication in the official paper.

ference met in Missouri.¹ The *Missionary and Sunday-School Journal* was issued by the Board of Foreign Missions at Pittsburgh, Pa., with Rev. John Scott as editor. It was a monthly at twenty-five cents a year, and well conducted. The Vermont and New York Conferences were united in the spring of 1853;² and this was the beginning of a consolidation of self-protection of the church work in the Northeast. Its soil had never been congenial to Methodism, and the new Church found itself environed with obstacles to which it has gradually succumbed in the last forty years. Rev. Ruel Hanks resigned the principalship of Union Academy in Washington County, Vt. Independent Methodists, to the number of two hundred, united with the New Jersey Conference, with four ministers and two preachers, April, 1853. Some very important private letters of Rev. H. B. Bascom were published in the Baltimore official paper, April 30, 1853, which throw much light upon his character and career. Rev. Dr. Samuel K. Jennings returned from a residence of some years in Alabama, now aged eighty-three, broken in health from a stroke of paralysis, in May, 1853. He took up his residence with his daughter, Mrs. Dr. Thomas Owings, where he continued until his demise. Yadkin Institute was projected by the North Carolina Conference, in 1853. The name of the *Christian Telegraph*, local paper of Georgia and adjacent Conferences, was changed to the *Southern Olive Tree*, March, 1854. Bassett's "History" says, p. 179: "In 1853 the South Illinois Conference was set off from the Illinois. Its first President was Richard Wright, and

¹ The record in the official paper is that it was held at Collins's camp-ground, near Princeton, Mercer County, Mo., some time in September, 1852. There was "a full attendance of the members," but there is no list given of those who "completed the organization." The first plan of appointments is given, from which it is known that J. M. Tuton was elected President; Oregon and Soners's circuit, N. Winters; Savannah, to be supplied; St. Joseph, Hugh Maxwell; East Grand River, Lewis Ellis; Des Moines Mission, John Sexsmith; Lagrange, John Huntsman; Maryville, to be supplied; Kingston, E. Picket; Jesse Gilliam, without appointment; R. Horn, A. L. Collins, J. Holloway, in hands of the President. John Sexsmith continued in this work for a long series of years, and has been succeeded by a worthy son who holds up the banner of the Church. Born in Virginia, he continued to adhere to the Methodist Protestant Church with some others in that section after the separation in 1855-58.

² The New York Conference met this year at Williamsburg, N. Y., March 9, 1853, with W. H. Miller, President. The committee from the Vermont Conference asking for consolidation was: P. Weaver, Ruel Hanks, J. B. Wiggins, and L. J. Fish. After consideration the proposition was approved. The affairs of Union Academy, under the auspices of the Vermont brethren, were considered, and a debt of \$800 reported. It was resolved to seek for another principal to succeed Ruel Hanks. It subsequently passed from our patronage and control.

its first session was held at Brooks's camp-ground. This Conference stood connected with the 'Methodist Church' until the reunion in 1877. But, meanwhile, a Conference of the same name, connected with the Methodist Protestant Church, after the suspension of the other Conferences, was organized, and was also in operation when the reunion took place." No other data are discoverable by the writer anent these Conferences. Rev. E. C. G. Nickens was prominent in organizing and perpetuating the Conference adhering to the Methodist Protestant Church. The two bodies were merged after the Union Convention of 1877, and has had a heroic struggle, as the South Illinois Conference, for enlargement. Rev. R. F. Shinn, a prominent minister of the Church in the West, delivered fifteen lectures in review of the old Church polity, which were so cogently, yet tersely, presented that a strong demand led to their publication in book form, and a large sale followed; but in every such instance, evidence of the liberal and Christian temper of the people, decadence of interest in it followed, and a second edition was not published.¹ The indisposition to provoke and foster controversy is to be commended on general principles among Christians; but the reasons for the existence of a denomination forced into organization by the arbitrary expulsive power of a parent body, are worthy of a diligent literary propagandism until every Methodist has had opportunity of an intelligent and voluntary acceptance or rejection of them.

The salient events of the past quadrennium may be fittingly closed with the announcement of the decease of Rev. Asa Shinn, clouding the Church with gloom, relieved only by the certainty of his departure to the world of eternal light and love. He was born in New Jersey, of Quaker parents, May 3, 1781. In 1788 he removed with them to one of the inland counties of Virginia. Here he lived until 1795, cut off from educational advantages, but thirsting for knowledge and seizing every means to gratify it. Removed to Harrison County, now West Virginia, in that year with his parents, in 1798 he was converted under the Methodist preaching of Rev. Robert Manly. In 1801 he entered the itinerancy of the Baltimore Conference and was assigned to Red Stone circuit under circumstances heretofore mentioned. Passing over his career until 1815, having a few years before issued his masterful "Plan of Salvation," he fell into mental alienation, caused, as his physicians testified, by an accident in his fifteenth

¹ "A Tribute to Our Fathers," etc. By Rev. R. F. Shinn. Cincinnati, Applegate & Co. Baltimore Book Concern, 1853. 12mo. 264 pp. Cloth.

year. Passing between some men who were pitching horseshoes for quoits, he was struck on the head by a calk of one of these shoes, fracturing the skull. A successful trephining restored him, but left him liable to mental disturbance, which four times laid him aside, the last permanently. He was early interested in Reform literature, but advanced cautiously to the acceptance of its principles. The expulsions in Baltimore, with McCaine's unanswerable reply to Emory, in his "Defence of the Truth," settled convictions in favor of the Methodist Reformation, from which he never swerved a hair's-breadth. As late as 1842 he pronounced McCaine's work "one of the ablest and most masterful productions that has appeared on any subject during the present century; and the pretension that the arguments of this book have been answered is a mere burlesque, and an imposition on the public mind, of which those who make the pretension ought to be ashamed." *Western Recorder*, Vol. III. No. 30. As a polemical writer he was unexcelled, the more in that his opponents always admitted his perfect fairness. As a preacher, his reputation was as wide as the land, and his piety deep and spiritual. The peroration of his sermons was often overwhelming. In 1843, after suffering an attack of inflammation of the lungs, his mental condition lapsed into senility. He was removed to an asylum in Philadelphia, and thence to that at Brattleboro, Vt., where he lived quietly, receiving the visits, at times, of his quondam friends, and where he expired, February 11, 1853, in the seventy-second year of his age. His remains were returned to Pittsburgh, and, after impressive obsequies in the First Methodist Protestant Church, the sermon being preached by his convert and friend, Rev. Dr. George Brown, supplemented by Rev. Dr. Cook, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and others participating, he was laid to rest in Allegheny cemetery, a fitting monument covering him. This is a meagre sketch of one of the greatest men Methodism ever produced. For fuller particulars see the official papers of the Church and Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 120-152.¹

¹ Rev. Dr. John Scott, now among few surviving men who have ever seen Shinn, says that he saw him and heard him preach in 1842. "He was a man of medium height, of well-rounded form, high and broad forehead, placid countenance, and keen and penetrating eyes. His whole appearance and bearing was deeply impressive." This answers to the several portraits of him preserved in the picture gallery of the Baltimore Book Concern. See "Recollections of Fifty Years in the Ministry, with numerous character sketches," by John Scott, D.D. Methodist Protestant Board of Publication, Pittsburgh and Baltimore. 5½ x 8 inches. 495 pp. Cloth, with a frontispiece of the author. 1898.

CHAPTER XXIII

The sixth General Conference; roster of members; sparse attendance — Digest of its doings — *Missionary and Sunday-School Journal* had been established in aid of the Board of Foreign Missions; report of its doings — Report of the Book Concern the best ever made both for book sales and subscriptions to the paper — Option given Annual Conferences to hold Electoral College on any day of its sessions — Report on slavery question conservative from a committee of Northern brethren, and adopted — A plan for a division of the Book Concern reported by Rev. John Scott, and subsequently adopted under protest from some of the brethren; intended as a peace measure, though it failed of this purpose — New hymn book ordered — Statistics, and reflections thereon — was the new Church a success? Proven by the facts — Necrology of the new Church in old Reformers; Jennings, John S. Reese, Avery, McCaine, Hopper, and others.

THE sixth General Conference assembled at Steubenville, O., Tuesday, May 2, 1854. John Burns was elected President *pro tem.*, and W. H. Wills, Secretary. The following are the representatives elected to this Conference: —

<i>Ministers</i>	MAINE	<i>Laymen</i>
David Hill ¹		Abner Ramsdell ¹
	BOSTON	
William Tozer		William Wyman
	GENESEE	
S. M. Short		William N. Burt ¹
	ONONDAGA	
J. R. Robison		J. W. Little ¹
	NEW YORK AND VERMONT	
J. J. Smith		D. C. Jordan ¹
	PENNSYLVANIA	
R. E. Gorman		J. Moss
	NEW JERSEY	
T. T. Heiss ¹		T. W. Stanger ¹

¹ Absent.

MARYLAND	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. S. Reese	George Vickers
E. Y. Reese	Wesley Starr
S. B. Southerland	C. W. Button
Josiah Varden	W. D. Massey ¹
Washington Roby ¹	J. B. Thomas ¹
VIRGINIA	
R. B. Thomson	H. B. Woodhouse
J. G. Whitfield	James M. Smith
W. W. Walker	M. Langhorne ¹
NORTH CAROLINA	
William H. Wills	A. Nicholson
John F. Speight	M. C. Whitaker
Alson Gray ¹	Calvin Johnston
SOUTH CAROLINA	
John Burdine	R. A. Cates ¹
GEORGIA	
Isaiah C. Wallace	John Webb
ALABAMA	
O. H. Shaver	B. Hall ¹
James F. Smith	John P. Cook ¹
Alexander McCaine ¹	Edward Harrison ¹
MISSISSIPPI	
James Meek ¹	W. B. Lott ¹
LOUISIANA	
G. W. Johnston ¹	Samuel Johnston ¹
TEXAS	
H. M. A. Cassiday ¹	David Lane ¹
TENNESSEE	
Joseph Camper	J. L. Armstrong
WEST TENNESSEE	
W. D. Wilkerson	J. M. Hayes
INDIANA	
Fletcher Tevis	J. J. Amos
WABASH	
J. C. Wright	N. T. Catterlin
¹ Absent.	

<i>Ministers</i>	PITTSBURGH	<i>Laymen</i>
George Brown		William Miller
John Clark		J. T. Dagg ¹
John Scott		C. W. Newlon ¹
P. T. Laishley		J. L. Phillips ¹
D. B. Dorsey		John Davis
	MUSKINGUM	
Zechariah Ragan		T. A. Reed
John Burns		Francis Scott
George Clancy		T. Hanna
	OHIO	
J. M. Flood		J. Ashton
W. B. Evans		Shadford Easton
A. H. Bassett		D. C. Carson
	ILLINOIS	
J. P. Johnston		S. K. Swingley ¹
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
Daniel Young		William Cullen
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
James Edmonson ¹		Nelson Moore ¹
	MISSOURI	
Samuel Hughes		J. Carpenter ¹
	MICHIGAN	
J. L. Turner		T. Hinman
	WISCONSIN	
S. P. Huntington ¹		W. J. Ensign ¹
	IOWA	
William Patterson ¹		William Pettitt ¹
	ARKANSAS	
J. G. Walker ¹		P. P. Vanhooose ¹
	PLATTE	
Reddick Horn		J. Coleman ¹
	OREGON	
E. E. Parrish ¹		G. Parrish ¹

Huntsville and Florida Conferences were not heard from.
There were twenty-three Conferences represented by thirty-

¹ Absent.

seven ministers and twenty-five laymen, total, 62 out of 102. On the first day but thirty-one answered the roll-call. The writer can discover nothing special to account for this large absenteeism, except as in former assemblies. The work being continental, travel by horseback and mail stage for the most part a necessity, and no provision, as a rule, being made for the travelling expenses of the representatives, even in Maryland, in that day, must be accepted as reasons for the fact. The manuscript minutes, of which the printed are a literal transcript, are unusually full, making of the latter forty-eight printed octavo pages, and fifty-six of reports. Condensed, the salient transactions are as follows:—

On the second day the ballot for President showed 29 out of 51 votes for John Burnes, declared elected; William H. Wills and John Scott, Secretaries. On the third day the President announced the permanent committees, with chairmen as follows: Journals, J. G. Whitfield; Boundaries, P. T. Laishley; Judiciary, George Brown; Executive, Z. Ragan; College, R. B. Thomson; Church Periodical and Book Concern, George Clancy; Means of Grace, S. B. Southerland; Finance, W. W. Walker; Orders, S. M. Short; Sabbath-schools, J. M. Flood; Home and Foreign Missions, J. P. Johnston; Ratio of Representation, E. Yeates Reese; Statistics, A. H. Bassett; Allowance of Ministers, H. B. Woodhouse. From the various reports of committees, as printed in the Appendix to the Minutes, a summary of business may be gleaned. The trustees of Madison College give, in detail, all the facts of its history to date, no longer of special interest to the Church beyond the digest already given. On petition of the Platte Conference, Des Moines mission was placed under the care of the Board of Missions, and the report is in full of Platte district and the Mission territory. The Report of the Board of Foreign Missions is elaborate and interesting, as noting the initial work of the new Church in this direction. They report for the Oregon mission, under Daniel Bagley, the organization of a mission conference in that distant territory, with five ministers, two preachers, and 120 members, one house of worship erected and others building. The miscarriage of the China mission is detailed, and the special funds on hand still reserved for that purpose. The establishment of the *Missionary and Sunday-School Journal* is adverted to, with the statement that it had paid its own expenses; and it is urged for continuance. The Board had obtained a charter from the Legislature of Pennsylvania, which

is given in full, as also a full report of the Treasurer, W. J. Troth, from which it appears that \$4925.03 had been collected during the quadrennium by the Agents, Frederick Stier and J. W. Rutledge, and \$3404.27 disbursed.

Steubenville station, where the Conference was held, petitioned for a modification of the Restrictive Rule in certain emergencies. The Baltimore Book Directory reported in detail, showing that of the pulpit edition of the hymn book of 1500, 730 had been sold, and of the common hymn book nearly all of 8000 had been disposed of, and of the revival hymn book 3000, and of Disciplines 7000. Of McCaine's "Defence of the Truth" nearly all of 1500, and of the "Question and Answer" book 4000 out of 5000, and 750 out of 1000 copies of the last General Conference Minutes. The official paper had slowly increased in circulation, and was in improved typographical condition. The assets are enumerated at a total of \$13,914.52, consisting of books, stereotypes, book accounts, promissory notes, and \$7000 of overdue subscriptions to the periodical, believed to be good, and cash in hand of \$2014.52. The liabilities are set down at \$8192.27, indicating a net gain during the quadrennium of \$4922.25. For the first time in its history the Concern was free of debt, with over \$2000 cash in hand. Tables of receipts for books are given, showing the sales to be a total of \$13,720.64 for the quadrennium, and for the *Methodist Protestant* of \$20,223.41, for the same period. The actual circulation of the periodical is not given, but it was about 4400, or the largest it has ever attained in its history, before or since, plus the circulation of the *Western Recorder* and the *Southern Olive Tree*, together about 4000 more, in a church membership of 72,000, or about one in nine, a showing also never since equalled, and unsurpassed by any of the old Church *Advocates* then or since. It must be remembered, however, that the religious literature in competition with official church organs in that day was a mere bagatelle compared with that of recent years. Much of the success of the publishing interests was due to the exceptional ability displayed, both literary and business, by the editor and Agent, Rev. E. Yeates Reese, at a salary of \$1100 a year. Of the book sales and subscriptions to the periodical, Maryland contributed about one-fourth of the total. For the latter, Virginia, Alabama, North Carolina, Pittsburgh, and Georgia stood in the order named.

Option was given the Annual Conference Electoral Colleges to meet on any day of the session. A number of petitions and Con-

ference resolutions were presented to strike out the word "white" from the Constitution and Discipline. Others demanded its retention. There was, however, quite an irenic and pacific spirit exhibited by the representatives on the slavery question, as it came before the body on the demand of the North Illinois Conference for the censure of the editor of the official paper for refusing, after the first time, to continue publishing the drastic resolutions of that body. It was referred to a special committee, with the usual result of a majority and a minority report. The resultant action of the Conference as to the North Illinois Conference resolutions, which the editor of the official paper declined to publish, and the slavery question, as such, appears to be summed up in the report of the Executive Committee: "First, resolved, in the opinion of this General Conference, that the holding of men, women, or children in a state of involuntary servitude, for the purpose of gain, where the civil law will admit of emancipation, and where the interest of the slave would be promoted thereby, is a violation of the morality of the Christian Scriptures. Second, resolved that, according to the Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church, taking the word of God for the rule, the local judiciary, and not the General Conference, is the proper tribunal by which all questions of morality, bearing upon the standing of members of the Methodist Protestant Church, should be determined." The committee was Z. Ragan, S. M. Short, Truman Hinman, and J. J. Smith, all from the North and West. It seems to have passed with practical unanimity. The portion involved in the second resolution, though not by this action made a part of the organic law of the Church, was looked upon by many, then and since, as a solemn declaration of a general principle, under which, in recent years, resolves upon the prohibition of the liquor traffic, specially with a party bias, by the General Conference, were declared inconsistent with this compact. There can be little doubt of the correctness of the general principle, otherwise such resolves would be construed rightly as having the force of additions to the Articles of Religion and of Wesley's General Rules. The principle has, however, been overruled on the theory that, as a General Conference resolution, it could not bind restrictively any future assembly of that body. It is probable that the unanimity exhibited in this disposition of the foregoing matter was due to a quiet understanding that the grievance complained of by North Illinois, and those who wished a medium for the free adverse discussion of slavery,

would be provided for in future by a division of the Book Concern and the establishment of a Western official paper. This provision may now be considered.

The report of the committee of six, of which John Scott was Chairman, on the "Church Paper," foreshadowed the plan. The prosperous condition of the Concern seemed to favor its execution by brethren from the North and West, while those of the East and South acquiesced in it as another peace measure by which both parties hoped the menace of Church division might be laid. Thus favorably entertained, it was referred to a special committee, which matured and reported a Plan for Division, and which was subsequently adopted by a practically unanimous vote. It may be found in full in Report No. 52, Appendix to Minutes of 1854. Its provisions, when condensed, were to the effect that the "Western establishment shall be called the 'Western Methodist Protestant Book Concern,' and the paper to be called the *Western Methodist Protestant*." The Annual Conferences that agree to support it were to meet in delegated Convention on the first Wednesday of the ensuing November at Zanesville, O., which was to mature all the details for its government. It was agreed that if ten Western Conferences enter it, the Baltimore Book Concern should pay that of the West \$2000. If a less or greater number of Conferences should enter the plan, then the sum should be graduated accordingly, not less than \$1500 and not more than \$2500. Provision was made for a like Convention of the adhering Conferences to meet in Baltimore the first Wednesday in June, 1855, and to have like authority for developing details of government. The old charter was to be abrogated and new ones secured for the respective Concerns, both hereafter to be controlled by Conventions of Conferences, to meet at the time and place of the General Conference, but to be independent of its control. As far as the representatives then present felt free to pledge their constituents, the following Conferences adhered to the Western Concern: Muskingum, Ohio, Wabash, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, North and South Illinois, Iowa, Genesee, and Onondaga; eleven. Those adhering to the Eastern Concern: Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, West Tennessee, Boston, Missouri, and Pennsylvania; ten. As viewed at this distance of time, it was a bold movement, and constructively, at least, a violation of the Eleventh Elementary Principle forbidding "independent sovereignties." As viewed at the time, it was heroic treatment of a serious church

malady, justified by the unanimity of consent. It will be seen that the representatives who were doubtful of the choice of their constituents deferred decision until they could be consulted, notably Pittsburgh and New York. One honest and far-sighted representative, Dr. J. L. Armstrong, layman of Tennessee, entered his formal protest against the whole plan. See Appendix No. 56 to Minutes.¹

The Board of Missions was constituted as follows for the next quadrennium: Revs. William Collier, John Scott, George Brown, P. T. Laishley, and John Clark; Messrs. W. J. Troth, William Miller, John Macaskey, Charles Craig, William Henderson, John N. Sands, and James Rind. Several Conferences having petitioned for the abolition of the order of Deacon, the action of the Conference was, "No necessity for the change." The Committee on Ratio of Representation report that they find the number elected to this General Conference "to be over one hundred — the constitutional limit." The ratio was fixed at one minister and one layman for every 1750 members, instead of 1500. Rev. Josiah Varden having been appointed for the third year to Cincinnati station in violation of the Restrictive Rule, it was brought before the Conference by the Committee on Journals, who reported that it was such a violation, as he was not transferred to the Ohio from the Maryland Conference after the second year. Various motions were submitted, and, finally, the following, by that ever discreet and sagacious man, Dr. John S. Reese, was adopted in substance, that the action of the Ohio Conference does "not call for censure by this General Conference;" and so men of his type circumvented the hard and fast sticklers for absolute adherence to cast-iron law. The essential fact in the case was, that Varden had a grown daughter so ill of a nervous affection at the time of the third year appointment that it was impossible even to remove her from the parsonage. She died during the third year. A revised edition of the hymn book was ordered, and a committee of eight appointed from widely sepa-

¹ Rev. George Brown in his "Itinerant Life," p. 365, states that "while he did not enter formal protest he did declare that the General Conference had 'started an entering wedge — division would follow.' When I sat down with a sad heart, unable to restrain my tears, Dr. Thomson of Virginia came to me and in the blandest tones possible said, 'I regard this as a peace measure.' But I said, 'Where will be the use of the General Conference at all when our general interests are thrown out to be managed by conventions?'" Armstrong and Brown had the prescience of seers, but to what avail? The condition of public sentiment in State and Church was such that nothing could stay the inevitable.

rated Conferences, more than half of whom failed to act. The work went on, however, principally devolving on E. Yeates Reese; the book was adopted East and South, as ordered by the General Conference of 1858, and it remained the book of the Methodist Protestant Church until the General Conference of 1880 ordered a new book for the reunited Church; the Conference West and North, as the Methodist Church, having, after 1858, compiled a new book, principally by Alexander Clark. The committee of fifteen, of 1880, adopted the "Tribute of Praise," and it has since been used by the entire Church, now once more continentally bounded.

A paper was passed, offered by George Brown and John S. Reese, calling the attention of the Electoral Colleges to the provision of the Convention of 1830, recognizing the claim of the local ministers to election to the General Conference in suitable proportion. The courtesy was largely disregarded in the elections of 1854, the Maryland Conference allowing but one in E. Yeates Reese, a local elder, and editor of the official paper. Lynchburg, Va., was selected as the place of the next General Conference by a vote of thirty-five out of fifty-eight. Rev. Ulysses Ward of Washington, D. C., having issued a volume of Snethen's Sermons, tendered a gift of seven hundred and fifty unbound copies for the benefit of Madison College, and it was so reported to the General Conference. They appear to have at last become the property of the Baltimore Book Concern, bound, and, after a number of years, finally sold. They show the imperial intellect of Snethen, but give no sign of his fervid eloquence, written as they were in his old age.¹

The Committee on Statistics presented the fullest report ever submitted, through the painstaking labor of its Chairman, A. H. Bassett. As this was the last General Conference attended by the representatives North and West until the reunion in 1877, it is instructive to give the tabular statement in full, and justifies the space given to its transactions. It will be seen from these statistics, in comparison with preceding ones, that from a membership of about 5000 in 1828-30, within twenty-five years a total is shown of 70,000, from 100 or more itinerants to nearly 1000. There were 78 stations, 405 circuits, and 103 missions. Nearly 1000 houses of worship had been built at a valuation of over \$1,000,000, with 118 parsonages. It meant an average value of \$1000 for each building, — and this sum went far in that day out

¹ A volume is preserved in the writer's collection.

of the cities, — and an average of one church in about every eight days of the whole twenty-five years. Had the new Church succeeded? Compare this success with that of the mother Church, for the same relative period of time, at her initial, or with any other Church in the country; and by this very unreliable test of true success, numbers and property, the Methodist Protestant Church was a success, all prejudiced historic statements to the contrary notwithstanding. It shall be shown by the same class of facts that it is a success to-day, after seventy years of trial and effort, with a marvellous moral and collateral aggregation established by concomitant facts, atrabitious brethren from within and ignorant partisan traducers from without to the contrary notwithstanding.

STATISTICS OF THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH

Annual Conference Districts	Stations	Circuits	Missions	Itin't Min. & Pre.	Unsta. Min. & Pre.	Members	Houses of Worship	Parsonages	Est'd val. of Church Property
Maine	..	6	..	10	4	500	1	1	1,800
Boston	13	..	..	11	3	426	13	..	22,100
N. Y. & Verm't	8	17	5	28	33	1,609	37	6	70,000
Onondaga	1	19	3	44	27	1,308	8½	6	11,100
Genesee	1	13	1	18	13	925	9	3	12,100
New Jersey	1	7	2	11	16	702	10	..	8,000
Pennsylvania	..	7	1	8	14	555	5	..	4,100
Pittsburgh	8	30	8	59	68	6,066	66	6	121,725
Muskingum	6	29	7	56	66	6,100	126	9	70,855
Ohio	5	26	9	60	70	5,689	91	12	101,250
Michigan	1	19	7	47	28	1,469	6	..	4,800
Indiana	1	11	5	22	24	2,031	25	..	13,000
Wabash	..	8	3	20	17	1,014	10	2	4,925
Illinois	..	14	3	17	26	1,264	17	4	14,500
North Illinois	2	23	..	43	33	1,549	12	15	12,550
South Illinois	..	12	..	15	20	1,264	10	4	3,670
Iowa	..	8	3	19	10	800	1	..	2,000
Maryland	14	28	4	66	74	6,746	165	46	348,000
Virginia	3	12	8	37	25	4,729	51	1	44,750
North Carolina	1	12	3	41	21	5,397	66	..	22,080
South Carolina	..	6	..	9	6	733	10	..	30,000
Tennessee	1	5	3	17	11	1,800	12	..	10,000
West Tennessee	..	4	4	20	10	908	24	..	3,500
Georgia	3	18	2	55	12	3,162	25	1	5,000
Florida	3	..	3	12	1	800	11	..	5,400
Alabama	5	17	2	39	50	4,375	91	2	44,500
Huntsville	..	6	1	9	13	1,000	..	..	..
Mississippi	1	10	3	33	21	2,421	38	..	5,570
Missouri	..	7	2	18	6	1,800	..	..	..
Platte	..	7	6	15	12	650	1	..	1,000
Arkansas	..	10	..	15	11	880	10	..	3,000
Louisiana	..	6	1	13	7	676	20	..	10,000
Texas	..	8	4	22	5	550	..	..	..
Oreg'n Mis. Con.	..	..	..	7	..	120	1	..	1,000
Total	78	405	103	916	767	70,018	982	118	1,009,275

After sessions during two weeks, the General Conference adjourned, May 16, 1854, with closing religious services by George Brown.

A few notes may be made of the doings of the mother Methodisms North and South meantime. In the General Conference of the latter, in 1854, at Columbus, Ga., their Book Concern was permanently located at Nashville, Tenn., and George F. Pierce, John Early, and Hubbard H. Kavanaugh were elected bishops. In the General Conference of the former, in 1856, their missions in Africa, owing to the peril to health and the expense of the journey, were accommodated by the election of Francis Burns, a colored member of the Conference, Missionary Bishop to Liberia. It was the first inroad upon the Asbury-M'Kendree idea of the "General Superintendency," as the resignation of the episcopacy by Bishop Hamline, at the previous General Conference, was a blow at its life-tenure, and the recognition of his doctrine, that the bishopric was a mere creature of the General Conference. It is a strange fact, also, that, notwithstanding the Methodist Episcopal Church was divided in 1844 on the slavery question, the North by that act putting itself on record that it would not have complicity with it even to the extent of allowing an involuntary slaveholding Bishop to preside over their Conferences, from the period of division onward to the Civil War the brethren North exerted every influence to keep the border slave territory Conferences within their own fold; and went farther by establishing, with mission funds, other Conferences in Kentucky, Arkansas, and Missouri, all then slave states. There was method in it, however, as will be seen hereafter.

The necrology of the new Church for the ensuing quadrennium included, among early Reformers, Rev. Regan B. Collins of Tennessee, obituary in official paper July 22, 1854. Also of Rev. Jesse H. Cobb, August 5, 1854. William King of Georgetown, D. C., was a staunch early Reformer, cabinet-maker and undertaker, who lived to an age that made a fact in his local history: he buried an entire generation of his townspeople. His unblemished life closed (obituary July 22, 1854) with a peaceful death.¹

¹ On his dying bed he left with his pastor, Rev. Dr. Southerland, a testimony as a protection to his memory in view of the frequent misrepresentations of the early Reformers that they had repented of their course or had returned to the old Church, a pertinent case in Dr. Jennings soon to be noticed in this History; he said after a calm review of the past, "With my present light in these last hours of life I would do just what I did were it to go over again." See Baltimore official paper, p. 4, January 15, 1887.

On the 19th of October, 1854, the whole Church was thrown into mourning over the demise of Rev. Samuel Kennedy Jennings, M.D. He was born in Essex County, N. J., a state which has produced a number of the eminent Reformers, June 6, 1771. He was of Scotch Presbyterian lineage, well born, with every advantage of early education, and a graduate of Rutgers College, in New Brunswick, N. J., with high honors, 1790. He removed with his father's family to Virginia, where he studied medicine and entered upon its practice. When about twenty-three years of age he was thoroughly converted under the close conversation of Heath, a Methodist itinerant, of which there is detailed narration, as well as much interesting matter, which space forbids introduction here, in Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 60-89. After useful residence as physician and preacher in New London, Lynchburg, and Norfolk, Va., he came to Baltimore, and settled for a life-work, in the spring of 1817, being then forty-six years of age. His ministry here as a local elder has scarcely a parallel. No minister was ever more popular, his congregations crowded and overcrowded whenever he preached, and great revivals occurred under him. As a writer, he also excelled, having a lucid, pointed, and logical style. As has already been found, through the current of this History, he was a foremost writer for the *Western Repository* and the *Mutual Rights*. In 1831 he published his "Exposition of the Controversy of 1827-30," an octavo of 247 pages, and in 1846 the fruit of his old age, "A Compendium of Medical Science." He was an unremitting writer, contributing to the medical journals and other periodicals. As a Reformer, his record has been already given in these pages, — in its faith he lived, labored, and died. In the sketch of Dr. Whitehead, as found in an appendix to the first volume, the promise was made to point out the remarkable parallels in the two men. Both of them were Methodist reformers; both were expelled from the Society and Church, for opinions' sake; both were physicians as well as preachers; both were biographers of the chief leaders of English and American Methodism, Whitehead writing the only reliable "Life of John and Charles Wesley," and Jennings appointed by the Baltimore Conference, in 1817, to write the "Life of Bishop Asbury"; both of them were persecuted and traduced for this work, the latter by reason of it never completed, as explained in the "Exposition"; while in minor particulars the likeness is striking. As a professional teacher he was also eminently successful. In 1818 he was elected President of Asbury College of

Baltimore, on the recommendation of Bishop Soule. During its brief career it exceeded in its progress, perhaps, any institution in this country. For more than twenty years he held professorships in the Washington Medical College of Baltimore. In addition to all these pursuits, he commanded a large medical practice, which he continued to within about ten years of his death. In 1845 he removed to Alabama, that he might be with his children; all of whom were worthy of their ancestry, but none of whom now survive. While in the South he was stricken with paralysis, which greatly enfeebled him in body and mind. In 1853 he returned to his loved Baltimore. Within a year, while taking one of his accustomed walks along Baltimore Street, he had a second and fatal attack of paralysis, and was removed to the home of his son-in-law, Dr. Owings, where, after lingering six days in a state of insensibility, he passed away, as noted. His obsequies took place from St. John's church, Liberty Street, the sermon being by Thomas H. Stockton, then associate pastor with Rev. Dr. Webster. It was a masterful effort of this prince of preachers, a printed copy of which is in the writer's collection. His remains were removed to Howard County, Md., where, in the family lot of his kindred, he was laid to rest between the graves of his first and second companions. These graves are unmarked, so that his own is no longer distinguishable from his kindred dust, but his memory is imperishable, and his record on high.

During his last years, one of his pathetic utterances was, "I am nothing; I never was much, but now I am nothing!" but, rallying, he added, "But I hope to live forever!" and then, with tears of grateful emotion, "Thank God! I expect to live forever." Shameful to relate, the grass was not yet green upon his grave, when the tongue of slander began to gnaw at his spotless name. Dr. Abel Stevens, writing from Baltimore, gave currency to the statement that prior to his decease Dr. Jennings had returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was promptly denied through the official paper, and this brought a retraction, with honorable apology, from Dr. Stevens, as a Christian gentleman. But, in 1886, Dr. A. W. Cummins of the old Church published "The Early Schools of Methodism," in which he declared, p. 92, on the authority of Rev. Isaac P. Cook, local elder of the old Church, resident in Baltimore, that Dr. Jennings had "regretted his severance from our Church as the mistake of his life," while on his dying bed. It fell under the eye of the writer, then editor of the

official paper, and, after careful investigation from still living witnesses and the facts of his decease, he addressed an open letter to Dr. Cummins (see *Methodist Protestant*, p. 4, January 15, 1887), refuting this second slander; which he acknowledged personally and promised to make the correction, as requested, through the *New York Christian Advocate*, as the only medium that would reach the readers of his book; but he afterward declined to make any amends. It was conduct in contrast with Dr. Stevens.¹

Rev. Samuel Cash of Kentucky, Reformer, obituary January 20, 1855. Rev. Nathaniel Gage of New York and Vermont Conference, Reformer, obituary March 3, 1855. Rev. Samuel Haslett, Pittsburgh Conference, Reformer, May 14, 1855. Thomas Jacobs, father of Rev. Charles Jacobs of Maryland Conference, Reformer, June 9, 1855. Rev. Anthony Spaur, Virginia, aged eighty years, Reformer, October 6, 1855. Rev. John W. Porter, Reformer of Maryland, November 3, 1855. Rev. William Perkins of Pennsylvania, Reformer, February 2, 1856. Rev. Jacob Hoopman, local Reformer of Maryland, June 7, 1856. Rev. Matthew Nelson of Kentucky, Reformer, August 3, 1856. Rev. Crawley Finney, M.D., of Virginia, Reformer, September 14, 1856. Rev. James Meek, M.D., of Alabama, early Reformer, obituary March 1, 1857. Rev. Ira E. Norman of North Carolina, Reformer, August 1, 1857. Rev. William Morgan, local

¹ It sometimes happens that there is a clew to these misrepresentations. In the case of Dr. Stevens it was based upon the fact that one of Dr. Jennings's sons, a physician and local elder in the Church resided in Alabama, but in a county in which the Church had no organization, and on the recommendation of his father he united with the nearest M. E. Church, South. Dr. Jennings, like McCaine, had a soul too large for petty prejudices. Their difference was not with Methodism, but with Episcopacy, and the hierarchy of American Methodism; hence in like circumstances both recommended their children to unite with the mother Church, rather than be unchurched, or in one not Methodistic in doctrine and usage. In the case of Dr. Cummins no such clew can be found. It is simply impossible that his statement should have been true, but something may have passed between Dr. Jennings when feeble in intellect from disease, and Rev. Isaac P. Cook, who for some years before his death was mentally unreliable from softening of the brain, that the latter misconstrued. There is something so patronizing in the air of Dr. Cummins in retailing this slander, and of mock commiseration in Dr. Cook, as reported by Dr. Cummins, that his exact words demand quotation: "The truth of history requires another item, furnished by Dr. Cook of Dr. Jennings; in the radical controversy of 1828 he was expelled from our Church and adhered to the seceders. On his dying bed he regretted his severance from our Church as the mistake of his life! This seems not to have shaken the confidence of Dr. Cook in, or lessened, his admiration of Dr. Jennings." Verily, the sainted Jennings is under obligation to these clerical gentlemen.

Reformer of Maryland, October 10, 1857. Rev. Hayman Bailey of Mississippi, Reformer, November 21, 1857. Rev. A. B. Lucas, November 21, 1857. In 1857 Rev. Reddick Horn, early Reformer in the West, conspicuous for his devotion and fidelity, passed to his reward, in Nebraska, February 17, 1858. Too much could not be said of him.

In addition to these, heaven claimed, during this quadrennium, the following distinguished brethren: Rev. John S. Reese, M.D., the eldest of four preacher brothers, was born May 15, 1790, in Harford County, Md., and in his youth united with the old Church. July 7, 1819, was licensed to preach, ordained deacon a few years later by Bishop George. He was graduated from Washington College as doctor of medicine, about 1820, and entered upon the practice with flattering prospects. He took an active and prominent part in Reform, and was one of the eleven Expelled in Baltimore, in 1827. Feeling his call to preach as paramount, and realizing that the Associated Methodist churches needed ministerial service, he united with the Maryland Conference at its first session, in 1829. He was a member of the General Convention of 1830, and most of the General Conferences for years after, and was repeatedly elected President of the Maryland Conference. In all these relations his chief characteristic as a wise, sagacious, and prudent counsellor was exhibited. His pulpit abilities were much above mediocre, and, at times, at camp-meetings and other occasions, he rose to the height of a rare eloquence. His domestic necessities compelled retirement from the active work earlier than he wished. In 1852 he was called by the Standing District Committee to the presidency, to fill out the term of Rev. William Collier, resigned. Reëlected by the ensuing Annual Conference, he continued to fill the position until his illness, which began in October, 1854; pneumonia developed, after some months of confinement to his room, and, on February 14, 1855, he triumphantly passed away. On the 16th his obsequies took place at East Baltimore station, participated in by a number of leading ministers and laymen; and his remains were deposited in Baltimore cemetery, where also now repose those of his three brothers in the flesh and in the gospel. Among his dying utterances was the declaration, "My body is miserably broken by disease, but my soul is free. Disease cannot touch that." When speechless, he laid his hand upon his heart and, in a well-known gesture, waved it heavenward. The funeral sermon was preached by Rev. S. B. Southerland, D.D., a bosom

friend, of which large extracts may be found, as well as other interesting matter, in Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 193-205.

Abner McGehee of Alabama, obituary March 3, 1855. He was devoted to the principles of Reform from an early period, a devout man, successful in business, and generous in gifts to religious enterprises, and, conspicuously, to the Church of his choice. He contributed \$10,000 to the proposed college at Robinson Springs, and, also, \$10,000 to the Samaritan Fund of the Annual Conference; but, being in the West Point Railroad stock, these subscriptions subsequently greatly depreciated. He was the father of the Alabama branch of the Bible Society; and so good an authority as Rev. A. A. Lipscomb estimated his charitable contributions as aggregating during his life \$100,000. He lived an irreproachable life, and died a peaceful death.

Rev. Alexander McCaine departed this life at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. James M. Brett, in Augusta, Ga., on Sabbath morning, June 1, 1856, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, being born in Dublin,¹ Ireland, in 1768. He was educated for the Roman Catholic priesthood¹ early in life. He emigrated to this country in the twentieth year of his age, reaching Charleston, S. C., in 1878. Here he came under the ministry of Rev. William Hammett, heretofore mentioned, one of Dr. Coke's missionaries, and experienced a change of heart, Methodistically understood, and henceforth devoted himself to its ministry. Asbury became acquainted with him, and, struck with his superior education and attainments, eagerly put him forward; but it was not until ten years later that he was received into the Conference, in 1797. These pages have already exhibited how large a place he occupied in his affection and confidence. In 1806 he retired from the itinerancy, having been Asbury's traveling companion for a year or two meantime, in order that he might educate his family; but, in 1815, having lost his wife, he reëntered the itinerancy on the urgency of Asbury offering him choice of stations; and so continued until 1821, when he finally retired, residing in Baltimore and devoting himself to school-teaching. His personal characteristics were all remarkable.

¹ There seems to be some difference of opinion as to these facts. Rev. A. G. Brewer, who knew McCaine intimately, alleges that he had them "from his own mouth." Whereas Rev. S. E. Norton, who was also intimate with him, and preached his funeral sermon, alleges in an obituary that he was born in Tipperary county, and was educated for the Church of England priesthood. McCaine was indifferent to these early events, so his birthday is unknown, and the year in some doubt.

Standing six feet four inches in his stockings, erect, and well proportioned, with a finely developed head and classic features, he was an Agamemnon among his peers in the ministry. As a preacher, he was preëminent, his intellectual equipment and mastery of theology, supplemented by wide attainments and versatility of gifts, gave him a command over audiences, as, with these weapons and a recognized spiritual power, he sent home the unadulterated gospel: Christ and Him crucified. Of indomitable will, clear convictions, honest to the core, despising shams and makeshifts, his naturally impetuous nature carried him forward like a torrent in defence of the truth as he saw it. An excess of impetuosity was his one infirmity, and laid him open at times to the cynical criticisms of his enemies and the regretful deprecation of his friends. As a writer and critic, these pages have given abundant evidence. Aroused from his quiescent loyalty to Methodist Episcopacy by the action of Soule and the General Conference of 1820, he set to investigating the subject with results that made him at once the most feared and hated of the Reformers of 1827-30, proving himself more than a match for Dr. Thomas E. Bond, as a controversial strategist, and of Dr. John Emory, as an apt and well-furnished dialectician. If this be still claimed as a moot, let posterity decide it by reference to their respective extant polemical productions anent the controversy inseparably linked with their names. The challenge has often been made and is here repeated with deliberate confidence. It was not until past eighty years of age that he finally retired from the field as writer and critic, spending his closing years quietly with his devoted daughter. During these years he seemed reserved to the casual visitor; but it was his intellectual pre-eminence that isolated him, surviving, as he did, nearly all of his generation. As Rev. Dr. Norton aptly said in his funeral discourse: "Men of intense thought are not always good companions. Lions go not in herds. The eagle soars alone." His mental poise remained to the last; only a few months before his decease he published a series of twelve articles on "The Catholic Issue," fresh and vigorous as in his palmy days. Nine weeks prior to his death he began to fail, experiencing something of an apoplectic attack; but he rallied, and a few days after preached his last sermon. He then took to his bed, and for a month or more comforted his friends with his pious confidence, often repeating those spiritual hymns: "Vital spark of heavenly flame," "Not a cloud doth arise," "Jesus can make a dying bed." To an in-

quiry of his daughter if he knew her, he answered, "I shall know you forever." Hearing him, as he sank into death, say, as she thought, "happy!" she asked him if that was the word, to which he nodded assent. At intervals she caught from his lips: "hope — home — golden city." June 3, 1856, his obsequies took place in St. James Methodist Episcopal church, South, as there was no Reform church in the town, and was largely attended; Rev. S. E. Norton of the Alabama Conference, of which McCaine died a member, preaching the sermon, a copy of which is now before the writer. For other interesting matter see Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 90-119, barring a few errors corrected in this sketch.¹

Rev. Charles Avery departed this life January 17, 1858. Born in Westchester County, N. Y., December 10, 1784, he embraced religion in his youth and united with the old Church in New York City; soon felt a call to preach, but contented himself with a local relation, realizing that he had business capacity that would enable him to be useful as a philanthropist. In 1812 he married and removed to Pittsburgh, Pa., where he amassed his wealth in the drug, the cotton-mill, and the copper-mining enterprises. His benevolence was early exhibited, and continued through life with a lavish hand. His connection with the Reform movement has already been recited. He was a member of the first Union Society of that city, and elected to the General Conventions of 1827, 1828, and 1830, also of the General Conferences of 1834 and 1838. He was active and useful as an unstationed minister. His special trait, as wealth increased, was liberality.

¹ It is most regrettable that a score of years after McCaine's death, and that of his compeers in Reform, Methodist Episcopal writers insist upon rehashing the old slanders and misrepresentations against them. In 1876, Rev. Dr. Porter issued his "Compendium of Methodism," in which he says of the Reform periodicals: "Indeed it was an abusive concern, and it became obvious enough that no person was fit to belong to the church who would patronize it," i.e. *Mutual Rights*. And Rev. Dr. J. M. Boland, writing in the *Nashville Christian Advocate*, in 1876, says of McCaine that he "wrote a rehash of all his falsehoods against Episcopal Methodism, and called it 'A Defence of the Truth,' etc. This book fell from the press stillborn, etc. If such writers as McCaine and Cobbett are to be received as authority, then whose church or personal character is safe in this land?" The excuse for such men is that they are mere echoes of Bond, Emory, and others, no care being taken to investigate for themselves. Within the score of years since 1876 there has been some abatement of this rancorous treatment. The writer of this "History of Reform," would fain hope that its circulation among them, if that be possible, will do something toward enlightening their ignorance and mending their manners. If in these pages he has in anything fallen into the bad example, he is willing to blot it on discovery. Dr. Stevens, just elected editor of the *New York Advocate*, gave respectful notice of McCaine's death, but slurs the Reform movement.

In addition to numerous gifts during his life, the larger sums being \$20,000 to the Preachers' Aid Society of the Pittsburgh Conference, and \$5000 to each of the three churches of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, and \$25,000 to Oberlin College, Ohio, and the same sum to Avery College, Allegheny City, numerous smaller sums under \$500 need not be enumerated. His estate at death was found to be worth about \$800,000, after having given away in life, maybe, an equal sum. As he had no children, all of it, save \$150,000 to relatives and friends and special bequests, about \$416,000, he left to residuary legatees, to be equally divided between the American Missionary Association, "for the purpose of disseminating the gospel of Christ among the colored tribes of Africa," and to a perpetual fund, the interest to be "applied to the education and elevation of the colored people of the United States and Canada." Out of it normal schools have been instituted for their use in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Canada. He was an abolitionist from honest convictions, and was respected in his views, as, without truculence of language, he expressed his convictions and proved his practical benevolence more in deeds than in words in behalf of the colored race. The writer was once introduced to him, and found a tall, well-proportioned man, inclined to corpulence, of regular features, bright gray eyes, dark auburn hair, and an open countenance that fairly beamed with kindness and charity. His death was full of hope, peace, and triumph. Being asked by his pastor, Rev. John Cowl, D.D., if he had any message for his brethren, he murmured the characteristic answer, "The tree is known by its fruit," the rule of his own life. As to his experience, he said, "My hopes are as immutable as the promises and attributes of God." He was buried from his home in Allegheny City, and was laid to rest in Allegheny cemetery; a monument devised by his executors covering his remains, at a cost of \$18,000.¹

The writer cannot forbear the reflection that the Methodist Protestant Church, in its current history, has had but few wealthy laymen, for the reason that such men do not unite with numerically small denominations; and, if grown within one of them, though it may stand for the noblest principles, secular, social, and other worldly interests pull them out of it as they come to

¹ For further particulars, see Bassett's "History" and Colhouer's "Founders." Also Rev. Dr. John Scott's "Fifty Years in the Ministry," etc., twelvemo volume, hereafter more frequently cited.

financial consequence. This Church has had to deplore hundreds of such instances; and it adds to the marvel of such material increase as it has made, thus handicapped by a membership, as a rule, poor in this world's goods, if rich in faith. Under the furthering providence of God the Church has been preserved and perpetuated by its principles, its personal manhood, and its heroic devotion to ecclesiastical rights. Charles Avery was not one of the class of wealthy men who barter their principles for social preferment and churchly ambitions. And this reflection accounts for the anomalous fact that to-day there are hundreds of thousands of Methodist Protestant laymen in sentiment in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The reasons for it are obvious, if not always creditable.

Hon. Philemon B. Hopper departed this life on the Sabbath, March 28, 1858. He was born in Queen Anne's County, Md., January 23, 1791. His parents were Methodists, and their house a preaching-place until the erection of the church in Centreville. He was converted at a camp-meeting near Chestertown, in 1810, and at once united with the old Church. Being an educated young man, he was put in charge of a colored class as leader, and he bore testimony that some of the happiest hours of his life were "spent in endeavoring to teach and encourage this unfortunate race of people." He was at the time a young lawyer of promise at the bar. He was soon licensed to preach, and, as a preacher, though his preparation was confined to a few notes thrown together, and these not taken into the pulpit, he depended fully upon the inspiration of the moment, and certain signs in his congregation he interpreted as guides to what he should say; and, looking for immediate results, he was often highly effective in revivals and conversions. He had great confidence in the old-time methods and pursued them to the end. He was the leader and inspiration of the great revival in the Easton church in the midsummer of 1842, and a part of the fruit of that meeting was Rev. T. D. Valiant and Rev. Josiah Clift, and Mrs. Tamsey A. Reese, *née* Hughlett. Over a hundred souls were converted. He established a preaching-place at Hall's Crossroads, some six miles from his residence, near Centreville, where wonderful displays of saving grace occurred. His sterling integrity soon won for him a large legal practice; he was elected to the legislature of the State and filled other responsible positions. In 1826 he was appointed to the bench of his district, and afterward received a letter from a member of the court, suggesting to him

that it would not be in accordance with the dignity of his new position to continue to preach. He made prompt answer, that if called on to decide between the office and preaching he should resign the office. In 1850 the judgeship was made elective by the new constitution; but so popular was he that there was no practical opposition to him, and he was elected by the suffrages of his constituents for ten years, eight of which he lived to fill. The manumission of his forty slaves has already been noticed as a behest of his individual conscience; but he never assumed to judge for others, or indulged in vituperation of his neighboring slaveholders and fellow Christians. As a Methodist Reformer he was pronounced and uncompromising. He became a subscriber to the *Wesleyan Repository*, at the instance of Rev. Ezekiel Cooper. He was confirmed in these views, as he underwrites himself, by Thomas Ware, Lawrence McComb, and James Smith of the travelling preachers of the Philadelphia Conference, then including the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and adds: "I had no intention to unite in forming a new Church in my first advocacy of Reform, nor do I believe that any of the original Reformers had the most remote expectation of doing so. But the expulsion of Revs. Messrs. Dorsey and Pool, and, afterward, the expulsion of the ministers and laymen in Baltimore, left us no alternative, except a dishonorable course toward the expelled." This only confirms the general testimony at the time, and should, with honorable opponents, acquit them of the stigma of voluntary secession, or ecclesiastical ambition to that end; but to this day the libel is repeated by the old Church chroniclers. He was a member of the early Conventions of the new Church, and often representative to the Annual and General Conferences. He was a prolific writer for the Church paper, on a variety of subjects, under the familiar signature "P. B. H.," rivalling those of "B. H. R.," heretofore noticed, in popular interest and frequency. His house had an open door to all itinerants, and he continued universally loved and respected. In the autumn of 1857 he began to fail, but he lingered until March 28, 1858. His natural moods were from elation to depression, the latter prevailing, from physical causes, during much of his illness. But a short time before his departure his son, William James, repeated the hymn, "Away, my unbelieving fears," in which he joined, and, coming to the last two lines, he raised his eyes and hands toward heaven, and said, with great emphasis: —

"No, in the strength of Jesus, no!
I never will give up my shield."

Afterward he said: "I have a home, a home not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. I have no fear of death." His obsequies were held in the Centreville church by Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray and others, and his remains deposited in the town cemetery with his kindred. (See Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 317-324.)

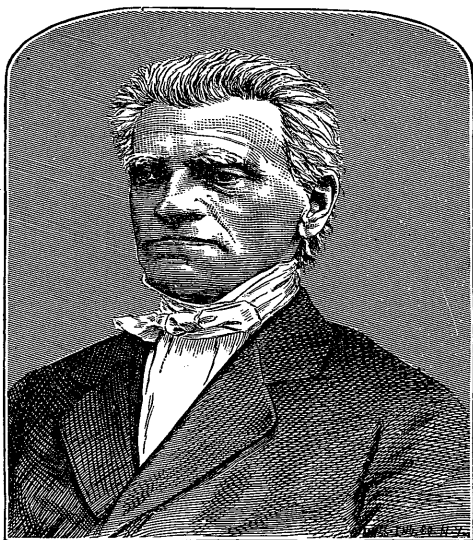
In addition to these the *Western Methodist Protestant* furnishes the obituaries¹ of Rev. J. Baker of Ohio Conference, Reformer, June 25, 1856; Thomas Barnes, lay-Reformer and brother-in-law to Asa Shinn, January 21, 1857; Rev. Jeremiah Leslie of Ohio, Reformer, February 11, 1857; James Foster of Cincinnati, O., lay-Reformer, and delegate to four General Conferences, November 11, 1857; Rev. D. D. Hughes, Reformer of 1830, May 5, 1858.

¹ In these and all occurring instances, when "Obituary" is named the date given is of it and not the death. Otherwise the date is of the decease.

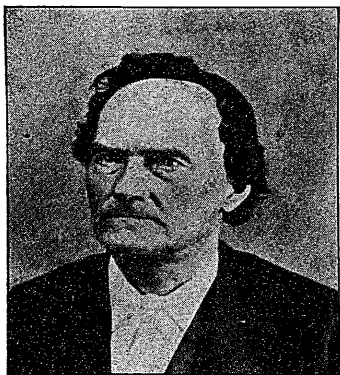
CHAPTER XXIV

Dissatisfaction over the division of the Book Concern, but the Conventional Conferences met and consummated the act on both sides—It was found that it did not suffice the West and North—Separation broached; acrimonious discussion in the papers; upshot was the Cincinnati Convention of 1857 and its ultimatum to the East and South; Some good resulted—Convention of 1858 at Springfield, O.—Current events of the quadrennium; Central Female College, Culloden, Ga.; North Hebron Institute, Vermont; incorporation of Tennessee Conference; *Southern Olive Tree* suspends; D. B. Dorsey, Sr.'s "History" and what came of it; sketch of Lynchburg College and final failure—Decease of Dr. T. E. Bond; reflections; old issues revived in the *New York Christian Advocate* and the answers of Brown, Hopper, Dorsey, and Stockton, Sr.—Yadkin Institute, North Carolina; Board of Missions; Drs. Brown and Scott in the South—Culmination of the slavery issue.

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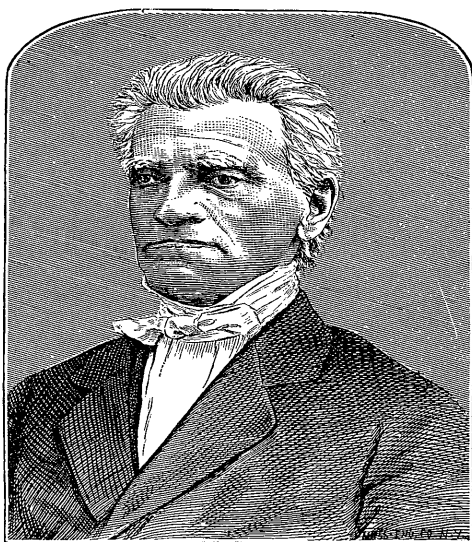


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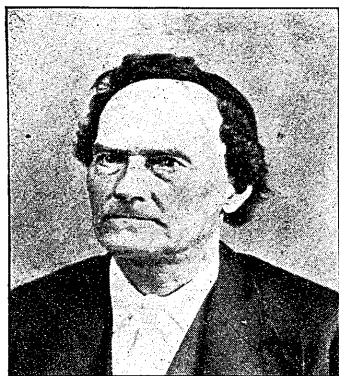
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Springfield, O., the title to be the *Western Methodist Protestant*, with A. H. Bassett, editor. Upon investigation, it was found on the plan suggested by the General Conference that the Western interest would be entitled to receive, as their equitable share from the Baltimore Book Concern, \$2300, and George Clancy was designated to confer with it and pay the money, on receipt, over to a new Board of Trust. Nine trustees were elected: Israel Thrapp, E. A. Wheat, George Clancy, A. H. Trumbo, J. M. Flood, William Steel, William Fish, D. A. Jones, and L. Newlove. They organized themselves into a Literary and Publishing Society. The Convention designated another to be called at Springfield in November, 1856. At the end of the current sixteenth volume, in September, 1855, the establishment was removed to Springfield, and the paper appeared, October 11, 1855, under its new title, with a dress of new type, and a subscription list of twenty-five hundred. Meantime, a settlement was effected by George Clancy with the Baltimore Directory, for the sum of \$2300 in cash, books, and promissory notes. Eleven Conferences in all adhered to the Western interest. There being some rumor that the Convention might be tempted to transcend its powers, the brethren were placed on their guard, and confined the deliberations to the legitimate call for it.

The action of the General Conference excited alarm along the sectional border. All that section of the Pittsburgh Conference lying in Western Virginia dissented from the adhesion of it to the Springfield Book Concern; and when the Conference met at Allegheny City, Pa., September 20, 1854, it was agreed to set them off as a separate body. Following the example, when the Muskingum Conference was set off, they elected two presidents, Rev. P. T. Laishley being named for Western Virginia; but as only one Plan of Appointments was made, the division can be defined only by the assessment made for his support. This included Fairmont station, Morgantown circuit, Evansville, Philippi, Taylor, Harrison, Lewis, Buchanan, West Fork, Braxton, Pocahontas, Greenbrier, Jackson, Freeport, Randolph mission, Harrisville and Tyler circuit, Gilmore, Kentucky, Fairmont, and Pruntytown.¹

¹ On October 2, 1855, the West Virginia Conference held its first session at Pruntytown, as appears from the reported proceedings in the Baltimore paper. D. R. Helmick was elected President, and the following brethren appear in the Plan of Appointments: W. B. Bolton, William Wragg, R. Potts, R. J. Norman, J. C. Bolton, D. H. Lilly, J. E. Mitchell, William Sisk, George Nestor, G. G. Westfall, R. S. Welch, John Clark, J. B. McCormick, R. H. Walker, J. S. Hacker,

Pursuant to agreement the Baltimore Convention assembled at West Baltimore station, June 6, 1855, to "mature a permanent plan for the future management and control of the *Methodist Protestant* newspaper and Book Concern." Hon. B. S. Bibb was elected President and W. H. Wills, Secretary. The following Conferences had elected delegates to the number of eighteen, of whom twelve were present:¹ Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, New Jersey, Missouri, Tennessee, Arkansas, Georgia, and, subsequently, South Carolina was included in the charter, making eleven, the same number as adhered to the Western Concern. Pennsylvania also became a patron of the Baltimore paper. The Book Directory made a report covering the year since the General Conference. Tabular statements were furnished, from which it is seen that the circulation of the *Methodist Protestant* was 4209, not counting exchanges, or nearly as large as was reported to the General Conference of 1854, but few papers having been discontinued in consequence of the official recognition of the Western paper. Its financial condition differed but little from that of 1854. A draft of a charter, amendatory of that of 1839, was offered by George Vickers, and approved. It named as directors, Wesley Starr, John W. Richardson, John Coates, Robert B. Varden, William Dulany, Ebenezer Strahan, and the ministers of East and West Baltimore stations at the time, *ex officio*. E. Yeates Reese was unanimously elected Editor and Agent, and his salary fixed at \$1500. It was resolved that "this Convention reciprocates the fraternal sentiments of the brethren of the Western Convention, and desire the perpetuation of the existing harmony between the two institutions." The Convention adjourned on the 7th of June, 1855.

At the Illinois Conference, in the autumn of 1855, the question of the division of the Book Concern was discussed and elicited such a difference of opinion that it refused to espouse either side, but deferred its consideration to the next Conference. The result

A. Morrison, M. Stewart, S. Leslie, Samuel Clawson, A. D. Thomas, P. T. Laishley, J. Bolton, Sr., A. Lister, W. M. Betts, J. C. Haines, and J. Holland. The Conference determined to adhere to the Baltimore Book Concern, and passed in definition of its position a resolution that "the Conference will not directly or indirectly interfere with the social institutions of the States (to wit, slavery), leaving their management entirely to the control of the governments of the different States in which they exist." It was offered by P. T. Laishley and William Hamilton. John Clark had represented them in the Baltimore Convention of June 6, 1855. The statistics showed 3836 members, fifty churches, and a valuation of \$24,850.

¹ The roster of those elected and those present may be found in the manuscript Minutes preserved at the Baltimore Book Concern, and now before the writer.

gained of an official paper coequal with the Baltimore official was not satisfactory to many when other consequences were considered. The pressure from without increased as the antislavery tide rose higher and higher in the West and North. No such tame position as that of the West Virginia brethren would suffice. The Wesleyan Methodists made inroads upon the people, and there grew up a demand for utter separation. The brethren in the free states were twitted upon their continued official relation to Conferences in the slave states; and in the more extreme sections some of the Conferences seriously decreased in numbers owing to this cause. The wisest and most conservative men yielded to the infection. In this condition of affairs the second Convention of delegates, as called, assembled at Springfield, November 6, 1856, to consider the *Western Methodist Protestant* and Book Concern. Nineteen were present from seven Conferences, and others heard from by letter. The Convention again elected John Burns, President, and J. J. White, Secretary. The report of the Western Book Concern showed that extra expenses had been incurred by moving, and the new plant, so that there was a considerable shortage. The editor and agent was complimented on his management and was reelected to the twofold position. The subscription of the Western paper claimed an increase of 550 over the last report, or 3050.

And now these brethren took up the question of "a peaceful separation" from the East and South. It was illegitimate business, but a number of the Conferences having instructed their delegates to consider it, an advisory committee of one from each Conference was appointed to "propose suitable action in the case." After much deliberation they reported through the Chairman, Rev. Samuel W. Widney, a statement, with a series of Resolves, the gist of them being: "In our opinion, the advantages derived from our relation to the General Conference, as now constituted, are overbalanced by the disadvantages arising from it," and "as we cannot hope for reasonable permanent harmony," it is a question whether "the peace and interests of both the Southern and Northern Conferences will not be promoted by a peaceful separation." The several Conferences North and West are recommended to "clothe their representatives with conventional powers, and instruct them to meet in the city of Cincinnati, O., on the second Wednesday of November, 1857, and then and there determine whether they will attend the General Conference, to be held at Lynchburg, Va., in May, 1858, or whether they will take

measures for the organization of a General Conference embracing only Annual Conferences opposed to the system of American slavery." Sympathetic coöperation is invited from any in the South who favor their view; and that the "local officary be requested to call attention to the action in order to gather the sentiment of the whole Church in relation to the matter."

The report was adopted by ayes and nays, the President, John Burns, alone recording his vote in the negative. The Literary Society representing the Book Concern, at its annual meeting, June, 1857, unanimously approved what was done, and A. H. Bassett and J. M. Flood were appointed to draft a circular address to the West and North. It ably sets forth a synoptical history of the Church from 1828 onward, and the conflict of sentiment on the slavery question, with arguments apologetic and justificatory of the proposed separation. It also set forth evidentially the loss incurred in the North particularly, from "Vermont to Iowa," by reason of slavery and their official connection with it. It specified the loss of the entire Champlain Conference of over five hundred members, one-half the Vermont and the Michigan Conferences, and numerous declensions all over their territory. The concluding paragraph says, "We have reached a crisis."¹ It was manifestly so, while there can be no mistaking the meaning of the action of the Convention. A necessity was upon them which had to be met and mastered, or gradual disintegration would follow. It was the same kind of necessity that obtained in the East and South, which forbade, with or without General Conference recommendation, the publication of incendiary papers against slavery, fastened upon the territory within which the Baltimore official paper circulated by civil laws no ecclesiastical action could abrogate. The knotty problem with them was: How to separate and not secede. The former they must do; the latter they repudiated. It was Scylla or Charybdis.

These proceedings led to a discussion in both the official papers, not without acrimony. George Clancy, Daniel Young, and others, zealously supported by the editor, led off, defensive of the doings, while John Burns, Dennis B. Dorsey, Joel Rice, a layman of Illinois, argued its unconstitutionality with a logical force that made such a position untenable. Hon. P. B. Hopper, as a conservative, deprecated the call of the Cincinnati Convention, and Dr. Armstrong of Tennessee showed that his Protest in 1854 was prophetic. The Western paper for months together contained

¹ See the official papers and Bassett's "History" for full text of papers, etc.

little else but the discussion, the opposing Western writers finding cover in the Baltimore paper.¹ The drift made it evident that separation was foregone. William Collier, then pastor of Pittsburgh, first church, an antislavery man of prudent speech, even in Maryland, did much to direct the storm by his sagacious counsels.

The upshot of the agitation was the assembling of the Cincinnati Convention in the George Street church, November 11, 1857. A day of fasting and prayer had been observed a short time before for wisdom to act advisedly, and their motives under a dominating idea cannot be questioned. Forty representatives in all from fifteen Annual Conferences had been elected, of whom twenty-five were in attendance. They had been elected as members of the General Conference as well, — they were here in pursuance of the call to determine whether they would attend or not. It was an anomalous condition of things. William Collier was chosen President and J. J. White, Secretary. Six committees were appointed, and the burden of business resolved itself into three propositions: Was it their duty to attend the General Conference at Lynchburg, Va., the ensuing May 4, 1858; the Memorial to be addressed the body setting forth their grievances; and their course of action on ascertaining the decision of the General Conference. On the first proposition J. M. Flood, for the committee, reported a series of resolutions, in substance that free discussion of slavery would not be allowed at Lynchburg, and this destroyed the equality of debate; that it was unnecessary for the North and West to be represented in a body to secure redress; that no censure is implied of any representatives of their section who might attend, and that a committee of five be appointed to present to the General Conference their Memorial. A. H. Bassett, of the committee on the Memorial, presented a well written and carefully worded paper of considerable length. It sets forth their grievance as antislavery men, declares that they do not further wish to reiterate appeals for redress "ungrateful, if not insulting, to their feelings, much less would we be unreasonable to make demands of the General Conference, which it is out of the power of the body to grant." Then three modifications are demanded of

¹ The Muskingum Conference at its session of October, 1857, developed strong opposition to the Convention as contemplating separation, and the delegates were elected against the protest of a strong minority of twenty-four. Palmetto circuit passed a resolve against separation. See Baltimore paper, October 24, 1857. Also Quincy station, Illinois, Lancaster and Steubenville stations, and other places.

the Constitution and Discipline: First, the word "white" to be struck from Article XI., sections first and second. Second, the third item and annexed proviso of fourth section, Article VII., as understood as insuring civil protection to slaveholders and dealers. Third, the insertion of a clause making voluntary slaveholding and dealing a bar to membership in the Church.¹ They ask a release from the obligation to attend one General Conference, and that a call be made for a Convention to make these changes, in May, 1859. In this case they will await the action of the Annual Conferences; "but if this General Conference shall not see good to adopt action necessary to remove our difficulties, we cannot conscientiously consent to a further continuance of our ecclesiastical connection." They would indulge in no reproaches and do not assume to be judge of their neighbors. Signed, William Collier, President.

As to future action, George Clancy, for the committee, reported a proposition for another Convention, to assemble at Springfield, O., November 10, 1858. It sets forth that its powers and objects shall be to hear and take such action on the answer of the General Conference as may be necessary; in case of its refusal to amend, etc., to issue a new edition of the Discipline, with the amendments and alterations, but to be confined to those objectionable features specified; and that said Convention shall have full power over the *Western Methodist Protestant* and Book Concern. All three papers were adopted with unanimity, those in the West of the representatives elected and opposed to the action not attending. The Convention held until the 16th, a period of five days, much harmony prevailed, and its proceedings were generally approved in the North and West.² George Brown was all this time

¹ It is in evidence of the weakness of human nature and the poverty of human logic under stress of external pressure that in the General Conference of the M. E. Church in 1856 this very question was argued. The Baltimore and some other border Conferences in slave territory adhered to the Church North, and to save another division under extreme enactments against slaveholders, etc., even Dr. T. E. Bond, the doughty champion of the antislavery party in 1844, and onward, said in the *New York Advocate*, which he then edited, that if a rule should be enacted by that General Conference to "exclude all slaveholders from the church, whatever be their condition or circumstances, it would become the duty of the border Conferences to disregard the rule." And Dr. J. P. Durbin, in that same General Conference, showed in a masterful speech, both from the Bible and the example of the primitive church, buttressed by expositions and comments of the most learned scholars, "that the apostles admitted slaveholders into the church."

² For the full text of these papers see the *Western Methodist Protestant* of even dates, and Bassett's "History."

absorbed in the tangled affairs of Madison College, and took no part in the Conventions. Antislavery in sentiment, he may speak for himself as to the matter. "I was as certain as any of them that an end of the coöperation of the churches North and South would soon come; but for a time I did not agree with them as to the manner of bringing it about. I now believe [1868] that they were right and I was wrong."¹

The brethren of the East and South, as these several Conventions were held, each taking more advanced ground looking to separation, were aroused from their dream that the division of the Book Concern would be accepted North and West as a "peace measure." While no better satisfied of its constitutionality than not a few in the other section, it seemed to them the only solution of a vexed question, holding out a hope that the connectional bond of the Church, as a continental organization, might be preserved. Two good results were attained by the property division and the antislavery discussion. It saved the brethren from the temptation to reenact the unseemly squabble of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1845-50, denying the right of the South to their equitable proportion of their Book Concern. The brethren North and West were amicably allowed their equitable share. It is to be regretted that it did not surcease the efforts after the reunion of 1877, to make Pittsburgh, or the West, the sole location of an official paper and Book Concern. Fraternity suggests that the evidence be reserved until challenged. It also provoked the Christian slaveholders of the South to look after the educational and religious interests of the colored people. The Virginia Conference of November, 1856, passed strong resolutions on the subject.

Recurrence must now be made to the current Church events of the quadrennium of 1854-58. The General Conference of 1854, as part of its incidental business, had adopted the English Wesleyan Catechism for the use of the Church. In a few months an edition was published by the Baltimore Book Concern; but it did not meet with the favor of the people, and soon fell into desuetude. The Central Female College of Culloden, Ga., under the auspices of the Conference, elected Rev. R. H. Ball, A.M., ex-President of Madison College, President; and it entered upon a career that promised success. The North Hebron Institute, under patronage of Vermont and New York Conference, was also inaugurated with a hopeful outlook. At the fall session of the

¹ Brown's "Itinerant Life," p. 398.

Tennessee Conference, 1854, steps were taken, and subsequently matured, for the incorporation of the body under the State law to hold property, etc. It was a protective and useful act, afterward followed by the Pennsylvania, and by the Maryland Conference in 1890. The General Conference not being incorporated,¹ it is the more important that the Annual Conferences should be, that there might be some central legal receiver for bequests not coming under the specific direction of local societies thereof. In this default considerable sums have been lost to the denomination. It was proposed to divide the Texas Conference into two by a line drawn through the State from east to west, and to be called "Texas" and "Southern Texas," November, 1854. T. H. Stockton had issued a volume of "Sermons for the People," which were so popular that a fourth edition was demanded. The Mississippi Conference was divided into North and South at the session of 1854.²

Quite an animated controversy took place in 1855 between Dr. T. E. Bond, of the *New York Advocate*, and Dr. Abel Stevens, of the *Zion's Herald*, the latter having expressed liberal opinions as to the Reformers of 1828 and lay-representation, which the former vigorously attacked. Any charity toward the "Radicals" excited the doughty "hero of a hundred battles," like a red flag flaunted in the face of a fiery bovine. It gave W. S. Stockton a coveted opportunity to review the opposite opinions of these leaders in Methodist Episcopacy; in the course of which he justified the Reformers for not accepting silence as the condition of membership in the old Church, on the irrefragable ground that, as honest men, "they could hardly, in their own estimation, have maintained their *private* virtues, had they not made evident their *public* virtue in efforts to reform the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The *Southern Telegraph*, now the *Southern Olive Tree*, local paper of Georgia and adjacent Conferences, suspended publication, owing to financial embarrassment. A. G. Brewer was its last editor. Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey announced,

¹ See action of General Conferences of 1892 and 1896.

² It was the fourteenth session of the Conference held at Liberty church, Lafayette county, November 22, 1854. The Plan of Appointments shows the division as follows: South: P. H. Napier, President; C. P. Gallepie, J. H. Bounds, W. C. Pridgeon, J. N. Rieves, R. Bankston, F. Harman; General Missionary, Elijah Lott. Other members not named in the hands of the President. North: A. A. Houston, President; J. B. Spencer, W. G. Bulger, S. W. Montgomery, Z. D. Tatum, R. C. Jeeter, M. Cofer, M. Montgomery, J. F. Smith; Book Agent, H. D. Beaven, in hands of President. An increase of 800 members was reported for the whole district.

as in preparation by himself, a new "History of the Church," May, 1855. He spent the leisure of his old age upon it; and the writer had an interview with him in the fall of 1858, at Fairmount, W. Va., where he then resided, and he spoke of it as nearing completion. It was probably never finished, as, after his death, this and other manuscript came into the custody of his son, Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey, Jr., who, after again announcing it for publication, in later years, had a personal difficulty with the authorities of the Western paper, which he then edited, that led to his resignation and retirement from the ministry for secular business, at Chillicothe, O. The writer had correspondence with him anent the "History," about 1880; but, while courteously answered, no satisfaction could ever be obtained from him or other members of the family, except that this son had destroyed it. Dorsey Jr. was a strong and powerful preacher and a ready and graceful writer, and a veil must be drawn over the disturbing controversy alluded to, in which he was probably as much sinned against as sinning, as to newspaper management, — the gist of it. Efforts of A. H. Bassett to recover the manuscript of Dorsey Sr. also failed. This much in dismissal of the whole matter by anticipation. Dr. Clarke, afterward Bishop, in a biography of Bishop Hedding published in 1855, is an example of the bitter prejudice yet existing among their leading ministers. He speaks of Asa Shinn, whom even Dr. Bond admitted was without guile and without reproach, as "a talented, zealous, laborious, but radical man, and a great disturber of the peace and quiet of the Church." Like disparaging language is used of Bascom and Brown.

Rev. Alexander Doniphan, as agent of Lynchburg College, announced its organization, with Dr. S. K. Cox as President, and the old faculty of Madison, with fifty students engaged and \$10,000 subscribed by the citizens of the place for a building. In October it was formally opened with eighty students, and one hundred in all expected. The most of these had withdrawn from Madison, which, at its opening session of this year, still reported fifty in attendance. The Virginia Conference formally accepted Lynchburg College, and the buildings were ideally created. They were to be in good architectural style and in a commanding situation on one of the Lynchburg hills. It was incorporated by the Legislature of Virginia in January, 1856, with one hundred pupils. Corner-stone of the College was laid in July, 1856. The entire cost was \$30,000, as reported in August, 1857, of which \$20,000 was paid. In December, 1857, it reported \$25,262

expended on buildings and furniture, of which \$5000 was due a Building Association.¹ The President, Dr. Cox, sanguine in everything, had it furnished and equipped expensively, for which he made himself, to some extent, personally responsible. The financial involvement led to his resignation in the late winter of 1858, and Professor R. L. Brockett was elected President *pro tem.*, while Dr. Cox opened in the town an "Institute for Young Ladies," which involved him further. Ten thousand dollars was promised the college, and Brockett was elected President, in June, 1858, after favorable unofficial reports to the General Conference in Lynchburg, May, 1858. It was continued with varying fortune and had its fifth annual Commencement June, 1860, with W. W. Walker as President. He resigned, and Rev. Dr. Thomson accepted the Presidency. Meanwhile, the Female College, under Dr. Cox, was sold by Rev. William McGwigan to satisfy a large claim upon it due him, and it passed from under church patronage. In 1861 the Civil War scattered the pupils and faculty of Lynchburg College, and, some years after, it was sold to satisfy the mortgage of the Building Association, and turned into dwelling-houses. Its turrets may yet be seen, melancholy reminders of two ill-advised educational ventures in this place.

Dr. Thomas E. Bond, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, departed this life in New York City, March, 1856. His abilities were marked and his career is largely sketched in this work. His closing days were philosophically calm, and his retrospect of his course supported by the confession that he believed it was for the good of the Church he loved so well and so zealously defended. In his palmy days no man commanded so wide an influence. For long years his controversial dicta were accepted as exponents of its polity; but, essentially erroneous as was the polity itself, a rapidly coming future will repudiate them, and his memory fade for lack of emulation. His end was peaceful, and no one will question his Christian integrity. He has met McCaine in heaven, though in the hot blood of his partisan zealotry he was emphatic in the declaration that he would not. Jennings and Snethen and Shinn and Stockton and Harrod are now all of one company. His son Thomas E. was elected to fill

¹ Let it be placed upon record that of this sum \$6000 was contributed by Hon. B. S. Bibb of Alabama, and \$6000 by Captain William Harding of Virginia, and \$5000 by Mr. Steele of Alabama, and \$5000 by the citizens of Lynchburg, mostly in the church. For that day these were liberal sums.

out his unexpired time to the General Conference of the old Church, which met in May, 1856, at Indianapolis, Ind. It was fretted by the presentation of numerous memorials asking for lay-representation, some of them remarkable for the manner in which they traverse the arguments used by the Reformers of 1827-30, but cautiously abstaining from any credit to the naughty "Radicals." These petitions were again respectfully considered, but the final report rehashes the old statement: The petitioners represented a minority of the Church. The educating process, however, was bearing fruit, so that Dr. Abel Stevens was elected editor of the official paper, though, as editor of the *Zion's Herald*, he was known as a convert to lay-representation. Opposing writers in the *Advocates* did not fail to revive the old issues, and with the usual misrepresentations. It brought Brown and Hopper and Dorsey and Stockton into the official papers on the defensive.

Under the patronage of the North Carolina Conference, Yadkin Institute was set in operation, and a building contracted for thirty by sixty feet on an eminence overlooking the Yadkin River. Halifax Female Seminary, at High Point, was also proposed by the North Carolina Conference, February, 1857. The *Conference Quarterly* of New York and Vermont Conference, a small quarto sheet, edited by Rev. Ruel Hanks, was inaugurated July, 1857; and the *Independent Press*, Rev. D. B. Dorsey editor and proprietor, a religious and literary paper, started at Martinsville and Bridgeport, Belmont County, O., August, 1857, and soon removed to Moundsville, Va. Rev. Peyton S. Graves, whose career had been marked with irregularities in the Church, under the stress of poverty, recanted formally his Reform principles and associations, and was received into the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The Illinois Conference entertained the idea of a North Illinois University, and elected trustees in October, 1857. As an instance of English intolerance of Reform Methodists among them, the Wesleyans, with one consent, closed their chapel doors against the celebrated revivalist, Rev. James Caughy, because he consented to labor in the Primitive and Free Methodist chapels. He afterward met with great success in a tour of the United States, but was wise enough not to antagonize similar intolerance by confining his ministrations to the old Church. The *Christian Advocate* of Memphis, Tenn., and the *Northern Advocate* of Northwestern New York came out for lay-representation, in November, 1857. Bowdon Collegiate Institute of Georgia was recognized by

the Georgia Conference and patronized, in 1857. Rev. George Brown remonstrated before the Pittsburgh Conference against any form of "separation" from the East and South, as proposed by the leaders of the call for the Cincinnati Convention. A large Convention of clerical and lay-delegates assembled at Rochester, N. Y., December, 1857, and passed earnest resolutions favoring lay-representation and the abolition of the presiding eldership; and Rev. Dr. Leroy M. Lee, editor of the *Richmond Advocate*, Virginia, took strong ground in favor of lay-representation in his branch of the Church. The reader will ejaculate, "Surely something came of all this agitation and memorializing!" Unsophisticated reader, nothing came of it; and not much has been effected to this year of our Lord 1895, forty years after. Entailed and entrenched clerical Methodist power never has capitulated,—it never did, or can, reform itself. Under great pressure in recent years, it has abated a little of its pretentious claims, but only to mollify by a limited and circumscribed lay-delegation, still under clerical control in its last analysis; but a lay-representation from "the people called Methodists" never has been conceded, and probably never will be.¹

The Board of Missions, soon after the General Conference of 1854, elected Rev. John Scott, Agent, and he entered upon his duties, travelling quite extensively not in the North only, but among the Southern Conferences, meeting with welcome everywhere and a fair measure of success. He was accompanied South by Dr. George Brown, as President of Madison College, collecting old subscriptions to it; and he acknowledges that, as a rule, the claims were honorably settled by brethren whose whole interest was now concentrated upon Lynchburg College. Much space is given by both these brethren, Brown in his "Itinerant Life," and Scott in his "Fifty Years," to their experience as to the attitude of the South in prospective resistance and secession in given circumstances. There matured undoubtedly a latent purpose in both sections by extreme men: in the North to extirpate slavery

¹ Rev. T. H. Lewis, D.D., in a pamphlet used in connection with the seventieth anniversary, 1898, of the Methodist Protestant Church, has clearly set forth the vital differences between a lay-delegation and a lay-representation in Methodism. This difference has been often pointed out in this History, but not with such elaborate force, and it has been embodied in Appendix J, at the close of the first volume. This showing is all the more necessary now for the reason that in both the General Conferences of the dominant Methodisms of this country *equal lay-delegation*, after a long struggle in the M. E. Church, has been secured, but it is in no sense a *lay-representation*. Why it is not, Dr. Lewis makes very apparent. The reader should carefully peruse it before proceeding.

as a national institution by force of arms as a last resort, and in the South to resist aggression by force of arms as a last resort; only with the former it was more pronounced and overt. The conspiracy of John Brown and his confederates, with Harper's Ferry, Va., in 1859, as the objective of attack for a forcible emancipation, and the concentration of the material of the army and navy by the Southern secretary of War, are part of the evidence.

E. Yeates Reese, as editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, January 27, 1857, makes sad comment upon the recent suicide of the Scotch geologist, Hugh Miller, and adds a touching moral. In September, 1861, but four years after, he did the same thing, and from the same cause, — overtaxed mind and body. Aberration to the point of irresponsibility was clearly traced in the case of the Christian scientist, and will be made equally clear in the case of the lamented Dr. E. Yeates Reese.

CHAPTER XXV

Seventh General Conference at Lynchburg, Va., 1858—Roster of members; Rev.

W. C. Lipscomb, President; the only instance of a local minister being thus honored in the Church—Overshadowing business was the Memorial of the Cincinnati Convention of the West and North; various reports on it; full particulars and an impartial statement of the case made up from all sources, as well as after differing recollections of intentions and actions—"Prayer of Consecration" in the M. E. Church rubric and its abolition in the new Church finally; a relic of the Mass—Various incidental matters at this Conference; statistics; Board of Missions—General Conference of the M. E. Church, South, forbidden by the Bishop's Address to discuss the lay-delegation question—Call of the Springfield Convention; roster of members; its action on the call; suspension of official relations with the East and South so long as the evil complained of (slavery) should exist among them; its construction by both sides; Discipline changed to conform to the separation—*The Western Methodist Protestant.*

THE Seventh General Conference of the Church convened at Lynchburg, Va., May 4, 1858. Both the manuscript and the printed Minutes are before the writer. A roster of those present the first day is given by the Secretary, and, also, of those who subsequently appeared in person, or by written communication, and wished to be recorded as members, making a total in attendance of twenty-three ministers and sixteen laymen. These will be designated in the following roster, made up and added as an appendix to the printed Minutes by the editor of the official paper, who was deputed by the secretaries to codify and print them. Those who will be at the pains to compare this list with that of the delegates to the Springfield Convention of November, 1858, as given in its minutes by A. H. Bassett, will observe that the same brethren were not in all cases elected as representatives in both Conference and Convention, notably in the New York and Vermont, which elected and instructed separate delegations. The New Jersey Conference elected representatives to the Conference, and were so recognized by letter, but not to the Convention, and New Jersey does not appear in its list.

The General Conference was organized by calling Hon. B. S. Bibb to the chair, and W. H. Wills, Secretary *pro tem.*

The following is believed to be a correct list of the members of the General Conference of 1858. It is no part of the Record, but is made up from the best facilities that are at hand. — *Ed. Meth. Prot.*

MARYLAND	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. J. Murray ¹	J. B. Mathews, Alt. ¹
Josiah Varden ¹	J. W. Richardson
W. C. Lipscomb ¹	Luther Martin ¹
Dan'l Zollickoffer ¹	J. B. Thomas ¹
	Geo. Vickers ¹
VIRGINIA	
R. B. Thomson ¹	C. W. Button ¹
J. G. Whitfield ¹	W. Harding ¹
G. R. Barr ¹	H. B. Woodhouse ¹
WESTERN VIRGINIA	
P. T. Laishley ¹	C. W. Newlon
D. R. Helmick	F. H. Pierpont ¹
D. B. Dorsey, Sr., Alt. ¹	Hon. Z. Kidwell ¹
Sam'l Clawson ¹	
PENNSYLVANIA	
J. K. Hembold	Wm. Dale
PITTSBURGH	
William Collier ¹	J. R. Griffith
Wm. Reeves ¹	J. Redman
NEW YORK AND VERMONT	
R. Hanks	A. Seaman
NEW JERSEY	
T. T. Heiss	E. C. Pancoast
BOSTON	
J. M. Mayall	George Pierce
OHIO	
A. H. Bassett	J. M. Johnson
J. M. Flood	S. Graham
Joseph J. White ¹	E. D. Norris
NORTH MISSISSIPPI	
A. A. Houston	W. R. Montgomery
MISSISSIPPI	
Elisha Lott ¹	N. B. Whitehead

¹ These only were present.

<i>Ministers</i>	NORTH CAROLINA	
		<i>Laymen</i>
J. F. Speight ¹		Jas. N. Speight ¹
Alson Gray		Calvin Johnston
W. H. Wills ¹		M. C. Whitaker
	SOUTH CAROLINA	
H. T. Arnold		Hiram Yarborough ¹
	GEORGIA	
C. A. McDaniel ¹		John Webb ¹
	TENNESSEE	
B. F. Duggan ¹		J. L. Armstrong ¹
	WEST TENNESSEE	
O. Potts		Zach. Biggs, Jr.
	LOUISIANA	
G. W. Johnson		S. M. Grigsby
	ARKANSAS	
M. Stimson ¹		J. Cottingham
	ALABAMA	
F. L. B. Shaver ¹		Hon. B. S. Bibb ¹
S. E. Norton ¹		E. H. Cook
		J. H. Smith, Alt. ¹
	MISSOURI	
Samuel Hughes ¹		G. Hendricks ¹
	OREGON AND CALIFORNIA	
Jeremiah Dodson		M. P. Gilliam
	ONONDAGA	
I. H. Hogan		B. G. Swift
	GENESEE	
O. C. Payne		B. A. Nichols
	MUSKINGUM	
G. Clancy ¹		I. Cassell
R. Andrew		J. Wells
J. S. Thrap		J. Fordyce

¹ These only were present.

INDIANA		
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
T. Shipp		Wm. Smith
WABASH		
S. W. Widney		Jas. H. Williams
NORTH ILLINOIS		
W. E. Martin		Wm. Cullen
SOUTH ILLINOIS		
R. Wright		I. Patterson
ILLINOIS		
Joel Dalbey		T. R. Markillie
IOWA		
Wm. Patterson		J. B. Bass
TEXAS		
R. A. Sloan		Samuel Oliver

After a most careful and rigid analysis of the Minutes by the writer, he finds that there were twenty-three ministers and sixteen laymen present, though Bassett's "History" gives forty as the attendance. Rev. Jeremiah Dodson of the Oregon Conference failed to reach the General Conference before adjournment, owing to a miss of connection by ocean steamer, but came on to Baltimore, a distance of between five and six thousand miles, and at his own expense. Such was the devotion and zeal of not a few Reform ministers even in that day. The Conference gave honorary seats to a number of ex-members and visitors who were present, with the privilege of debate, and several availed themselves of it. On the second day of the session Rev. William C. Lipscomb, an unstationed minister of the Maryland Conference who had been honored with an election (as well as Rev. Daniel Zollickoffer, also an unstationed minister), was duly elected President of the General Conference, and J. J. White and D. B. Dorsey, Jr., Secretaries. It was the first and only time in the Church history that an unstationed minister was thus honored; but his Reform record made him worthy, while his commanding presence and parliamentary ability made it a wise choice.

The business of the Conference that overshadowed all other was the Memorial from the Cincinnati Convention, presented in person by William Collier. Its substance has already been given

in the notes upon that Convention. It was referred to a special committee on Memorials and Petitions: J. J. Murray, William Collier, George Vickers, B. S. Bibb, and Z. Kidwell. May 12, J. J. Murray, chairman of the committee, submitted a report, signed by himself and George Vickers. It was elaborate and argumentative, taking up all the points of the Cincinnati Convention paper, and traversing the whole ground of the questions at issue, making four closely printed pages of the Minutes, and it declined acceding to the requests of the memorialists. Another minority report was also submitted from Z. Kidwell and B. S. Bibb, of the committee, in brief substance that "this General Conference has no constitutional authority to grant the prayers of the petitioners." On the 13th of May, William Collier, of the committee, offered a third report, reviewing the others at length and summing up in four points, the last of which is the gist of his position: "A severance from this General Conference is not a severance from the Methodist Protestant Church; for this General Conference is not the Methodist Protestant Church, it is only an institution of the Church; and, if two-thirds of the Annual Conferences shall so determine, they can as legally and consistently provide for two General Conferences as for two Church Book Concerns." It makes two printed pages of the Minutes. All three reports were laid on the table.¹ Subsequently, a motion to take them up and vote upon them "without debate" was lost. So there was opportunity for free and full discussion, the citizens of that town largely attending; and the most extreme utterances met with no interruption. Thus, one of the chief reasons of the brethren North and West for not attending, as declared by J. M. Flood in the Convention of 1857, that freedom of debate would not be allowed and that they could not be present except on a full equality with their brethren in this regard, was disproved. A motion made to lay the first report on the table as a finality was accepted, and J. J. Murray called for a vote by orders and by yeas and nays. It resulted: ministers, yeas thirteen; ministers, nays five. Laymen, yeas thirteen; laymen, nays three. So the motion to lay on the table was carried by a joint majority of twenty-six to eight. Collier, Reeves, Clancy, and White were excused from voting. At the afternoon session pending a motion to adopt the second report, Collier, Reeves, Clancy, and White were granted leave of absence, and the Con-

¹ The full text of these three reports may be found in both the manuscript and printed Minutes, and in the *Methodist Protestant* of even date.

ference adjourned. At the morning session of May 14, the last day of the Conference, a motion was made to take up the second report of the Memorial Committee; and, after discussion, it was adopted. The Minutes then state:—

Bro. Varden presented the following document, and moved its adoption:—

Resolved, That this General Conference hereby recommend to the several Annual Conferences of the Methodist Protestant Church the call of a Convention as provided for in the Constitution of said Church, Art. XVII., on the following specified conditions:—

1. That the several Annual Conferences represented in the Cincinnati Convention, and petitioners to this body, shall severally at the first session of their respective Conferences, after the rise of this body, sanction said call, immediate notice of which shall be given in the *Western Methodist Protestant*, and *Methodist Protestant* of Baltimore.

2. That the said Annual Conferences making this call shall, with the resolution of call, solemnly pledge themselves to legislate on no subject whatsoever, except the three points specified as follows:—

(1) To make no change in that portion of the Constitution relating to suffrage except the reference of the whole question of suffrage to the Annual Conferences, so that each Annual Conference shall be left free to define its own terms of suffrage.

(2) The explicit declaration by the said General Convention that the General Conference shall never hereafter legislate or express an opinion on questions of morality affecting membership; leaving all offences to be determined by the local judicatories, according to the Word of God.

(3) Providing for a Book Concern to publish only our Hymn Book, Discipline, and General Conference proceedings—periodicals to be published by Annual Conferences separately, or by conventional agreement.

3. That the Conferences making the call solemnly agree to abide by the decision of said General Convention, within the said prescribed limits.

4. On the above stipulated terms a Convention is recommended. But if, between the present time and the meeting of the General Conference in 1862, a majority of the Annual Conferences represented in the Cincinnati Convention should refuse to pledge themselves as above specified, or by any Conference or conventional act of legislation shall attempt to change the provisions of the Constitution or Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church, then this General Conference recommend that the Annual Conferences immediately preceding the General Conference of 1862 recede from the arrangement and refuse to call a Convention.

JOSIAH VARDEN,
WM. C. LIPSCOMB,
R. B. THOMSON,
J. G. WHITFIELD.

It was made the order of the day for 3 o'clock P.M. When it arrived, it was called for by Dr. J. J. Murray, who moved to lay the paper on the table. Though he prepared the original, it was so amended by Varden and others that he made this motion;

which was lost. The paper was taken up by items. "The vote was then taken on the whole paper, and it was adopted." The vote is not given, but it is known that Dr. Murray and some others dissented. The intent of this paper having been subsequently variously construed, it seems pertinent, that it may be disposed of in the present connection, to anticipate events bearing upon it. A. H. Bassett, having affirmed in his "History," 1877, first edition, p. 164, commenting on this so-called "pacificatory" measure, that "The subject of slavery was not named in the paper adopted. The word 'white' was, of course, to remain in the Constitution;" exception was taken to it by Dr. J. J. Murray, and, in the second edition, the author so far modified his statement as to give his exception, coupling with it a note from Dr. William Collier on the same subject. They may be found in the revised "History," pp. 199, 200. Dr. Murray's exception is, in substance: "The design of the paper amended by brother Varden and adopted by the Conference, was not, in its inception, whatever may have been thought of it afterward, to retain the word 'white.' It was to remove that word from the book; and thus remove a bone of contention. This I *know*, having prepared the original paper with this intent, and believing at the time that the proposition would save the Church. . . . I am gratified to think that, substantially, the proposition I made to save the Church from division, became the basis of reunion in 1877." Dr. Collier substantially says: "I was a member of the General Conference of 1858. . . . In the discussion of the subject, especially upon the question of striking out the word *white*, great interest was excited in the community; and full audiences were in attendance. . . . I do not believe that any considerable number of the members of the Conference would, at the time, have consented to any measure striking out the word *white*. . . . It was evident to me at the time, and is still evident to my recollection, that the document, as received and understood, by no means involved or implied the striking out of the word *white*."

A few observations may be made by the writer on the difference between them in a sincere purpose, on this subject particularly, "to record and not make history." Dr. Collier's affirmations are that "at the time" the word "white" could not have been stricken out; while Dr. Murray only claims that, if such a Convention as proposed by the paper had been agreed to, it would have been stricken out. It was impossible that the former should know the mind of the brethren, not having their confidence on this subject;

while the latter had, and could *know*, as he affirms. Again, the essential part of the paper is in the words of the first provision of the second section as to suffrage. It is true that what was then refused was practically accepted as the basis of union in 1877. This is the writer's reason for introducing the full text of this paper to the exclusion, because of their great length, of the three reports previously made on the question. A. H. Bassett says of the paper: "This so-called peace measure was regarded by those concerned as trifling with a respectful and dispassionate appeal from a deliberative assembly, representing, as it was believed, not less than half the Methodist Protestant connection. The proposition was nowhere entertained." It was not named in the Springfield Convention of 1858. The truth of the matter probably was, that the East and South were in no mood to make concessions, having the Constitution and Discipline, as it was in their favor, and the necessities of their situation pressing upon them; while the North and West, in foregone conclusion of separation as the only remedy for the necessities pressing upon them, were in no mood to listen to concessions, — if they had been made.

The other salient events of the General Conference may be more briefly stated. An effort was made to strike out the preamble to the invitation to the Lord's Supper, "the officiating minister or ministers may now partake, after which the following invitation shall be given." It was declared simply permissive, and not mandatory, as the word *may* makes plain. In after years it was, however, stricken out; thus abolishing the last preferment, even in a rubric, of the clerical over the laical class, esteemed specially objectionable in the Lord's Supper. It was the ultimate of a protest against one of the Romish forms of the old Church inherited from Coke and Asbury, and in mimicry of hierarchic episcopacy. Reference is of course made to the "prayer of consecration" of the elements preserved to this day in their ritual, with the direction: Then shall the minister first receive the communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the other ministers in like manner, if any be present." "Then a hymn may be sung and the communicants invited to the table." It was formerly indicated in the consecrating prayer that the minister touch the bread where the word occurs and the wine where it occurs. This part of the mummery was stricken out, as too palpably Romish, and aping the "transubstantiation" or the "consubstantiation" errors of Rome or Luther.¹ It is still

¹ See M. E. Discipline, 1832, p. 98, and later editions.

required, so great is the stress yet laid upon this "consecration" of the elements: "If the elder be straitened for time he may omit any part of the service except the prayer of consecration. If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent before all have communicated, the elder may consecrate more by repeating the prayer of consecration." Nothing can be claimed for the instructions save that it is a fiction of the "Mass," the real presence of the body and blood of Christ. The statements here made will be revelations to not a few readers, and will accentuate the differences between the Methodist Protestant and the Methodist Episcopal Churches for those tender-footed people who say that the variances, both ritualistic and governmental, are unimportant.

A committee to revise the hymn book was appointed; the work was subsequently performed principally by E. Yeates Reese, published by the Baltimore Concern, and largely sold, as it was a very complete and popular collection. The Board of Missions made a full report, with a financial statement by the treasurer, William J. Troth. It showed that a total for the quadrennium had been received of \$5752.15 in subscriptions and for the *Missionary and Sabbath-School Journal*, and a like sum expended for the *Journal*, general Agents, and Missionaries, plus \$67.35, balance in hand. A new Course of Study was adopted. A committee to prepare a catechism was appointed, with Dr. Francis Waters, chairman. He afterward produced a larger and a smaller Catechism, which were issued by the Baltimore Concern, and largely sold; and it remains the Catechism of the Church, with some important emendations on church polity to the larger, by Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates, to this day; and it merits closer attention from the parents and Sabbath-schools of the Church. The application of the Charleston, S. C., church for a mission relation to the Maryland Conference, the object being to retain the pastor more than two years, as prohibited by the "Restrictive Rule," was reported favorably, but warmly contested by the strict constructionists of law; but the effort to defeat the report under a "vote by order" failed by nearly two-thirds majority. It opened the way for more liberal legislation on the subject in the future. The Ratio of Representation was much discussed, in view of the menace of separation of the brethren North and West, and, finally, fixed at fifteen hundred, a reduction of two hundred and fifty. The place of the next General Conference was named as Georgetown, D. C. There being no reports from the North and West, it was found impracticable to furnish the statistics of

the Church. Taking the basis of 1854, about 72,000 as a total of ministers and members, and an increase of ten per cent for the quadrennium, — the usual average heretofore, — about 80,000 would have been the numerical strength in 1858. Of this number A. H. Bassett, a painstaking tabulist, claimed for the adhering twenty-one Conferences, North and West, including the increase for the six months from May to November, most all these Conferences being held in the autumn, about 36,500; houses of worship, 479; and value of property, \$551,000, or nearly one-half of the entire denomination in numbers, churches, and valuation.

The Convention of the *Methodist Protestant* and Book Concern was held May 11, 1858. P. T. Laishley was called to the chair, and Samuel E. Norton appointed Secretary. The Book Directory made its report, but it does not appear in the manuscript minutes of the Convention. F. H. Pierpont moved to elect an editor, and E. Yeates Reese was elected. After incidental business the Convention adjourned. The Huntsville District having become "inoperate," the territory was divided between the Tennessee and the Alabama Conferences. It was recommended in the report of the committee that the "Board of Missions be continued as heretofore." A report from the trustees of Madison College, now suspended, was received, and a committee, composed of Whitfield, Woodhouse, and Pierpont, reported, that as it had been placed by its "trustees in an advisory relation to the General Conference, therefore, resolved that this Conference is willing to continue the relation, unless the Board of Trustees think proper to change it." Lynchburg College did not come before the body officially. It was under the special patronage of the Virginia Conference. A "Methodist Protestant Annual Register" was recommended to the Book Concern; but nothing came of it. W. G. Snethen, Esq., son of Nicholas Snethen, announced his purpose to publish his father's biography and works, in eight volumes, octavo, and it was commended; but, as already found, nothing came of it. Dennis B. Dorsey's new "History" was commended, but, as also found, nothing came of it. Slight amendments were made to the church law, which appear in a revised edition of the Discipline, issued a few months after the Conference adjourned. It had bound up with it Dr. Waters' Address, as found in the Discipline of 1830, etc., Bascom's "Summary of Rights," and an Order of Business for Annual Conferences. Its sale, and that of the revised hymn book, greatly relieved the Book Concern, financially, for several years.

The General Conference adjourned, with prayer by the President, May 14, 1858, after a session of ten days.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had been in session at Nashville, Tenn., about the same time. As has been found, the discussion of lay-delegation was widespread in that Church, several of the *Advocates* favoring it, and, in consequence, a number of petitions were sent up asking for its introduction. And now came another instance of the untruth of Dr. Emory's dictum after he had abandoned his reform principles, to wit: that the General Conference had no power to stifle legislation through its episcopacy. The bishops of the Church, South sprung a surprise upon its General Conference by forestalling, in their episcopal Address, the discussion of the lay-delegation question, and advised that the editors be admonished not to discuss it, nor suffer others so to do. In consequence, the petitions received but cavalier treatment from the committee, who reported, adversely, the threadbare declaration that it was "not generally desired by the Church." The adversities suffered during the Civil War, however, broke this arrogant and unresponsive spirit; and in 1866 it was entertained favorably, as will be seen.

The incidental transactions of the Church in both sections, as culled from the respective official papers, worthy of notation, were the following. George Clancy, William Collier, and others discussed, in their paper, the action of the General Conference with sharpness, and earnestly advocated the proposed Springfield Convention, not without rebuttals from John Burns, D. B. Dorsey, Sr., and others; the problem being: a General Conference acting under a Constitution and Discipline for the Methodist Protestant Church being given, how to organize another General Conference under another Constitution and Discipline for another Methodist Protestant Church. It involved serious ethical, legal, and prudential questions. What came of it will be presently seen. The Literary Committee of the Book Concern approved what the Commissioners did at Lynchburg, and an Address was issued, prepared by A. H. Trumbo, urging unanimity of action of the Northern and Western Conferences in the call for the Springfield Convention of 1858. Every argument and influence was brought to bear against the recalcitrants in their own section and, in the end, successfully. "On June 17, 1858, a noble band of brethren organized a Conference in the then young and frontier state of Minnesota. This took place at Louthrie school-

house, Filmore County, upon the call of Stephen Jones, who has since proved himself, these many years, a veteran of the cause, through ardent toils and many discouragements incident to frontier work. At the first session, five ministers and four lay-delegates were in attendance. James P. Long was the first President.* Obituary of Rev. James Murray, M.D., an original Reformer of the Indiana Conference, November 3, 1858. Miss Susan Ramsburg, a maiden lady of Frederick County, Md., bequeathed her property, nearly \$8000, to a local benevolent society of the Church in that section, which is still available for local purposes. Obituary of Rev. John Godwin, M.D., of Virginia, a Reformer, August 28, 1858. The Cincinnati station voted against sending delegates to the Springfield Convention as late as September, 1858, and the election of such delegates was in the Muskingum Conference accomplished under the protest of a strong minority, led by John Burns, about the same time. A Convention of seventy lay-delegates met at Lebanon, O., in connection with the Cincinnati Conference of the old Church, in September, 1858, which passed a series of resolves demanding lay-delegation from the next General Conference. Obituary of Rev. Jeremiah Swain of Georgia, early Reformer, November 6, 1858. The *Layman's Advocate*, a small periodical, was issued in New York, for a season, November, 1858, in support of the movement for lay-representation in the old Church.

Pursuant to notice a "General Convention of Delegates from the Northern and Western Conferences of the Methodist Protestant Church" was held at Springfield, O., November 10-16, 1858. The proceedings make an octavo pamphlet of forty pages. Rev. George Brown was elected President, and W. H. Miller and R. Rose, Secretaries. The following is a list of the Conferences, with the delegates:—

BOSTON

Ministers

J. M. Mayall

Laymen

 Geo. Pierce¹

NEW YORK AND VERMONT

W. H. Miller

J. J. Smith

Thos. Brown

C. Tomkins

ONONDAGA

Ira H. Hogan

G. White

* Bassett's "History," p. 201.

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	GENESEE	<i>Laymen</i>
N. Palmiter		B. A. Nichols ¹
	PENNSYLVANIA	
R. E. Gorman ¹		Wm. Bartly ¹
	PITTSBURGH	
G. Brown		John Redman
Jas. Robison		G. W. Pogue
Jno. Scott		S. Horner ¹
	MUSKINGUM	
Geo. Clancy		J. Fordyce
H. Heberling		J. Ashton
J. S. Thrap		I. Cassell
R. Andrew ¹		H. Fullerton ¹
J. Nichols ¹		J. D. Daton
A. Abbott ¹		A. W. Beatty ¹
	OHIO	
J. M. Young		R. D. Rowsey
R. Rose		S. Graham
A. H. Bassett		F. A. Finley
J. J. White		J. K. Ogden
W. R. Parsons		J. M. Johnson
	MICHIGAN	
R. C. Lanning		G. J. Daniels
	WESTERN MICHIGAN	
A. Acheson		T. Hinman ¹
	WABASH	
E. Horner ¹		N. T. Caterlin
	INDIANA	
S. Morrison		Wm. Smith
T. Shipp		E. Bassett
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
P. J. Strong		J. W. Bush
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
G. Wright ¹		J. Laughead ¹
	ILLINOIS	
Joel Dalby		J. Connelly
	¹ Absent.	

IOWA	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
G. Wheatley ¹	J. Youngman ¹
NORTH IOWA	
J. J. Watson	Thos. Snyder
WISCONSIN	
J. W. Fried ¹	G. W. Williams ¹
MINNESOTA	
S. Jones ¹	R. Freeman ¹

Total, delegates elect, sixty-four. Number in attendance, forty-four, viz.: twenty-three ministers and twenty-one laymen.

A new Historical Preface for the Discipline was offered by A. H. Bassett, reciting the action of the Church upon the slavery question from the beginning to date, which was subsequently adopted. A Committee on Business recommended five subjects, to which were added three others, and then considered in order. They were the *Western Methodist Protestant*, Book Department, Financial Department and Location of Concern, Communication, Relations and Revisions, Missions, Education, Temperance. The Illinois Conference proposed that the decision of separation should be delayed one year, and it was referred, as well as other objections, to the proposed action of the Convention; but they died in committee. The report of the Committee on Relations, etc., was taken up and acted upon item by item. On suspension the report proposed that it be "now and forever suspended." Dr. Brown amended "until the evil complained of be removed." John Scott had inserted the word "slavery." And Dr. Brown further amended, "and they agree to put back the general interests, and work with their brethren of the West and North in sustaining them under the Constitution." The paper as amended was then passed, the delegates from Illinois alone voting in the negative, according to their instructions. The chairman of the committee was George Clancy, and, after reciting certain transactions involved in the former negotiations, declared that the late "General Conference" of the Methodist Protestant Church was "a legal nullity," and, therefore, the Church had been resolved into its original elements as Associated Methodist Churches, which made it competent for independent action by the Conferences

¹ Absent.

represented. The gist of the paper is, "Therefore, resolved, that indisputable facts, the inductions of sound logic, the dictates of Christian prudence, and an enlightened sense of our duty to God and man, justify and warrant this Convention, in the name of the several Annual Conferences herein represented, to now declare all official connection, coöperation, and official fellowship with and between said conferences, and such conferences and churches, within the Methodist Protestant Association, as practise or tolerate slaveholding and slave-trading, as specified in said Memorial, to be suspended until the evil of slavery complained of be removed; and they agree to put back the general interests, and work with their brethren of the West and North in sustaining them under the Constitution."

Thus the problem was solved. Rev. Dr. John Scott, one of few surviving members of this Convention and an active participant, says, in his "Fifty Years," 1893, that "whatever may be said of the action of this Convention it was not intended to be a withdrawal from the Methodist Protestant Church, but a suspension of official intercourse and the adoption of such changes, for the time being, as were essential to our life as a church. Our action was designed to be temporary, 'until the evil of slavery complained of be removed.'" The committee further reported amendments to the Discipline. The word "white" was stricken out of Article XII., sections 1st and 2d; also fourth section of Article VII., providing for the admission and government of colored members, and terms of suffrage, and that the ecclesiastical powers shall not assume to interfere with the powers of the civil government or the operation of the civil laws, etc. An item was inserted, strongly worded, against slavery. The questions: "What right has this Convention to make such changes;" and "Should not such changes be submitted to a vote of the laity in the churches?" are argued and settled in harmony with the Convention. On this Dr. John Scott, in his last book, says: "This action was based upon an absolute necessity. It was this or ecclesiastical death. Some claimed that the action was warranted by the Constitution, Article VII., section 4th, . . . but this did not cover the case. Its only justification was its necessity." In this view there is now no dissent. Rev. Dr. John Paris of North Carolina, a visitor at the Lynchburg General Conference and a careful note-taker, affirmed, not long after, that on the floor, in answer to an interrogation on this point, Collier said, "We do not claim it to be Constitutional."

Rev. A. H. Bassett was elected Editor and Book Agent by "an almost unanimous vote." Rev. C. Prindle of the Wesleyan Methodists, having been introduced officially, proposed affiliation and union if desired,¹ and suggested that a joint committee be named to compile a new hymn book for the two organizations; which was approved, as also the publication of a new Discipline. The Finance Committee, through J. S. Thrap, rendered the report of the Book Committee, from which net assets were claimed of \$5195.92, including \$3000 due on account of the church paper. A claim of \$2170.03 due Bassett on final settlement for his plant and interest in the Western paper was also deducted. A new Board of Missions was elected, John Scott, Chairman; and the *Missionary and Sabbath-School Journal* ordered continued. Strong resolutions on temperance were passed. Another Convention was called for November, second Wednesday, 1860, in Pittsburgh, Pa. The question, "Shall the Convention appoint the meeting of a General Conference, as the central government of this Confederation?" etc., was referred to the Annual Conferences. The ratio of representation was fixed at one of each class in every thousand members. The names and boundaries of the "Conferences with which we have suspended relations," were to be left out of the new Discipline. The Committee on Education reported a commendation of the University of the Annual Conferences of Illinois. The Convention adjourned, with prayer by the President, November 16, 1858. In the East and South these proceedings, taken together, were declared a secession from the Methodist Protestant Church. The continental character of the denomination was broken, and each section went on its way striving, under serious disabilities, to overcome the local besetments and obstructions with which they were environed. That both did not disintegrate is a marvellous exhibition of the inherent vitality of the lay-representation principle in the new Methodism. Whatever individuals may have felt, and at times displayed, either at Lynchburg or at Springfield, there was no official bitterness or unchristian alienation. It made a reunion possible after a separation of a score of years—a restoration of the only true continental Methodism in the land.

¹ He was one of a Committee of Fraternization from the Wesleyans, and a like committee was appointed by the Convention to meet with them and confer.

CHAPTER XXVI

Influential opposition in the North and West to the Springfield Convention doings — Obituaries of original Reformers: Winfree and Doughty; Dennis B. Dorsey, Sr.; William S. Stockton; and others — Abel Stevens, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, pronounces for lay-representation in annual and general conferences; rebuked by the ensuing General Conference for this position and liberal views as to the border Conferences by a defeat as editor; the *New York Methodist* established by Drs. Crooks and M'Clintock as the organ of these views — New hymn book and Catechisms of the Church announced — First courtship of the Wesleyans and the brethren West and North; Allegheny Seminary at Sharpsburg, Pa.; General Convention North and West at Pittsburgh, Pa., 1860; synopsis of its doings — The Methodist Protestant Church meantime; the Civil War inaugurated; death of E. Yeates Reese, with sketch of him; War Secretary Stanton and his favor to his mother's Church — Cincinnati Convention North and West, 1862; roster of members; synopsis of its doings; extreme action against the East and South; consideration of it, with opinions impartially presented.

THE action of the Springfield Convention in "suspending official relations" with the Conferences East and South was strenuously opposed by a small but influential minority in the North and West. Rev. John Burns of the Muskingum Conference issued a Manifesto in his own behalf and that of others agreeing with him against the proceedings of the Convention as a separation from the Methodist Protestant Church. (See Baltimore paper, January 8, 1859.¹) In September, 1859, the Illinois Conference, which had preferred a request to the Convention that separation should be delayed one year and was disregarded, had a warm discussion when it assembled, with the result of a division and the organization of a small Conference adhering to the Methodist Protestant Church. The Muskingum Conference, when it assembled, October, 1859, found a "minority" so determined in their opposition to separation that it was found advisable to treat with them through a "Committee of Conciliation." In a summary

¹ Conditioned on the further step of "separation" through a union with the Wesleyans, now broached, his principal allegation was, that such a step would be legally a secession from the Methodist Protestant Church, and gave warning as to its effect upon church property, etc., in the words, "all property deeded or chartered to societies or conferences belongs to those who remain."

review by Rev. W. H. Collins of the separating Conferences, in the Baltimore paper, February 11, 1860, much dissatisfaction was exhibited. But the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry, Va., October, 1859, and the presages of resistance by force of arms to the Lincoln administration, culminating with the assault on Fort Sumter by South Carolina, quelled into silence or changed the opinions of this dissenting class.

Christopher Winfree of Lynchburg, Va., one of the Expelled Reformers of that town, departed this life in assured hope, obituary January 15, 1859. Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, early editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, deceased on steamer *Arago*, outward voyage, July 2, 1859, an ardent and consistent abolitionist. Colonel William Doughty, of Georgetown, D. C., an early Reformer, deceased September 10, 1859. Generous in life, he left by will various bequests, among them one to the Superannuated Fund Society of the Maryland Conference. Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey, M.D., died March 18, 1860. He was born December 28, 1799, in Baltimore County, Md. Early in life he removed with his parents to Wellsburgh, Va., and at fifteen years of age lost his father, leaving the mother and three sisters dependent upon his labors. He accepted manfully the task and labored at his trade as a carpenter, meanwhile picking up the rudiments of an education. In his seventeenth year he was converted, and in his twentieth received into the itinerancy of the Baltimore Conference. In 1827 he was "suspended" for advocating Reform principles and circulating its literature, and in 1828 was the first Reform martyr. His subsequent career makes a section of this History. As a self-made man his literary acquirements, as exhibited in a facile pen and preaching ability, were of a high order. As editor of the *Mutual Rights*, as successful physician, as earnest and logical preacher,—in all relations he was conspicuous and influential. A life-long invalid, he alternated between the itinerancy and secular employ, and spent his closing years with his son, D. B., Jr., at Fairmont, W. Va. Pain, poverty, and sorrow were his heritage. Several times during his last illness he said with emphasis to his children, as in recollection of the wrongs done him in old Church relations, "Remember, I forgive everybody that ever offended me, and I desire all to forgive me." No shadow darkened his spiritual sky. He anticipated heaven, "I hope before long to see the celestial city, whose glory shines afar off." When his pulse had nearly ceased, he drew Hon. F. H. Pierpont close to him, and said with much difficulty, "I

put my trust in the Lord, I believe I shall never be confounded." A discourse commemorative of his life and labors was preached at his funeral by Dr. E. Yeates Reese, editor of the Baltimore paper, at Fairmont, and his remains were laid to rest in its cemetery, March 20, 1860. His son and namesake also delivered subsequently a discourse in his memory; both were published, and copies are before the writer. For an extended sketch see Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 153-173. Rev. Caswell Drake, an early Reformer of North Carolina, obituary May 19, 1860. Rev. J. F. Speight, early Reformer of North Carolina, obituary September, 1860, also January 12, 1861. He was one of the noblest and most active of the band of Reformers who laid the foundation of the North Carolina Conference. Rev. Elisha Lott, father of the Mississippi Conference, and a liberal giver on a small competence, and an indefatigable worker in the cause of Christ and Methodist Reform, obituary October 13, 1860.

William S. Stockton departed this life November 20, 1860. He was born April 8, 1785, at Burlington, N. J., and was a descendant of two good families,—the Stocktons, notable in Church and State, and the Gardiners, honorably known in colonial times. Classically educated and early religious, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in his house at Easton, Pa., the first Methodist class of that town was held. He spent the early years of his married life in the store of his uncle at Trenton, then the principal bookseller of the city. In that place, in 1821, he issued the *Wesleyan Repository*, and in 1822 he removed to Philadelphia, where he lived the most of his days. He was, next to Snethen, the first to advocate Methodist Reform, and antedated even him as a publisher of such opinions. His career as a Reformer is preserved in these pages, and this sketch has been anticipated in many particulars of moment. For many years he was in charge of Blockely Almshouse, Philadelphia, where his executive abilities had full and successful play. A voracious reader and a prolific writer, of independent mould of mind and spotless purity of character, his memory is blessed wherever known. Removing to Burlington, N. J., in his seventy-fifth year, an accident fractured his thigh and brought him to a bed from which he never rose again. Surrounded by wife, children, and relatives, he peacefully closed his mortal pilgrimage. On the 22d of November, 1860, his remains were brought to the Methodist Episcopal church of the town, and Rev. J. G. Wilson, a life-long friend, delivered a funeral discourse, assisted by others, and

his body was deposited in the cemetery beside his father and first wife. For a full sketch, see Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 48-59.

Dr. Abel Stevens, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, had since his installation advocated lay-delegation, now, January, 1859, became outspoken, and declared for "a fair and square lay-representation in both the annual and general conferences." A month after, at Geneva, N. Y., a Layman's Association assembled and passed resolutions in favor of representation in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the following October a committee on lay-delegation in the Cincinnati Conference of the old Church reported favorably, and the report was adopted. A large meeting of laymen urging representation convened in Philadelphia, and in the Baltimore Conference Rev. Alfred Griffith, now an aged man, revived his "radical" memories, and advocated lay-representation. It was in the air, but officialism, that potency in a hierarchy, put an extinguisher upon the movement, as it had done in 1820-30. When the General Conference had assembled at Buffalo, N. Y., in May, 1860, the memorials poured in, this time not a few of them, notably one from Philadelphia, demanding representation as a right as well as an expediency. The bishops in their Address for the first time in Episcopal history treated the subject with a degree of liberality. It was at this Conference also that extreme measures as to slaveholding were passed. The committee on the memorials for lay-delegation, while proposing nothing, was more cautious and recommended that it be approved so soon as the voice of the Church can be ascertained as in favor of it. Again the hopes of the pleading laity were dashed, but they did not despair. Dr. Stevens, for conservative views as to the border slaveholding Conferences, and for liberal views as to lay-representation, was defeated for the editorship. It was done by inimical officialism. Soon thereafter the *New York Methodist* was inaugurated by Rev. Drs. Crooks and M'Clintock, two of the ablest men of the ministry, and it took up the discarded positions on both subjects, and for a series of years did valiant service with a strong support from the laity in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. As already foreshadowed, the Civil War diverted attention, and a decade of years passed before lay-representation again came boldly to the front. It illustrated the fact not only that large bodies move slowly in the direction of innovations upon established usages, but also the tenacity with which clerical power has ever been retained under hierarchical auspices.

In the autumn of 1859 the new hymn book, and the new Catechisms ordered by the General Conference of 1858, were announced ready for sale. Dr. E. Yeates Reese was the principal compiler of the former, and Dr. Francis Waters the sole compiler of the latter. The *Methodist Protestant Sentinel*, published by J. E. P. Dorsey, and edited by Dennis B. Dorsey, Jr., was established at Fairmont, Va. It was under the auspices of the West Virginia Conference, and the editor wielded a trenchant but graceful pen. It continued about a year, when it was offered to the West Virginia Conference on fair terms and was accepted. The plant was removed to Morgantown, with Rev. Dr. Laishley as editor of the *West Virginia Methodist Protestant*, but it did not long survive. The committee of five of the Springfield Convention to permanently locate the *Western Methodist Protestant*, selected Springfield, and the Board of Trust determined to erect suitable buildings for its use. Rev. J. B. Walker was appointed soliciting agent; liberal subscriptions were made; \$1100 by the Ohio Conference. In March, 1860, a lot was purchased and a brick building erected sixty by thirty-two feet, three stories. The two committees of the Wesleyan and the separated Conferences of the Methodist Protestant Church met as a committee of conference in the First church, Pittsburgh, and continued in session for two or three days. The joint hymn book proposed for the two organizations was the principal subject, and as a finality Dr. George Brown was appointed to compile a book, which he did. The agent of the Wesleyan Church could not agree to publish it before the meeting of their General Conference, and the West could not wait. It was pushed to publication by a private firm in Cincinnati, and sold among Methodist Protestants quite freely. The Wesleyans were cautious, so that nothing came of this first courtship.

The Pittsburgh Conference took steps to establish a seminary for the education of young preachers, a sum of \$1500 having been given in trust for that purpose by Charles Avery. Dr. John Scott was the inspiration of the movement, and with the coöperation of the Conference a good substantial brick building was erected at Sharpsburg, Pa., and the Allegheny Seminary was opened 1861-62, and continued with varying success until Adrian College came under the care of the Western brethren. Seven thousand dollars remained from the sale of the building, the interest of which is pledged to the Board of Ministerial Education. Rev. G. B. McElroy was for some time Principal, and

Rev. Dr. Collier was associated with Dr. Scott in the active labors of building, etc.* "In 1860 a small Conference was organized in Nebraska, which was then just rising into statehood. The nucleus of the organization was chiefly John M. Young, who had been an early and sacrificing laborer in the Ohio Conference, William S. Horn from Illinois, and Hugh Doyle, formerly of the Maryland Conference. Subsequently Cyrus Carter, Daniel Kinney, John Lamb, C. S. Bradley, and J. W. Davis from Ohio, and others good and true, were added to their numbers."† In the Baltimore official paper for December 15, 1860, there is an interesting and reliable historical sketch of Methodist Protestantism in the empire state of Texas. In the autumn of this year the Colorado and the McCaine Conferences were separated from the Texas. Owing to its vast territory nowhere has the Church work been subject to so many divisions, reunions, and separations for local convenience as in this State, so that space would fail to keep the run of them; and nowhere have more faithful pioneers labored at every sacrifice, eminent among whom were Rev. Messrs. Boyd, Rosser, Aaron, Miller, Biddison, and others to be noticed in current connections.

"Proceedings of the General Convention of delegates from the Northern and Western Conferences of the Methodist Protestant Church, held at Pittsburgh, Pa., November 14-19, 1860." This is the title-page of the printed Minutes, issued in 1862 by the Book Concern at Springfield, O. Rev. Dr. George Brown was elected President, and J. J. White, Secretary. The following is a list of the Conferences represented and the delegates elected:—

BOSTON	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. M. Mayall	A. B. Maxim
NEW YORK AND VERMONT	
J. J. Smith	C. Tomkins
W. H. Miller	Th. Brown ¹
NEW JERSEY	
T. H. Colhouer	L. L. Campbell ¹
ONONDAGA	
D. Cook ¹	G. White ¹

* For full details of its inception, progress, and ending, see Dr. Scott's "Fifty Years."

† Bassett's "History," p. 230, revised edition.

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	GENESEE	<i>Laymen</i>
E. A. Wheat ¹		Ira Cary ¹
	PENNSYLVANIA	
J. K. Helmbold		S. Whitaker ¹
	PITTSBURGH	
G. Brown		H. C. Swart ¹
W. Reeves		J. Redman
H. Palmer		W. J. Troth
	MUSKINGUM	
J. Burns		J. D. Tingle ¹
G. Clancy		H. Cassell
W. H. Marshall		I. Hull ¹
J. S. Thrap		R. Beckham
E. S. Hoagland ¹		J. D. Daton ¹
A. Abbott ¹		S. Cupp ¹
	OHIO	
W. R. Parsons		J. Whetstone
J. Kost		J. M. Johnson
A. H. Bassett		S. Graham ¹
J. J. White		J. G. Rockhill
J. B. Walker		F. A. Finley
	INDIANA	
S. Morrison		A. D. Amos
	WARASH	
J. C. Wright		A. D. Whitford
	MICHIGAN	
Joshua Leach ¹		G. J. Daniels ¹
	WESTERN MICHIGAN	
H. H. Hulbert		R. Ramsby
	ILLINOIS	
J. P. Johnston		J. Lingle
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
C. Gray		Wm. Cullen ¹
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
R. Wright ¹		J. Laughead ¹
	NORTH IOWA	
Joel Dalbey		O. M. Culver ¹

¹ Absent.

MINNESOTA

*Ministers*S. Jones¹*Laymen*C. Closson¹

NEBRASKA MISSION

J. M. Young

Dr. R. Perry¹

Iowa, Wisconsin, and Maine Conferences were not reported. Thirty-eight out of sixty-two were present.

A committee on subjects outlined the business, and committees were appointed on each department. A number of the Conferences had given their delegates special instructions. George Clancy, chairman of the Committee on "Present and Future Policy of the Church," reported that a majority of the Annual Conferences had not authorized the Convention to make changes in either the "constitution or discipline." Afterward a call of the roll of Conferences represented showed that fourteen believed themselves instructed to make changes and four did not, but the Convention adjourned without making any changes. The Editor and Book Agent reported in detail, showing the Western paper out of debt. A report on the Editorial Department recommended that the financial and editorial departments be separated, etc. The report of the committee on the Fraternal Messengers from the Wesleyan Church expressed regret at their personal absence, and recommended that a delegate be appointed to their next General Conference. The election of Editor resulted in the choice of George Brown by thirty-four out of fifty-seven votes, indicating that visiting members were allowed the ballot. A. H. Bassett was elected Book Agent by a vote of thirty-three out of sixty-one ballots. Both were, however, declared "unanimously elected by a rising vote." The salary of the editor was fixed at \$700, and that of the agent at \$600. The report of the Committee on Statistics showed: 614 itinerants, 455 unstationed ministers, 36,099 members, 504 houses of worship, 96 parsonages, and value of church property \$639,655. As compared with the estimated statistics prepared for the Convention of 1858, it showed a gain of 80 itinerants, 25 churches, 593 members, and \$88,000 of church property, accounted for in part by including the New Jersey Conference. J. S. Thrapp of the Committee on Book Concern reported that it was out of debt, with the stereotype plates of the hymn book to be added to the assets of 1858, and made sundry

¹ Absent.

recommendations to the management. Rev. Dr. J. Kost of the Committee on Education reported on the North Illinois University at Henry, under the superintendence of Prof. G. B. McElroy, property worth \$15,000, debt \$6000. Also an offer from the citizens of Chillicothe, O., for a college under certain conditions. Also the Allegheny Seminary, Drs. Scott and Collier to conduct the theological department. The *Missionary and Sunday-School Journal*, now edited and conducted by Rev. Dr. Collier, was approved. The Committee on Missions made recommendations, and a new Board was elected, located at Pittsburgh. The Committee on Future Policy reported a recital of the preliminary steps leading to the doings of the Convention of 1858, and then declared: "This suspension was an official withdrawal of all official countenance to the evils deprecated; and the resolution was adopted as a bond of union among the Northern conferences. Now it would seem clear as the light of day, that while the said conferences in good faith adhere to the platform adopted, as above, they are an organized brotherhood, agreeing to work under the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church, and are as loyal Methodist Protestants as the Southern section possibly can be." A Convention with full powers to legislate on the Constitution and Discipline was called for the first Wednesday of November, 1862, at Cincinnati, O., the rate of representation to be one of each class for every one thousand members and above six hundred as a fraction. The Convention then adjourned. There are appended five closely printed pages by A. H. Bassett, "Our Position Vindicated," and also a statement by him as to the Western paper and Book Concern.

Meanwhile the Methodist Protestant Church in the East and South pursued the even tenor of its way, but was not unaffected by the serious difficulties confronting it. In its border territory, including the whole of the Maryland Conference, its environment called for the most discreet official conduct. Laymen's conventions were held in the early spring of 1861, both in Baltimore and in Staunton, Va., to consider the "New Chapter" on slavery promulgated by the Buffalo Conference of the old Church. Protests against its extreme action were passed, and open rebellion in many individual cases occurred in Baltimore and other places, and inaugurated the Independent Methodist movement in the former city under Charles J. Baker. Old prejudices barred a union of these people with the new Church at the time. The strongholds of the Reformed Church outside of Maryland were

Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi. They were under the leadership of able and commanding men, both ministers and laymen; Virginia, particularly, was supporting the Lynchburg College, and had the next largest subscription list to Maryland itself of the Book Concern and official paper. The latter had been conducted by its directory and editor on the non-partisan basis as to political questions,—as antislavery had now become an organized and successful political party,—and had just been enlarged, with a font of new type, and other improvements, while the Book Concern was in fair condition financially. Its conservative and non-partisan position was generally approved, and not a few Christians of other denominations came to its support as a religious journal pure and simple. The Maryland Conference, under whose special care it had been placed by the Convention of Conferences, taking warning from the disruption of the Baltimore Conference,¹ took the same conservative ground, and passed no resolutions compromising this position. Among its itinerants were men of both parties in their political views, but in Conference relations they dwelt together in harmony.

The passage through Baltimore of the Massachusetts regiment, under President Lincoln's call for volunteers to defend the Capitol, was attended with riot and bloodshed. The city was intensely excited, business suspended, and the compositors on the *Methodist Protestant* yielded to the contagion, so that the number of April 27 was omitted, the next being that of May 11. The issue of June 1 was reduced three inches in size, as a retrenchment, while Vol. 28, No. 1, began with the number of July 20, 1861, to make up to the subscribers the omitted papers. More than half its circulation was south of the Potomac, and the interruption immediately of all mail facilities reduced its issue to less than two thousand. Its editor about a year before had met with the severest loss of his life in the death of his loved wife and the mother of his children. It greatly affected him, and for relief, after the day's toil was over, he had retired to his home only to work on until midnight at literary pursuits.

¹ The Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church divided on this issue in March, 1861, fully one-half of it revolting against the General Conference action, and organized as the Baltimore Conference. The Secretary of the undivided body, adhering to the Church, South, maintained possession of the Conference minutes and records, but subsequently the other section was allowed to copy them, and both have ever since contended to be the original body, and date their minutes with the same number of sessions, etc. The protesting Conference was received into the M. E. Church, South.

It needed only such an occasion as the bursting of the war-cloud over him completely to break him down. He lingered through the summer, conducting the paper by the aid of brother ministers and literary friends who furnished material. He was haunted with fearful forebodings of starvation for himself and family, and though kept under medical aid and constantly watched by loving friends, on the morning of Saturday, the 14th of September, after having shaved, and breakfasted (asking a blessing at the table) with his devoted sister, Anna Mary, and his children, he went to his room, and in her absence for a few moments drew a razor across his throat, severing both the carotid arteries, and died in a few minutes. Seldom had any death so shocked the whole city. His funeral took place on Monday, the 16th of September, West Baltimore station, the audience filling the edifice. Nearly all the prominent ministers of the city were present, of all denominations, Dr. Francis Waters, the pastor, David Wilson, and Rev. Thomas Sewell of the Methodist Episcopal Church making the addresses. His remains were deposited in Baltimore cemetery.

Eli Yeates Reese was born in Baltimore, January 18, 1816, and was the youngest of four preacher brothers. He early embraced religion and united with the Reform Church, and displayed literary gifts of a high order from his childhood. In 1838, in his twenty-third year, he was elected editor of the official paper and took charge October 20. Re-elected in 1842, but receiving the appointment of principal of one of the male public schools of the city, and conjecturing that his editorial work was not altogether approved, he resigned, July, 1843. In 1846 he was again elected, and continued in the position until his death, a period of nineteen years and about two months, with the interim of two years and ten months in 1843-46. He was elected one of the Board of School Commissioners, and filled other reputable positions. While not a learned man in the scholastic sense, his knowledge of English literature and *belle-lettres* was perhaps unexcelled. As a public lecturer on poetry calling for elocutionary skill he was in great demand at home, filling the Maryland Institute, then the largest hall of the city, while abroad his fame was widening and brightening; but the inscrutable ways of Providence cut him off in his prime. The Church in the East and South staggered under the loss; the hour of all others seemed most unpropitious. The manner of his taking off will ever be associated with that of the Christian Scotch scientist and geologist, Hugh

Miller, upon whose suicidal end he had so ably moralized only a few years before. It is fitting thus that the memory of Eli Yeates Reese should not pass into oblivion, though blurred with a like act. For an extended obituary by Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray see the official paper for November 16, 1861. A fine and accurate steel engraving of him is preserved in the picture gallery of the Baltimore Book Concern. Below the medium size, slenderly built, not weighing over 120 pounds, his head of unusual size and finely developed, clean-cut features, large gray eyes, light brown hair, and fair complexion, he would command inquiring attention in any company.

The Directory appointed E. G. Waters, M.D., Rev. David Shermer, and Rev. David Wilson an editorial committee, who served the paper without compensation, as it was with difficulty its faithful agent, Thomas W. Ewing, kept up its publication. In the spring of 1862 an effort was made to reach the subscribers in the South. With this intent a file of it was sent to the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, with a request that it might be allowed to pass through the lines as a strictly religious journal that did not discuss the war issues, and consequently would give no information to the enemy. In a short time an order was received at the Book Concern, accompanied by a letter, authorizing the transmission of the paper, *via* Fortress Monroe, by flag of truce, into Virginia, and commending the conduct of the paper. Secretary Stanton's mother was then and had been for many years a member of the Church in Ohio, and the paper was probably familiar to him in his childhood. By a similar special order Dr. George Brown was enabled to secure the release of his son early in the war and his transit home to die. But the privilege was of no avail, as in a few weeks it was reported that the papers accumulated at the outpost, there being no mail facilities in the South to carry them forward. Large numbers of the male membership of the Church in the South volunteered or were drafted into the Southern army, and the ministers, though not subject to military draft as in the North, found employment as chaplains and in the commissary department. As many as could stood to their ministerial work, but as the South was overrun, devastation followed in the path, churches were burned, or, as at Harper's Ferry, Va., turned into stables for cavalry horses; congregations assembled fitfully, if at all; Conferences were rarely held, though in the case of the North Carolina, not being under fire so closely, it managed to continue its sessions with a meagre attendance all

through the war. Rev. Dr. S. B. Southerland, pastor of Charleston, S. C., church, from Maryland, was heard from only at very distant intervals; communication was almost entirely cut off, so that the official paper had little news outside of Maryland and the border. Obituary of Rev. J. B. Ferguson of Maryland, Reformer, October 5, 1861. Also of Rev. Samuel Clark of Illinois, Reformer, February 22, 1862. Rev. Dr. McGwigan of Virginia, early Reformer, July 12, 1862. As physician and minister he was eminent in his day. Rev. Daniel Zollickoffer of Maryland, early local Reformer of great prominence, and a member of the first Conventions, died November 7, 1862.

"Proceedings of the General Convention of the Methodist Protestant Church, held at Cincinnati, O., November 5-12, 1862." This is the title-page of these minutes. They make a printed pamphlet of thirty octavo pages, closely typed. Dr. George Brown was elected President, and J. J. White, Secretary. The following are the Conferences and the delegates therefrom:—

	BOSTON	Laymen
<i>Ministers</i>		
J. M. Mayall ¹		D. Hall ¹
	NEW YORK	
J. J. Smith ¹		C. Tomkins ¹
	NEW JERSEY	
T. H. Colhouer ¹		E. C. Pancost ¹
	ONONDAGA	
N. R. Swift		Philip Swift
	GENESEE	
O. C. Payne		Edward Piper ¹
	PENNSYLVANIA	
S. Homan ¹		C. Blackman ¹
	PITTSBURGH	
G. Brown		W. Rinehart ¹
J. Cowl ¹		H. T. Reeves
J. Scott		J. Redman ¹
J. Robison		G. W. Pogue
	OHIO	
T. B. Graham		J. M. Johnson
J. J. White		J. Whetstone
R. Rose		S. Graham
J. B. Walker		W. Gunckel
A. H. Bassett		T. Douglass
	¹ Absent.	

<i>Ministers</i>	MICHIGAN	<i>Laymen</i>
R. C. Lanning		C. Cooley
	WESTERN MICHIGAN	
A. Acheson		C. R. Underwood
	INDIANA	
S. H. Flood		Wm. Smith
T. Shipp ¹		A. D. Amos
	WABASH	
E. Horner ¹		A. D. Whitford
	ILLINOIS	
T. Finkbine		Jos. Hughey
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
P. J. Strong		J. Woodmansee
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
R. Wright		C. Link
	IOWA	
H. C. Boyers		R. F. Hall ¹
	NORTH IOWA	
J. Dalbey ¹		W. H. Bolton ¹
	WISCONSIN	
Z. Boynton		E. D. Warner ¹
	MINNESOTA	
J. P. Long		Amos Steers ¹
	NEBRASKA	
Isaac Chivington		Jas. Masters ¹
	OREGON	
D. Bagley		L. D. Cross ¹
COMMISSIONERS FROM WESTERN VIRGINIA		
Dr. D. B. Dorsey		C. Hooton ¹
J. L. Simpson		A. F. Ritchie ¹
S. Young		
P. T. Laishley ¹		

Maine Conference was not reported. Muskingum Conference declined the call. Forty were present out of sixty-four.

¹ Absent.

Rev. Dr. G. R. Crooks, editor of the *New York Methodist*, was present as a visitor. Rev. Dr. Asa Mahan, President of Adrian College, was semi-officially present, representing the college authorities. The commissioners from West Virginia who were present,—Dorsey, Jr., Simpson, and Young—were met by commissioners from the Convention, and, after formalities, were received, the chair announcing that “Western Virginia Conference is received into the association of Northern and Western Conferences.” The first report was that from the Committee of “Legal Transfer” of the Western Book Concern from a Convention of conferences to “the control of a General Conference.” It was unanimously adopted. The report of the Board of Trust is of great length. It shows a deficit for the two years for the paper and publishing house of \$1085.03, but makes a total capital of \$14,088.97, including as an asset \$4725 due on the Church paper. The Civil War had seriously crippled the finances. The circulation of the paper was reported as 3112. The Committee on Education and Literature reported that Adrian College was offered on a mutual plan between the Wesleyan Methodists, the citizens of Adrian, and Methodist Protestant bodies, Dr. John Kost having been elected a professor in the college, and it was represented that the buildings already erected had cost \$45,000, and a capital stock of over \$60,000 secured by trustees; said partnership was tendered on condition that a further sum of \$60,000 be raised by the Methodist Protestants, etc. It was resolved to accept, and commissioners were appointed to settle the details.

Dr. John Scott offered a resolution, which was passed, restoring to the “General Conference the Paper and Book Concern.” The committee on Sunday-schools authorized the Book Concern to issue semi-monthly the *Sunday-School Protestant*. There was a majority and minority report on the “Powers of the Convention,” the former by Dorsey, Jr., and others, alleging that it had “full powers over the Constitution and Discipline,” and the latter from J. Robison alone, alleging that it had not. The Committee on the “State of the Country,” Dorsey, Jr., chairman, reported a series of whereases and resolutions, the main one reading:—

“*Resolved*, That we heartily indorse the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln; because it strikes at that baleful cause of all our civil and ecclesiastical difficulties, American slavery, the sum of all villanies, the darling idol of villains, the central power of villanous secessionism, but now, by the wisdom of the

President, about to be made the agent of retributive justice in punishing that culmination of villanous enterprises, the attempt to overthrow the most glorious civil government that God's providence ever established upon earth."

The paper also deprecated "dissensions and divisions" among themselves, and pronounces it a "strong evidence of sympathy with our enemies" by those who do so on "any pretext whatever." A committee of Dorsey, Jr., John Scott, and John Whetstone was named to address the President of the United States. The whole was passed by a rising unanimous vote. The fourth resolve against dissenters among them is clear only in the light of the fact that Muskingum had declined to be represented in this Convention, and there were mutterings of dissatisfaction at the steps taken, which were construed as much more than a "suspension of official relations" with the Conferences East and South.

The Committee on Statistics reported 464 itinerants, 314 unstationed ministers and preachers, 40,479 members, 328 houses of worship, 87 parsonages, with a value of \$575,507. As the membership column included West Virginia, of 1787, it shows a decline in numbers and also in all other features in the past two years. The pending war depressed all religious denominations. It was resolved to make changes in the Constitution and submit them for approval to two-thirds of the Annual Conferences adhering to the "association." After a careful canvass of the instructions of the Annual Conferences sent to the Convention, the following changes were made. The Restrictive Rule was amended, so that exception was made in "cases of necessity, of which the Annual Conferences shall be the judge." It was left with the Conferences to decide whether the President should travel or not. The word "male" was stricken from Article XII., section 1,¹ and some minor points amended. It was resolved that "there shall be a General Conference of this association on the second Wednesday of November, 1866," etc. The ratio of representation was fixed for one of each class in every thousand members and a fraction over six hundred. The cash system was determined for the Church paper, and on election for Editor, Dennis B. Dorsey, Jr.,

¹ Dr. Scott, in his "Fifty Years," distinctly repudiates for himself and a majority of the Convention any intention that this action should be construed as making women eligible to the General or Annual Conferences, though he voted for it at the time, and at the ensuing Pittsburgh Conference when it came up for ratification.

was elected, and for Agent, A. H. Bassett. The Committee on Missions reported that \$366.57 had been collected and \$155.17 expended for relief of Western brethren. J. M. Young was made missionary to Kansas; the ensuing General Conference to elect a Board of Missions, three ministers and three laymen, and that they reside at or near Springfield, O. Also a Corresponding Secretary, etc. George Brown, J. J. White, William Gunkel, C. Cooley, were made fraternal messengers to the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodists to meet at Adrian, Mich., in 1864. Dr. George Brown offered a Declaration restoring the General Conference. It recites the 23d Article of Religion on allegiance to the government, etc., and that certain States, naming them, are now "in armed rebellion," and whereas "the position assumed by the Methodist Protestant Church in the rebel States aforesaid in repudiating the 23d Article of Religion and taking part in the rebellion, must be considered in the light of a revolt from the Methodist Protestant Church in the free States," therefore the Methodist Protestant churches in the West and North were "absolved from all obligations to ask the official concurrence of the Conferences, now involved in the double sin of slavery and rebellion," etc., therefore be it, "Resolved, on this twelfth day of November, 1862, in Cincinnati, O., that the General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, by action of the aforesaid Convention, be and the same is hereby restored to its full original authority under the Constitution of said Methodist Protestant Church." On motion of Dr. Scott it was unanimously passed by a rising vote. The Convention then adjourned *sine die*.

Dr. John Scott, in his last book, "Fifty Years," says of this action, "The intention of this paper was to show that in the judgment of the Convention the conferences of the free States constituted the true original Methodist Protestant Church." It may be observed that since 1858 no General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church had convened, and consequently that no official deliverance had ever been made by the Church as such. Even the Annual Conferences in the Southern states, with perhaps the exception of North Carolina on one occasion, had followed the example of Maryland in abstaining from resolutions on the whole subject. Whatever the members of the Church did as chaplains or officers or privates in the Confederate army, they did in their capacity as citizens and not as Methodist Protestants. Therefore the gravamen of the Declaration was disavowed in

the East and South as utterly invalid; to wit, "Including the Methodist Protestant Church in those States, did renounce their allegiance to the United States, and are now in armed rebellion against the government of our country, and whereas the position assumed by the Methodist Protestant Church, in the rebel States aforementioned, in repudiating the 23d Article of our religion and taking part in the rebellion, etc."

CHAPTER XXVII

Sketch of Joel Dalbey and Robert Dobbins and others deceased — General Conference of 1862 at Georgetown, D. C., a default, except informal organization, by the war — The Church papers; how conducted at this time — Termination of the war; aggression upon the Church South by Bishop Ames, backed by the civil government; moral — Dr. Brown as fraternal delegate to the M. E. General Conference makes a proposal of "Union"; logical incompatibility of it — General Conference of May, 1865; list of members; its action on Articles V. and XXIII.; never repealed by it, hence no reaffirmation called for; J. T. Murray elected editor of the official paper — The Wesleyans and Methodist Protestants North and West; renewal of courtship — Wesley Starr deceased; sketch of him and reflections — "Union" in the air among Methodists; each seeking its own advantage; nothing but absorption meant by any of them — Regular General Conference in Georgetown, D. C., May, 1866; roster of members; action as to the Western Conferences; proposal from the Church South for "Union," as they had adopted lay-delegation; ground of it; commissioners appointed; convention on Book Concern; initiation of Western Maryland College — Centennial year.

PICKING up the thread of incidental transactions where it was dropped in 1858, with the organization of the Minnesota Conference, Bassett's "History" furnishes a few items associated with this period. "In 1858 the West Michigan Conference was set off from the Michigan, and the North Iowa from the Iowa. Same year was commenced a religious paper, called the *Olive Leaf*, at Lowell, Mass., under the direction of the Boston Conference. It was conducted by Rev. J. M. Mayall, and continued for four or more years." The Western paper furnished a sketch of Rev. Joseph Snelling, an early Reformer, died December 1, 1858; and of Rev. Joel Dalbey, M.D., an original Reformer and unstationed minister of the Indiana Conference at the time, March 3, 1859. He was born in Ohio on the 1st of June, 1810, and was the eldest of four sons of Rev. Joel Dalbey, Sr., all of whom became preachers of the gospel. With his father, he was associated with the Reform movement from the beginning. He assisted in organizing the first Ohio Conference. He also served in the Pittsburgh and the Muskingum Conferences. He was graduated in medicine from the Cincinnati College. He was also in the Illinois Conference and the North Iowa, in all of which he served as President.

He died on his farm in Missouri on the 22d of November, 1859, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was zealous, emotional, and useful as a preacher, and spared not himself as a pioneer in Christian work and Methodist Reform. At the close of the Sabbath on which he died, his breathing became short and labored, and his wife inquired if he suffered much. He answered, "Yes, but I have great peace of mind." Just before the end he called his wife to "come and see the joy!" He said: "This is a beautiful day, my dear; there are many stars in my crown of rejoicing. My sheaves are gathered around me. The joy! the joy!" He folded his hands upon his breast and was gone. Colhouer, in his "Founders," pp. 451-453, says, "He was the Robert McCheyne in fervor, and the sweet singer of our Methodist Protestant Church." Rev. Robert Dobbins was born in Pennsylvania, April 20, 1768. Early converted, and a local preacher of the old Church for many years, on the inauguration of the Reform movement he identified himself with it; entered the itinerancy in 1830, in the sixty-second year of his age, and continued therein until past fourscore. In 1836-37 he was elected President of the Conference, and travelled the district when it included Ohio, Indiana, and a part of Kentucky. He had a voice of great compass, and was very effective in outdoor speaking. He died January 13, 1860, in the ninety-second year of his age, and was buried near Washington Court-house, O.; and the spot is marked with a neat monument. The funeral sermon was preached by Rev. W. B. Evans, the oldest member of the Conference. A "Life of 'Father' Dobbins" was issued by Rev. Charles Caddy, in 1868. Rev. Levi Bunson, early Reformer of Connecticut, April 25, 1860; John Wood, layman of Cincinnati and early Reformer, May 23, 1860; Joseph Rockhold, Reformer of 1827, August 29, 1860; Rev. William Ross, Sr., Reformer of Illinois Conference, October 17, 1860.

The General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, which was ordered for May, 1862, at Georgetown, D. C., could not assemble on account of the war, the representatives from Maryland alone being present. It was duly organized, however, with Joseph Libby, President *pro tem.*, and D. E. Reese, Secretary. The full Maryland delegation answered, and the roster of names will be given for the General Conference of 1865, at the same place, the same representatives holding over. Dr. Francis Waters was elected President, and Daniel E. Reese, Secretary. A resolution was offered, and carried, that when the Conference adjourns it is

to meet again at the call of the President. No other business was proposed, at the suggestion of West Virginia and others.

Dennis B. Dorsey, Jr., as editor of the *Western Methodist Protestant*, nibbled a sharp and, at times, a caustic pen, though displaying great intellectual ability. Within a year a personal controversy was introduced, and the acrimonious debate gave much dissatisfaction. The *Sunday-School Protestant* was issued from Springfield, O., February, 1863, a semi-monthly, price thirty cents a year. In the Methodist Episcopal Church the lay-delegation agitation continued on the non-committal attitude of the General Conference of 1862, and a large Convention of laymen assembled at St. Paul's church, New York City. A number of notable ministers and laymen were present, and Dr. T. E. Bond, Jr., made a remarkable speech, misrepresenting Reformers. The *New York Methodist*, under Dr. Crooks, was doing yeoman service for this cause. April 2, 1864, the official paper, Baltimore, was restored to its former size. Meantime it had had for editors, serving without compensation, stationed ministers of the city, as follows: 1862, L. W. Bates and H. C. Cushing; 1863, Francis Waters and L. W. Bates; 1864, Francis Waters and J. T. Murray. Thomas W. Ewing was continued as Agent by the Directory, and diligently managed its affairs, taking such compensation as the meagre income of the paper would allow. Under flag of truce a supply of Bibles and hymn books was sent to Rev. Dr. S. B. Southerland at Charleston, S. C., August, 1864. In November, 1864, the editor of the Western paper retired under pressure, but still claimed the position. Dr. George Brown was elected editor *pro tem.* by the Book Committee, with J. S. Thrap, Agent, relieving A. H. Bassett. This was in November, 1864. A month later, Rev. Dr. John Scott was elected editor by the Book Committee under a positive prohibition of personal controversy in its columns. He soon took charge, and, with the coöperation of the Agent, J. S. Thrap, brought order out of much confusion; in the next few years its finances were much improved. The Maryland Annual Conference College was incorporated, empowered to bestow degrees, by the Legislature of Maryland, through Rev. H. P. Jordan, in 1864. Its Faculty of Instruction still acts under this charter in local jurisdiction. The New York Methodist Episcopal Book Concern thought it good policy to advertise in the *Methodist Protestant*, Baltimore, the local paper, the *Baltimore Christian Advocate*, Dr. T. E. Bond, Jr., editor, having suspended shortly after the opening of the Civil War.

Obituary of Rev. R. T. Boyd, early Reformer of Maryland and one of the Expelled of 1827, April 1, 1865.

The Civil War having terminated in the spring of 1865, by the surrender of General Lee to General Grant, followed by the assassination of President Lincoln, and the inauguration of Johnson as President, the whole country, after recovering from its mourning and surprise, entered once more upon the pursuits of peace; the North, in full possession of the government, making the most of the advance gained, and the South, prostrate and conquered, yielding to the inevitable. The churches entered upon the work of rehabilitation. The old animosities between the Methodist Episcopal Church, North and South, were exaggerated during and at the close of the war; and, as the Federal armies advanced and took permanent possession in the South, the officials of the former, under a conviction that the latter could have no rights they were bound to respect, secured an order from Secretary Stanton, as early as November 30, 1863, which was enforced by the military authorities, as opportunity occurred, under the prompting of Bishop Ames; and, wherever it could be done, the churches were seized and pastors appointed under his jurisdiction. In this vandalism it stood alone among the Christian denominations,—it was one of its covert quasi-claims to a national character, enforced for a period, with both the military and civil power of the government.

Reform churches and people were "scattered and peeled," and the task of gathering up the shattered fragments was onerous indeed, if not hopeless. Happily, the brethren of the North and West did not entertain the infamous political maxim, "To the victors belong the spoils," and did not think of, much less attempt, the dragooning method of the Methodist Episcopal Church with their unfortunate brethren South. They, too, had suffered, and were intent upon recuperation, which had in it no element of aggression upon the East and South. Indeed, they repelled, as insulting to their Christian honor, the imputation, as will be presently seen. The Methodist Episcopal Church showed a loss of membership from 1860 to 1864 of over sixty-eight thousand, mostly along the border States. The Church South from 1860 to 1866 had a loss, not including colored, exceeding one hundred and thirteen thousand. The Reform Church, comparatively, seems to have been disorganized, and, in some of the States, was not represented in the regular ninth General Conference of 1866, and it made no attempt to tabulate statistics.

In the North and West coquetting was going on between the brethren and the Wesleyans in order to "strengthen the things that remain"; and in the East and South, the same process was carried on with the Church South with the same intent. The Baltimore official paper was sent South to the old subscribers as rapidly as mail facilities could be restored under the general government, and correspondence was resumed.

Obituary, in Western paper, of Rev. James L. Smith, Reformer, unstationed minister of Ohio Conference, July 8, 1863. Also Rev. Adam Shaner, Reformer and unstationed minister of Ohio Conference, March 16, 1864. Rev. W. W. Strickland, Reformer, member of New York and Vermont Conference, June 16, 1864. The North Missouri Conference was organized. See first page of Western paper, November, 1864.¹ William Wyman, early Reformer and representative to General Conferences from Boston Conference, November 16, 1864. His wife, Ruth, had made a large donation to the Church. In West Virginia and in Pennsylvania the relation of these Conferences was the subject of much discussion and change during and after the Civil War; but the local coloring is not sufficiently important for detailed account in these pages. Dr. George Brown, as a fraternal delegate to the Pittsburgh Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in March, 1860, in a colloquy with the Presiding Bishop Janes, himself of liberal views, though not authorized by his Conference, and he so stated, ventured to indicate terms of union between the two Churches, a single sentence giving the gist of it, "We will take your episcopacy if you will take our lay-delegation," under the reserved belief that the latter would modify the former. He had reason in after years to change his mind as to the feasibility of any such barter, and was probably moved to it by a sense of denominational loss incident to the division of his Church. The basic principles of the episcopate and the presbyteriate are utterly irreconcilable, and nothing but a hodgepodge

¹ The Minutes read: "Convention of the old Platte District on the 29th day of September, 1864, at Bradley schoolhouse in Mercer County, Mo. J. Leach was called to the chair, and J. S. Brownlee, Secretary. On motion of brother Williams the convention resolved itself into the Annual Conference of the North Missouri District, embracing all the state of Missouri lying north of the Missouri River. Rev. G. Williams was elected President. Mount Moriah, Wm. Yates; Lindley, L. D. Cooper; Maryville, James Smith; Breckenridge, H. B. Tell; Kerkville, J. Leach; Union, M. Crawford; Toakio, W. Emerson; Des Moines, J. S. Brownlee; Muscle Mills, J. H. Linder. Jacob Holloway in U. S. service. James McEwen, Home Missionary." No list of laymen. Gabriel Williams was a heroic worker in these days for Christ and Reform.

could come from an intermixture. This essential fact is often lost sight of by well-meaning brethren, and it may be taken as a postulate that any and all overtures of union, so called, should always come from the stronger to the weaker organization, and are never made out of this order without sensible depreciation of the latter; and when made in this order all history proves that there is such a measure of ecclesiastical finesse in the proposition as reduces it, in its last analysis, to one of simple absorption of the weaker by the stronger, — union by mutual concession and recognition is not intended. This History will give frequent illustrations of the fact that in nothing has the Methodist Protestant Church suffered such loss, not even the regrettable separation of 1858, as from such guileful suggestions from within or without, to or from, other American Methodisms. This argument will be further elaborated in later connections. In November, 1860, Dr. Brown was elected editor of the *Western Methodist Protestant* for the ensuing two years. He entered upon the duty, though past seventy years of age, and gave proof that his moral and intellectual force had not abated. He removed with this intent to Springfield, and found here a resting-place for the conclusion of his useful career; forty years an itinerant, then college president, then editor, and, finally, retired veteran of hard-fought battles for Christ and Reform.

At the close of the Civil War suggestions were made for the reconvoation of the adjourned General Conference, and, accordingly, pursuant to agreement, a call was issued by the President, Dr. Francis Waters, to meet in Georgetown, D. C., May 9, 1865, one year in advance of the regular period; and, therefore, though an "adjourned" Conference, it was regarded as only tentative, inasmuch as the Conferences out of Maryland could have no opportunity for electing representatives, or, if elected, in 1862, by any of them, — of which there is no information, — the absence of facilities of travel would make it impracticable for them to attend, not to name their utter poverty. At the hour and day appointed Dr. Waters, as President, called the representatives to order, and D. E. Reese resumed his position as Secretary. The following ministers and laymen were elected to the Conference of 1862.

MARYLAND

Ministers

Francis Waters
Thomas Sims

Laymen

George Vickers
J. B. Mathews

MARYLAND (continued)

Ministers

Daniel E. Reese
 J. W. Everest
 Washington Roby¹
 J. K. Nichols
 L. W. Bates
 J. J. Murray

Laymen

Joseph Libby
 J. B. Thomas¹
 Luther Martin¹
 John Smith¹
 J. W. Richardson¹
 David Price¹

ILLINOIS

Orestes Ames

WABASH

David Clark

B. F. Perry

Ames, Clark and Perry's credentials were so informal, however, that they were received as honorary members only. Adonijah Parrish was received as a messenger from the Des Moines Mission, Missouri. Cornelius Springer was also accorded an honorary membership from Muskingum.

The brief minutes were published in the official paper of even date. A committee of three was appointed, Dr. Waters, Chairman, to revise the Ritual and report to the next General Conference. The Conference, as a body, under the lead of its venerable President, visited the White House and made their respects to President Andrew Johnson, who expressed appreciation of the prayers and support of good men. On resumption of business Dr. Thomas Sims, the unstationed minister of the Maryland delegation, offered resolutions on "the relation of this Church to the government." He was, during the war, an intense "Union" man, and he embodied quite radical and semi-political sentiments in his paper. George Vickers, also a pronounced "Union" man during the war and commissioned as a general of volunteers, offered a substitute, which was more favorably received as "a better expression for a Church to give upon the subject." The substitute was adopted by a large majority. It recites, with approval, the 23d Article of Religion on allegiance, and also the 5th Article, declaring the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, and then the following deliverance, "The Methodist Protestant Church has never repealed these articles of religion, and has never entertained the purpose of doing so, or of denying any duty enjoined upon it by the Scriptures, we deem

¹ Absent. Roby and Thomas had deceased in the interim.

it unnecessary to make any further declaration of our principles; but, in view of the condition of the country at this time, and our duty at all times, exhort ministers and members of the Methodist Protestant Church, not only to submit to the powers that be, but most earnestly pray for those in authority, that they may be ministers of good, and that every and all our fellow-citizens may be able to live quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty." Rev. J. T. Murray, who had acted with Dr. Waters as an editorial committee the previous year of 1864, was elected editor of the *Methodist Protestant* by a formal vote. Montgomery, Ala., and Lynchburg, Va., were suggested as places for holding the next General Conference, as more central and less expensive to reach by a majority of delegates; but, on balloting, Georgetown, D. C., was again selected as the place. The Conference adjourned, with the benediction by the President.

The agitation in the Methodist Episcopal Church on lay-delegation at the close of the war was much revived, and the New England Conference voted, as a unit, in favor of it in the spring of 1865. As an exclusively clerical body it had much significance. The initiative movement between the Wesleyans and the Conferences West and North, looking to "union," gradually ripened, the former taking the lead, as apparently most anxious to consummate it. A consultation was held at Springfield, in 1864, with several of their number, and George Brown, A. H. Bassett, and others. In February, 1865, Rev. Cyrus Prindle, then Book Agent of the Wesleyans and a leading man, came to Springfield and preached on Sabbath in the church, decidedly advocating union. Partly as the result of this interview, a circular was prepared by Dr. Brown, with Prindle's concurrence, calling a Convention of Non-Episcopal Methodists, of the various branches, to meet at Cleveland, O., June 21, 1865. Meanwhile Rev. Dr. Hiram Mattison had withdrawn from the Methodist Episcopal Church and organized some independent churches. These, in September, 1864, had appointed a committee, of which he was principal, to confer with other Methodists for a like union. They finally coalesced with the Dr. Brown committee, and a joint call was made for a Convention, as stated. It was published in the *Western Methodist Protestant* and the *Wesleyan American*. It assembled, accordingly, Dr. John Scott, of the "Methodist" Church, President, and John McEldowney, of the Wesleyans, Secretary. Fifty-six delegates from the Conferences West and North were present; sixty-three of the Wesleyan branch; three

from Union Chapel, Cincinnati, which continued to maintain an autonomy of its own; two Free Methodists, and Dr. Mattison of the Independent churches. After mature deliberation, in which unanimity prevailed for union, Rev. Dr. L. C. Matlack prepared a paper to this effect, which was unanimously adopted, and recommended the call of a delegated Convention to be held in Union Chapel, Cincinnati, May 9, 1866, said Convention to be authorized to fix a basis of union, and the mode of its consummation.

The Wabash Conference was merged into the Indiana, now covering the whole State, in the autumn of 1865. The Virginia and the North Carolina Conferences published the minutes of their autumn sessions of 1865. Six months later the official paper contained the minutes of the Mississippi Conference, June 2, 1866. Obituary of Rev. George H. Ewell, early Reformer of Maryland, aged eighty-five years, December 30, 1865. Dr. Augustus Webster, pastor of St. John's Independent Methodist Protestant Church, Baltimore, was invited by the Maryland Conference to resume official connection, personally, with it, as an effort to heal the breach of the old "mission" controversy, already narrated. He accepted and, until his death, maintained close relations with it. Wesley Starr departed this life in much peace May 9, 1866. He was born in 1789, in Westmoreland County, Va. Converted in his seventeenth year, he united with the old Church, and was a zealous Christian. Being strongly American in his ideas of government, he was of the first to embrace the Reform principles in Baltimore, whither he had removed, in 1808, and where, in the mercantile business, he acquired wealth and influence. He was one of the twenty-two laymen Expelled in 1827 for his church Reform advocacy. A man of iron will and firm convictions, he differed from his more liberal brethren of St. John's as to Methodist usages, and the itinerancy in particular of the "two year" order; and led in the separation that resulted in the organization of the West Baltimore station, in 1843. His liberality abounded on all occasions. Failing to carry some of his favorite Methodist ideas, he removed from the West Baltimore station, and, during the Civil War, built, at his own expense and after his own model, the Starr Chapel, which, at its completion, he offered to any Methodist organization that would comply with the "old usage," conditions he made imperative and binding forever. Among these was a declaration against instrumental music of every and any kind; the seating of men and women apart; the lining of hymns, and

the absolute non-use of the church for everything of a social or festival nature having any price of admission. It was finally accepted by the Maryland Conference, and has had a career of prosperity, principally among railroad men, for whom he specially designed it by location, etc., though it has been greatly hampered by his restrictions in several particulars, showing the unwisdom of regulations, either by individuals or corporations, of an irrepealable kind for future generations, when conditions have changed. He expended on ground, church, and parsonage some \$40,000, and left an endowment of realty realizing about \$900 a year. It was his idea of a "child's portion" of his worldly possessions. He was often elected representative to the Annual and General Conferences. Positive to dogmatism, blunt in expression, yet courteous and genial, he was highly respected in all relations. His funeral was largely attended in the Starr Chapel, the sermon being preached by his old friend in Reform, Rev. Dr. Francis Waters, some twenty other ministers being present. His remains repose in the family lot of Greenmount cemetery.

"Union" was in the air among Methodists in this epoch. All of them had suffered losses from the ravages of the war, and seemed to be casting about to recoup themselves out of each other. The brethren of the Church South looked lovingly upon discouraged Reform ministers and people in the South. There were fraternal interchanges, and lay-delegation became more than usually popular with the officialism of that Church, with a sequel presently to be exposed. The non-Episcopal Methodists of the North and West would come together; yes, there were no differences among them to keep them apart, and they loved each other so dearly they could not keep from ecclesiastical wedlock. The Methodist Episcopal Church, finding the courtship going on, like a belated lover, made amends by overtures such as a rich suitor only could offer. They would embrace any and all Methodists, however naughty in the past, except the Church South, — these unrepenting rebels were simply overslaughed. Conferences were organized throughout the South out of disreputable elements, for the most part, thus ignoring all principles of ecclesiastical comity with their quondam brethren. In the mountain region of North Carolina there were a few Reform brethren who claimed to be "union" men during the war, and, as soon as communication could be established, fraternized with the brethren West and North as the "Deep River Conference"; and they were lovingly

encouraged. How all these overtures miscarried disastrously to the Methodist Protestants, in some sense already defined for the want of official honesty in the movers that insidious element of "ecclesiastical finesse," — shall be duly exhibited. Meantime, also, while the brethren West and North were so intent upon union with something else as to forget, seemingly, that their "suspension of official relations" with their Southern brethren "until the evil complained of should be removed," had now no longer a reason, yet a few were far-seeing enough to discern that such a reunion was, after all, the only rational thing to do in the emergency. Accordingly, friendly letters passing between Rev. Daniel W. Bates of Maryland and Rev. William Collier of Pittsburgh and others "popped the question" to each other; and out of it came fraternal messengers and preliminary negotiations, to be considered later.

The regular ninth General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church convened at Georgetown, D. C., Tuesday, May 1, 1866. W. H. Wills of North Carolina was elected President, and J. K. Nichols of Maryland, Secretary. The following is the roster of members, some of them, notably in Maryland, having been elected as alternates; and the Conference recognized the right of Annual Conference delegations to make changes from time to time in the sitting members of their own number, a practice which, in later assemblies, was disapproved, and the rule established that an alternate once admitted to a seat must retain it to the close of the Conference.

MARYLAND

Ministers

Francis Waters
J. J. Murray
L. W. Bates
S. B. Southerland
Luther J. Cox
J. K. Nichols
John Roberts
J. T. Murray

Laymen

W. D. Massey
J. B. Mathews
Joseph Libbey
Richard Thomas
J. A. Kennedy
T. A. Newman
L. J. Cox, Jr.
F. J. Bartlett

NORTH CAROLINA

W. H. Wills
John Paris
T. H. Pegram
J. L. Michaux
R. H. Wills

L. W. Batchelor
G. J. Cherry
S. V. Pickens
D. M. Lee
M. T. Whitaker

NORTH CAROLINA (*continued*)*Ministers*

J. C. Deans
J. H. Page
A. W. Lineberry

Laymen

J. F. Harris
D. B. Bell
W. D. Trotter

VIRGINIA

J. G. Whitfield
W. McGee
R. B. Thomson
M. J. Langhorne

H. B. Woodhouse
C. W. Button
Wm. Harding
J. F. Crocker

ALABAMA

F. L. B. Shaver
S. K. Cox
D. B. Smedley
Luther L. Hill
Isaac Spangler

B. S. Bibb
P. T. Graves
C. M. Howard
Milton Jenkins
C. E. Crenshaw

ILLINOIS

Orestes Ames

DES MOINES

John Sexsmith, messenger

Ames was not present, but sent his certificate of election; which was referred to the committee on "Conference Relations."

Rev. J. T. Murray, editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, was admitted to honorary membership in the body. Of fifteen Conferences recognized by the General Conference of 1854, in the slaveholding states, only four were represented in the ninth. Some had not yet been able to reorganize, and in others poverty and lack of railroad communication debarred attendance. It was determined that the Conference was not invested with conventional powers. The regular Standing Committees were appointed by the President. Montgomery, Ala., was selected unanimously as the place for the ensuing General Conference. The rule on missions was altered so as to allow the change of a station or circuit into a "mission," if it need missionary money to assist it. Sundry other minor changes were made (see amended Discipline). The Conference, under the lead of its President, waited upon the President of the United States. Under head of "Advice to Ministers," Discipline, p. 59, it was ordered inserted, "that the bearing of arms in military service by ministers of the Methodist

Protestant Church is inconsistent with their professional calling, and the nature and intent of their ordination vows." On Conference relations, J. J. Murray presented a paper rehearsing the action of the Conferences West and North in the several Conventions held by them since 1858, the gist of the paper being, "It is evident that the Conferences which have adopted said Constitution and Discipline, having voluntarily separated themselves from this Conference, have no right to representation therein." It was passed, with the addition of the following resolution: "That while the General Conference cannot approve the course pursued by certain Conferences in the North and West, in separating themselves from us, and while we disavow all responsibility for anything done by said Conferences, individually or in Convention, we also disclaim any unkind feeling for those who have gone from us, and will most cordially receive any Conference that shall hereafter evince a desire of reunion by conformity to the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church." Separate efforts by Dr. Francis Waters and by L. W. Batchelor to send fraternal messengers to the Convention of non-Episcopal Methodists, announced for May, 1866, in Cincinnati, failed by being laid on the table.

A document was received on the eighth day of the session from Bishop M'Tyeire of the General Conference of the Church South, now in session at New Orleans, conveying the information that it had adopted a scheme on "Lay-Representation by a two-thirds vote," and as "several prominent brethren of the Methodist Protestant Church had suggested," in view of such action, that "a commission be appointed to confer with a similar one from your Conference on the subject of union between the two Churches and with powers to conclude the terms of union, if it can be agreed upon." The Commission named was: Bishops Pierce and M'Tyeire, Dr. L. M. Lee, Dr. Deems, Revs. Messrs. Evans, Head, and Register. It seems that the Alabama and the Mississippi Conferences of the Church, at their previous sessions, had passed such resolutions of invitation; thus taking an initiative which, in its consummation, finally disregarded the theory of Mutual Rights and General Conference authority. The Bishop's letter is coaxing and fraternal. Rev. Dr. Charles F. Deems came hurriedly to Georgetown so as to anticipate the adjournment of the Conference as one of the Commissioners and a fraternal delegate, and was most cordially received. His address was animated and stirring, and the gist of it in one sentence, "Brethren, you

have converted us!" After analysis revealed that the Lay-Representation introduced was a Lay-Delegation of an equal number of laymen in the General Conference and four for each elder's district in the Annual Conferences, the mode of their election still keeping it within the power of the ministry to influence and control it in the minor official bodies. It was, however, such a long stride in advance, that it was received almost with acclamations by the brethren, particularly those who were diligently manœuvring for a union on any terms that would save them from the poverty of the new situation.

J. G. Whitfield, from a committee on Dr. Deems's fraternal relation, reported flattering resolutions and "gratification at a movement designed and adapted to promote increasing brotherly love between the members of our own and our sister denomination." Dr. R. B. Thomson and Rev. F. L. B. Shaver were appointed Fraternal Messengers to their next General Conference. It was resolved "that the condition and necessities of the Methodist Protestant Church are such, we believe, that a General Convention is required for the promotion of its interests," and the Annual Conferences are recommended to consider it and elect delegates to such a Convention, to meet in Montgomery, Ala., first Tuesday in May, 1867, provided certain articles and sections of the Constitution be excepted from change. It was adopted after much discussion; and it may be noted that the excepted parts do not include Article XII., on suffrage and eligibility to office involving the word "white." The special committee on Bishop M'Tyeire's communication reported at length, reviewing and affirming, "In the opinion of your committee, this General Conference has not authority to act in the premises, this power being alone with the people; but the commission they appointed are recommended and invited to confer with the Convention to be called for Montgomery in 1867, or, in default, the General Conference of the Church in May, 1870, by which time their Annual Conferences would have decided to accept or reject the 'Lay-Representation' plan adopted at New Orleans," etc. The minutes were then read and approved, and the Conference adjourned, after singing the 569th hymn, and prayer by Dr. Waters, having been in session nine days.

The Convention of Conferences on the Book Concern and Periodical met May 5, J. G. Whitfield called to the chair, and J. L. Michaux, Secretary. The report of the Book Directory was submitted by the editor, J. T. Murray. It was adopted, but does

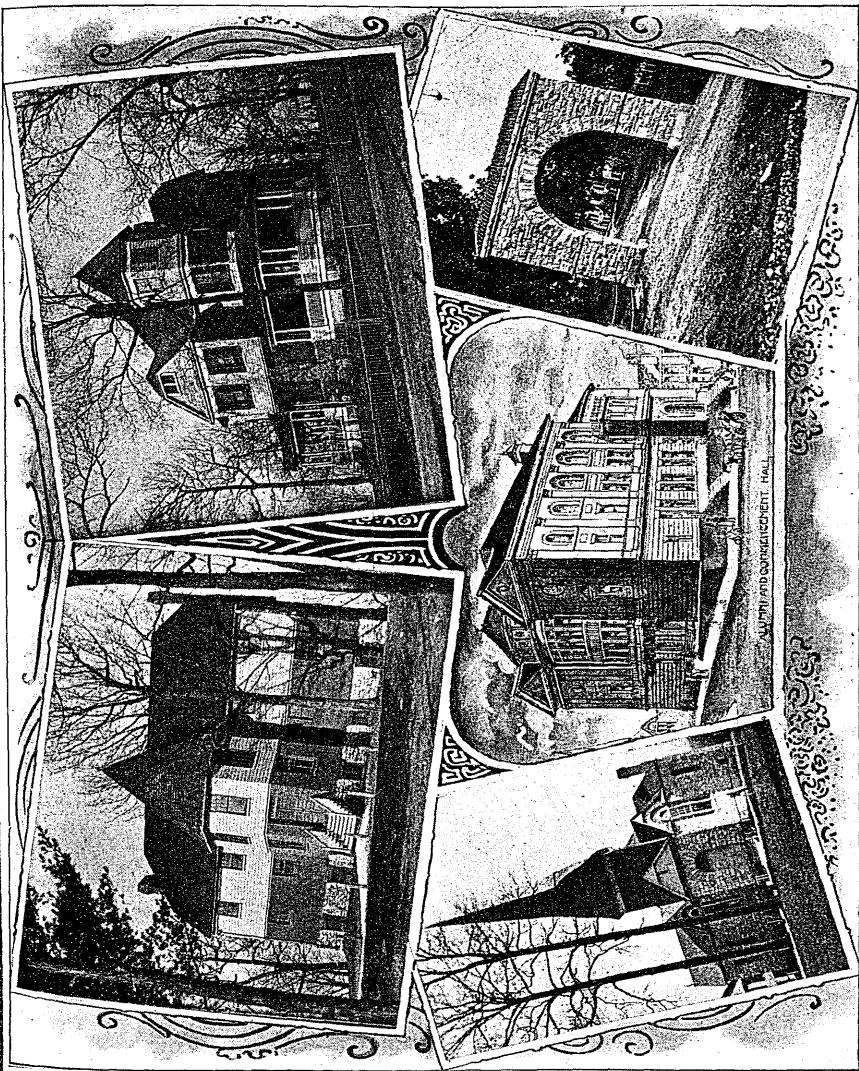
not appear in the minutes or in the church paper. J. T. Murray was reelected editor by twenty-two out of twenty-five votes cast. Thomas W. Ewing was elected agent. Complimentary resolutions were passed on the brethren who had acted as editors, and one expressing the loss of the Church at the "sad and untimely end" of Rev. E. Yeates Reese. The Convention adjourned.

An informal meeting of the members of the General Conference was held, during its session, in the Alexandria church, Virginia, which was addressed by brethren from the South reciting the calamities of the war, the sufferings and deprivations of the people, and the destruction of church property, especially in Virginia, both the Federal and the Confederate armies often traversing the section where Reform people were principally located. The narrations often brought the large congregation to tears. In after years reclamation was made for some of this property, and successfully, as at Harper's Ferry, Va., and many other cases are still before the Court of Claims, never to be adjudicated, in all probability, allowance being made only when the property had been utilized for army purposes.

A Convention was called of New England ministers and laymen, in equal proportion, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which met in Boston, June 5, 1866. It was announced that no debatable questions would be introduced, but papers read and addresses made on general subjects. It was a unique assembly, 566 ministers responding and 599 laymen, making a Convention of 1165, not to name the spectators. It was an object-lesson in Lay-Representation, though that subject was not discussed, and did much to further it indirectly, the ministers discovering that laymen of their Church were not stolid dummies who could neither think nor speak. They actually shared the honors with the preachers, and parried with them in such a way that they were looked upon with surprised admiration by their "godly pastors."

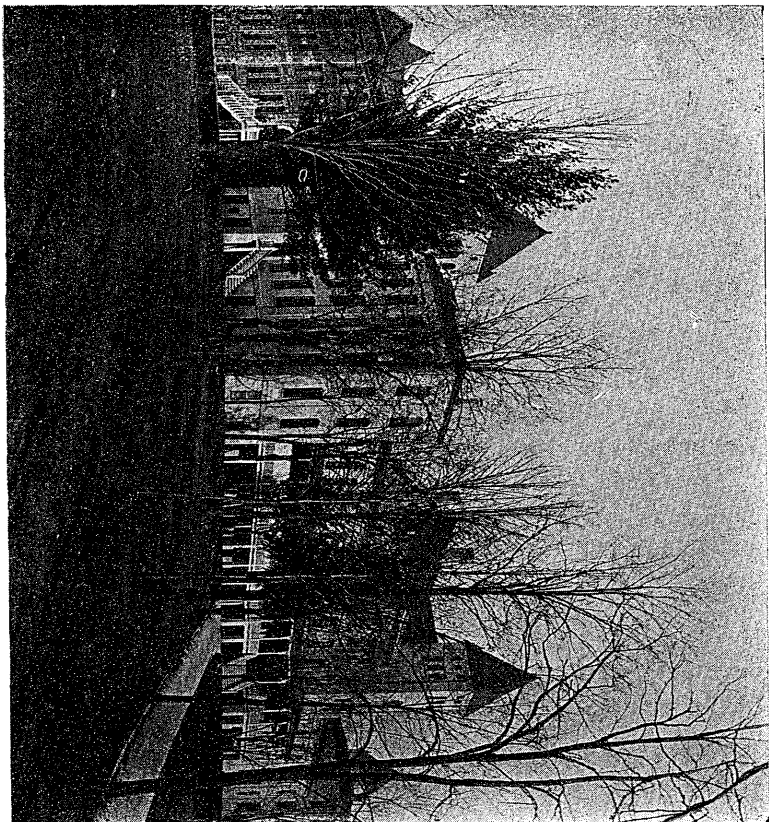
Fayette R. Buell, an educator of Westminster, Md., projected a college for both sexes, under the auspices of the Maryland Annual Conference. A site was selected, commanding a prospect for miles, and the corner-stone was laid with appropriate ceremonies, Rev. Messrs. R. S. Norris, J. T. Ward, E. J. Drinkhouse, Daniel Bowers, and others making addresses or participating, September 6, 1866. It was the nucleus of Western Maryland College.

The Methodist Episcopal Church having determined to cele-



WESTERN MARYLAND COLLEGE BUILDINGS.

Top to the left, PRESIDENT'S HOUSE; top to the right, GYMNASIUM; bottom to the right, WARD MEMORIAL ARCH; centre, ALUMNI HALL; bottom to the left, CHAPEL.



MAIN BUILDING OF WESTERN MARYLAND COLLEGE.

Location, Westminster, Md.

Estimated value of Main Building and six others, with the grounds attached, \$200,000.

brate their centenary, quadrating the event with the preaching of Embury in New York, in 1766, vast preparations were made to insure it as a financial success in contributions to various benevolences of the Church. It was carried out, and over \$8,000,000 subscribed, a large portion of which was afterward expended in the Freedmen's Bureau and in missionary efforts to establish the Methodist Episcopal Church throughout the Southern territory. Reform people in Maryland became infected with the centenary idea, the invitation from the old Church to participate covering all the Methodisms, coupled with an open door, to return to her bosom if disposed, and the Annual Conference appointed a committee to carry out the plan. It worked diligently and wisely, a certificate embellished with the Conference group being printed and a medal struck for Sunday-school use, bearing on the obverse a profile of John Wesley and the reverse appropriately inscribed.¹ Efforts were made to secure subscriptions, but the project did not succeed largely, except at West Baltimore station, John Coates subscribing and paying \$1000 to the Conference superannuated society, and other brethren making liberal additions for sundry objects, notably at Georgetown, D. C. The distress in the South had called for the practical sympathy of the people, and there were no rich men to boost the enterprise.² The brethren North and West did not enter into it, the Non-Episcopal Convention absorbing all their attention. It is time to consider it.

¹ Several hundred of these medals, in perfect condition, are in possession of the writer, waiting for some suggested use, which has not come in nearly thirty years. They will never, perhaps, be anything but souvenirs.

² The total cash receipts, as reported by the committee to the Maryland Conference in 1868, was \$7194.93. Expenses, \$1320.66. It was distributed: To the debt of Lexington Street church, \$4530.92; to the relief of Broadway, \$642.77; to Delaware Mission, \$130.00; Potomac Mission, \$86.37; balance in hand, \$483.65. In the light of future events all this aggregate sum was lost practically, except that to Broadway church, which is still in possession.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Non-Episcopal Methodist Convention of May, 1866 — Synopsis of its proceedings; difficulties of coalescence; extreme views; final adjustment — General Conferences at Cleveland and Allegheny respectively to adopt the conditions; meanwhile Constitution and Discipline to be formulated — Proceedings of the Allegheny Conference; roster of members; dissentients in North Carolina recognized; steps taken to recognize the doings of the Cincinnati Convention of Non-Episcopals; latitudinarian drift, as to the appointments of preachers, in the General Conference — A number of the prominent Wesleyans fall away from the compact; betray their friends and return to the M. E. Church; default of the Union movement; carrying with it disaffection in the North and West to the new Church, baptized as "The Methodist Church" — Decease of Rev. Dr. Holcombe with sketch — Union with the M. E. Church, South proposed — More "Union" schemes.

THE "Minutes of the Non-Episcopal Methodist Convention, held in Cincinnati, O., May 9-16, 1866," now before the writer, occupy fifty-six closely printed octavo pages. Only a digest can be given in this work, specially as its relation to the Methodist Protestants of either section is but incidental. "The Representatives and Delegates" assembled at Union chapel, Rev. Zachariah Ragan being called to the chair, and Rev. John McEldowney, Secretary. The roll of the Convention showed: Methodist Protestants: West Virginia, twenty, thirteen absent; Pittsburgh, sixteen, two absent; Muskingum, twenty-one; Ohio, eighteen; Boston, two, one absent; New York, six, three absent; New Jersey, four, two absent; Onondaga, four; Genesee, four; Pennsylvania, two, one absent; Indiana, four; Michigan, five, two absent; West Michigan, four; Wabash, three; North Illinois, four; Illinois, four; South Illinois, four, two absent; Iowa, two; North Iowa, four, two absent; Missouri, two; North Missouri, two, one absent; Nebraska, two, one absent; Oregon, one, one absent. Wesleyan Methodist Connexion: New York, one; Rochester, three, two absent; Syracuse, two; Allegheny, six, four absent; Central Ohio, six; Michigan, seven, two absent; Indiana, five, one absent; Miami, four; Iowa, four, one absent. Independent Churches: Union chapel, Cincinnati, two; Union chapel,

Livonia, Mich., one; Sumpter, Mich., one. Quite a list of honorary members was submitted, and their names entered, most of them men eminent in their denominations, and the roll was increased from day to day, until the assembly was promiscuous, with one intent, however, in the outward seeming at least—Union.

It became evident that there were not a few Church politicians, and State politicians among them, and some who finally illustrated the Saviour's declaration, "Wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together." The Methodist Protestants were in the numerical majority, and gave evidence that they were for fair play and an honest count. The committee on Permanent Organization reported for: President, Rev. S. A. Baker of the Wesleyans; for Vice-Presidents, Dr. John Scott and P. T. Laishley of the Methodist Protestants, Dr. Luther Lee and Cyrus Prindle of the Wesleyans, and Rev. C. Moore of the Independents; for Secretaries, Rev. J. McEldowney, Wesleyan, and Rev. G. B. McElroy, Protestant. The Champlain Conference, which had gone in a body to the Wesleyans on account of the slavery matter, now addressed this Convention, in lieu of a delegation, distance the excuse, and set forth their views favoring this Union on certain conditions; to wit, "absolute local church independency, as opposed to a central judicial power in the body," and "secret oath-bound societies." These two conditions, the sequel will show, were the rock on which the whole project was wrecked. Another large batch of brethren were accorded honorary seats, and all this class were allowed votes on some of the fundamental enactments of the Convention. The committee on Basis of Union was: George Brown, Luther Lee, C. Moore, Cyrus Prindle, J. S. Thrap, D. B. Dorsey, H. B. Knight, S. B. Smith, R. Rose, G. W. Bainum, John Burns, S. M. Short, G. G. Westfall, Messrs. E. R. Hall, A. M. Searles, A. Backus, J. W. Bush, E. Starbuck, H. Cassell, M. Thompson, George Johnson, W. W. McCaslin, G. Hendricks, and John Redman.

The Convention proceeded to work at once, and on the second day the committee offered Elementary Principles for adoption. They are those of the Methodist Protestant Church reduced from eleven to ten by a little ingenious garbling, omission, and addition. It must have been thought an improvement even by those who knew them in their original shape, for they were unanimously adopted by a standing vote, honorary members and all. Then came in order the committee's report on "a Constitution." It

is a patchwork of the two Methodist bodies represented. Two names, as a Church style and title, were earnestly pressed: "United Methodist" by the Wesleyans, and "Methodist" by the Protestants, the latter finally being carried by a vote of 107 to 24. A daily United Methodist paper was published during the proceedings. A motion to vote by denominations on the final adoption of the Basis of Union was rejected. A paper on the existing civil condition of the country, with advice to Congress and exhortation to President Johnson, couched in denunciatory adjectives of all who entertained any other views than those of the author of the paper, was offered and pressed, and delayed by the more conservative element of the Convention. Every few days some member offered a resolution reflecting his political views. These iterations at last provoked that loyal and Christian man, Rev. Alexander Clark, to offer a paper offsetting these resolves, the gist of it being, "It has not been thought by the members of this Convention to be legitimate business to introduce questions that belong exclusively to individual conscience or national politics." Reported favorably by a committee, it was, however, substituted after a long and warm debate by a semi-political manifesto on a yea and nay vote of eighty-one to four. There was much excuse for extreme views. It takes a community flushed with the victory of their moral and political sentiments over a prostrate foe a long time to recover its Christian reason. A year before, just as the Civil War closed, the brethren of the New York Conference made a deliverance concluding with these words, "that expediency, constitutional law, justice, and the Bible, all unite in demanding that at least some of the principal leaders of the rebellion be punished with death."

The "secret oath-bound society" question gave much trouble and was handled cautiously. It was declined to make such a test a part of the corporate law of the new Church, while sentimentally acknowledging that it had much force. Out of it came a singular action in its final disposition, the Convention taking precisely the position of the Methodist Protestant Church on the subject of slavery prior to the war: "Whereas this Convention has left all moral questions with the local churches, recognizing their right to determine their own tests of membership," etc. The sequel will show that this did not satisfy the Wesleyans, any more than the same position satisfied the West and North under the agitation against slavery as a moral question. Rev. L. C. Matlack, one of the original Wesleyans, was an honorary member,

and gave intimation from time to time that with three or four other prominent ministers of the old Church he was present to watch the course of events and to give, if possible, a trend to the Convention that would commit it to general Methodist Union, as proposed by the last General Conference of the M. E. Church. Rev. Dr. Luther Lee, another original member of the Wesleyans, was a delegate, but seems to have taken no prominent part; he watched and waited, but was so outwardly friendly to this movement that no one suspected that he had ulterior purposes, with a number of others. The Constitution was matured and passed, and a committee appointed to prepare a Discipline to harmonize with it, to report to a "General Conference" of the new Church, third Wednesday in May, 1867, at Cleveland, O., while the "Methodist Protestant Church" was to meet in a "General Conference" six months earlier, or on the 12th of November, 1866, at Allegheny City, Pa. Meanwhile the work done was to be submitted to the respective Annual Conferences of both the contracting parties for adoption or rejection. The "Primitive" and the "Free" Methodists¹ were invited to participate in the ensuing General Conference with the same ratio of representation, one of each class in every thousand. No "Union" on paper was ever more predetermined, and the Convention adjourned in a gale of enthusiasm, not, however, before brother S. Rodman, a warm-hearted layman from the Illinois Conference, had moved, and it was "Resolved that the bodies herein represented consider the Union complete now and forever, amen!" nor before "Dr. Lee had tendered his resignation as a member of the committee to prepare an Address to the Churches—not accepted." On a

¹ The Methodist Centennial Year Book of 1884 makes no mention of either of these minor bodies in America, though very elaborate in its statements of all others. The Primitives are a small organization in New York and the Eastern states, still adhering to the mother Primitives of England. They number probably less than 5,000, and with a liberal form of polity overtures have been suggested with the Methodist Protestant Church at different times. The Free Methodists are largely confined to Western New York, with scattered small conferences West and farther South. Their organization dates from 1860, owing to some alleged arbitrary ruling of Bishop Simpson. They are "old time" Methodist as to dress, wearing of gold, and are in absolute opposition to all secret societies, as are the Wesleyans. They number, perhaps, 30,000. Later, November, 1897, this foot-note needs correction, as follows:—

FALL RIVER, MASS., September 21. — The General Conference of the Primitive Methodist Church, which is meeting here, has chosen Rev. John Mason, of Providence, R. I., general secretary; Rev. H. G. Russell, Rev. Geo. Lee, Aaron Rowell, and others, executive committee. The statistical report shows 73 ministers, 90 churches, 6,122 members, and church property valued at \$426,756. The next Conference, in 1901, will be held at Scranton, Pa.

motion to adjourn, the President, S. A. Baker, made a congratulatory address, and after singing two verses of the hymn:—

“And let our bodies part,
To different climes repair,”

and prayer by Dr. George Brown, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

Dr. Lee, June 6, 1866, wrote to the *Western Methodist Protestant* an approval of its action and his purpose to work “with heart and will to finish up the Union,” etc. The *True Wesleyan*, however, spoke cautiously of it. The committee to formulate a Discipline met at Springfield, O., in July, 1866, Dr. Luther Lee, G. W. Bainum, and G. B. Smith, of Wesleyans, and George Brown, John Scott, and J. S. Thrap of Methodist Protestants, being present. A draft was made and published in the *Western* paper, principally the work of Dr. Luther Lee, who was domiciled for the time with Dr. John Scott, and he gave no sign of disloyalty to the Methodist Union it proposed. The sequel of the Wesleyan disaffection toward the Union shall be considered later. It was evident to not a few in the North and West that these proceedings foreshadowed a total and final separation of the brethren from the East and South in a new denomination. Union chapel, Cincinnati, where the Convention was held, demurred, which led to the resignation of the pastor, Rev. Alexander Clark, who was committed to the new order of things. Dissentients elsewhere found themselves in a helpless minority. There was much discussion and difference of opinion anent this reconstruction in the *Western* paper as to its legal and logical effects. The editor, Dr. John Scott, reviewing the question in October, 1866, a month before the “General Conference” of the brethren was held in Allegheny City, Pa., made admissions which were regarded in the East and South as logically fatal to their claim as “The Methodist Protestant Church” in the event of the Non-Episcopal Union. (See *Baltimore paper*, November 3, 1866.)

“Proceedings of the Ninth General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, held in Allegheny City, Pa., November 14–22, 1866.” This is the title-page of its printed proceedings, sixty-four pages. The salient matters are as follows: Dr. John Scott was called to the chair, and J. H. Hamilton and T. B. Graham, Secretaries. A list of representatives showed these brethren present:—

<i>Ministers</i>	ONONDAGA	<i>Laymen</i>
N. R. Swift		George White
	GENESEE	Nicholas Hiller
E. A. Wheat		
	MUSKINGUM	H. E. H. Hartsock
J. S. Thrap		J. Manley
J. W. Southard		Thomas Chambers
J. L. Scott		Francis Scott
William Hastings		Daniel Chandler
W. H. Marshall		
Joseph H. Hamilton		
	PITTSBURGH	R. H. Marshall
John Scott		William Rinehart
John Cowl		John Redman
George Brown		William Miller
Valentine Lucas		John Sargent
William Reeves		
	OHIO	T. Douglass
T. B. Graham		William Guncel
Jonathan M. Flood		G. W. Kent
Reuben Rose		
M. B. V. Euans		
A. H. Bassett		
J. J. White		
	NEW JERSEY	
E. D. Stultz		
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
Tobias Finkbine		
P. J. Strong		
	MISSOURI	W. F. Hughes
O. P. Carlton		
	NEW YORK	A. Seaman
	INDIANA	
Samuel Morrison		
	MICHIGAN	
John Kost		

WESTERN MICHIGAN

*Ministers**Laymen*

O. F. Howland

NORTH IOWA

George M. Scott

Letters from the following representatives-elect were read: Daniel Wait of Wisconsin, W. W. Tipton of Nebraska, and G. Williams of North Missouri.

Permanent officers were elected: John Scott, President, and J. J. White and E. R. Wheat, Secretaries. A committee on Non-Episcopal Union of this country was appointed: George Brown, R. Rose, W. Hastings, J. Sargent, G. M. Scott. The regular standing committees were appointed by the chair. Rev. J. B. Walker, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Missions, made "a report of a self-constituted Board having for its object the education of young men preparing for the ministry of the Methodist Protestant Church." Report of "The Commissioners to visit Adrian College" was offered. A. H. Bassett made a statement outlining his career as Publishing Agent from 1855 to 1864, vindicatory of his official conduct. Board of Ministerial Education was formed, and a Constitution submitted. The committee on the Sixth Street church of Cincinnati, and the action of the Pittsburgh Conference in recognizing it without concurrence of the Ohio Conference, reported it "irregular," but softly passed it over. The Board of Missions reported \$10,513.71 had been collected during the quadrennium and disbursed. A new Board was elected: Euans, Bassett, Snowden, Gunckel, Evans, Johnson, and located at Springfield, and Rules and Regulations for its guidance formulated.

The following trustees of the Endowment Fund of Adrian College were named: J. S. Thrap, J. Fordyce, Z. Ragan, T. A. Reed, J. J. Gillespie, R. H. Marshall, J. Redman, J. Whetstone, G. Brown, N. R. Swift, R. Rose, T. J. Finch, J. B. Walker, J. J. White, W. Gunckel, J. M. Flood, A. H. Bassett, J. J. Smith, J. M. Mayall, J. Kost, James Ross, H. Stackhouse, A. Mahan, E. D. Stultz. The Constitution and Discipline adopted at the Cincinnati Convention was presented by Dr. Brown, and the points made that twenty of twenty-four Annual Conferences had indorsed the Union of the Non-Episcopal Convention, one made no report, and the other three yet to act. It was also found that



J. S. THRAP.

WESTERN MICHIGAN

*Ministers**Laymen*

O. F. Howland

NORTH IOWA

George M. Scott

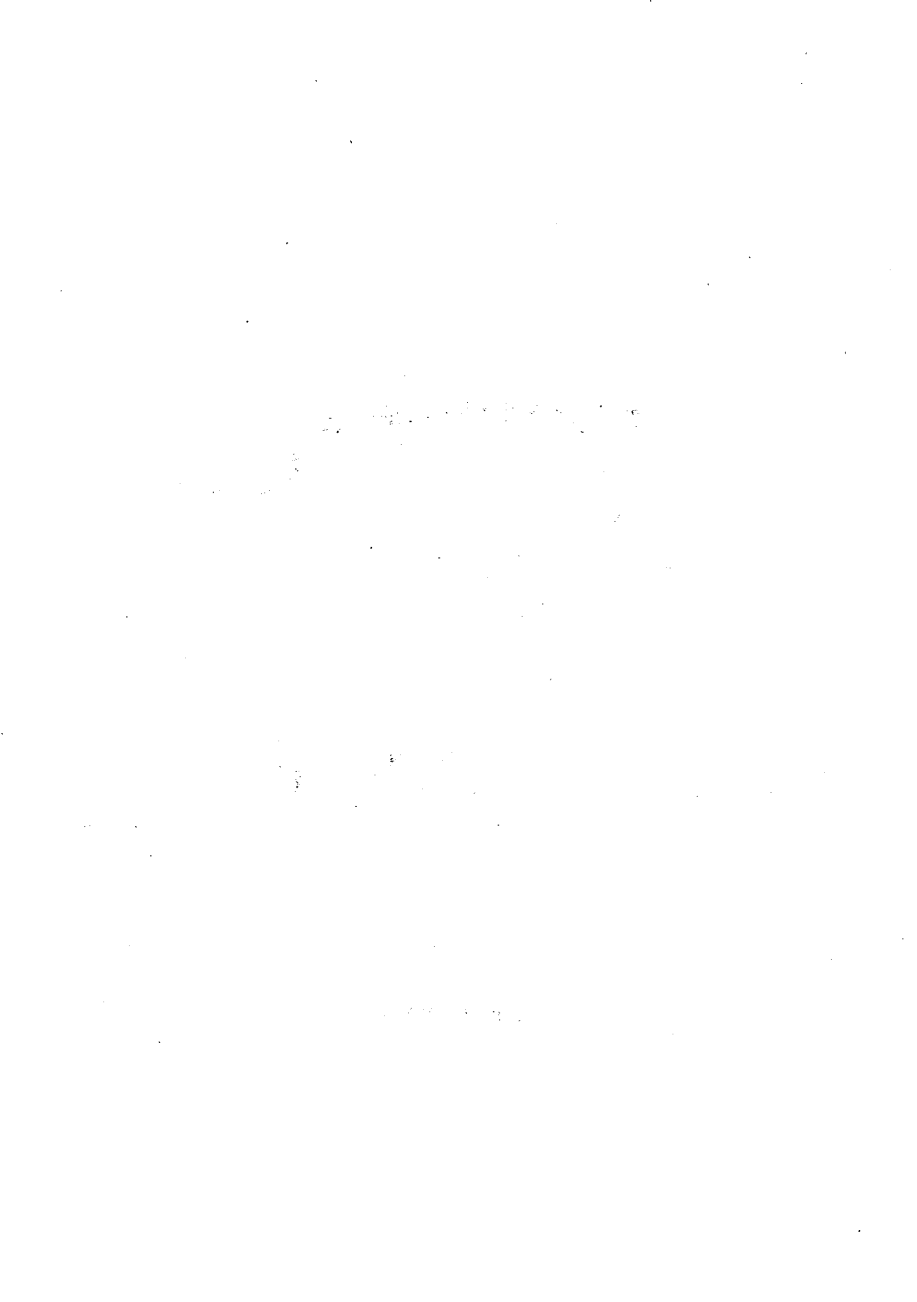
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J. S. THRAP.



"twenty-four conferences have clothed their representatives to this body with full conventional power and authority to so change the Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church as to enable our denomination in an orderly way, through this Conference, to place itself under the ecclesiastical economy agreed upon at the Cincinnati Convention." The new Constitution and Discipline were passed by items, and then "adopted as a whole." New Conference boundaries were set, and the petition from "Jamestown, N. C.," for recognition, on the complaint that they were "isolated by rebellion and oppression," was favorably entertained and resolves made of sympathy and "prayer to God for their protection from tyranny and oppression"; therefore they are set off as a district, to be known as the "North Carolina District of the Methodist Church;" and that the Conference be requested to send representatives to the ensuing General Conference at Cleveland. "We also recommend that all territory of the United States not embraced in this report be considered 'missionary ground,' to be occupied and assisted." The brethren, however, did not practically attempt to carry out this resolve for reasons other than those prompting the Methodist Episcopal Church in its raid upon Southern territory. The war had ended eighteen months before, and in after years they discovered that they had been deceived by these malcontents as to their numbers, character, and influence, so that in the Union Convention of 1877 they sent no representatives, and, refusing to coalesce with the Methodist Protestant Conference of North Carolina, were left in a few years to find other associations befitting their political status.

The publishing interests were formally placed under the "General Conference," and an "investigating committee" appointed to consider its affairs, and a suggestion of a removal of the location from Springfield to some other more eligible situation. But slight changes were made in the Ritual as found in the Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church. Dr. John Scott was reelected editor. J. S. Thrapp having declined a re-nomination from the Board of Publication for the position of Agent, on the fifth ballot A. H. Bassett was elected by a majority of one vote. The name of the Church paper was changed to the *Methodist Recorder* and of the Sunday-school paper to *Sabbath-School Methodist*. A. H. Bassett reported statistics as follows: itinerants, 618; unstationed ministers and preachers, 474; members, 43,164; churches, 525; parsonages, 110; value of church property, \$961,350. Reuben Rose was elected Corresponding

Secretary to the Board of Missions, and J. B. Walker, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Education. Dr. Brown was requested to prepare a "History of the Methodist Protestant Church." The title "Methodist Protestant" was ordered stricken out of "our book of Discipline" wherever it occurs, and the new name "Methodist" substituted in "all our chartered institutions." The report on Church Union recommended that "the Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church, in all its obstructing parts, be and the same is hereby so changed, repealed, and set aside, by action of this General Convention, having full conventional powers to do this act, as to enable the said Church to adopt the Constitution and Discipline agreed upon at the Cincinnati Convention in May, 1866." Also "that throughout this whole Union movement, we have acted in good faith toward all parties concerned, and in the fear of God; and now in the final consummation in humble faith and prayer we ask the divine blessing on all that we have done." George Brown, chairman.

The Convention resolved itself again into the "General Conference," and finally adjourned with an address from Dr. Brown. John Scott, President; J. J. White and E. A. Wheat, Secretaries. Appended to the minutes is a full text of the new Constitution and Discipline, prefaced with a new historical statement, which rehearses in brief the history of English and American Methodism, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Protestant Church, the Wesleyan Connexion, and the Methodist Church. The Articles of Religion are amended by the addition of three: on Relative Duties, the Resurrection of the Body, and of the General Judgment. Among the constitutional provisions is the following: "All ministers and licentiates who are laboring under the direction of the Conference shall be at liberty to enter into negotiations to serve any pastoral charge for one year from the next session of the Conference; and it shall be the duty of all ministers and licentiates and churches having entered into such arrangements to report the same to the Conference at its next session." This, coupled with the restriction, "or which shall prevent the maintenance of an itinerant ministry," seem to give the law of the new Church to be that of annual appointments, but with no restriction as to time and no control of appointments by the Conferences themselves, if otherwise provided for by negotiation. The latitudinarian drift of this regulation wrought much connectional damage, and though it has not been

the law of the reunited Church since 1877, in the West and North, it is still constructively observed as of effect, but a growing reaction promises to arrest the congregational trend. On the whole reconstruction, Dr. Scott, who took so active a part in it, says in his last book, "Fifty Years": "By this action the name of the Church was changed from Methodist Protestant to the Methodist Church. But this change was made by a body clothed with conventional powers, and having authority according to our own law to do so, and was perfectly legal. In the exercise of the powers with which we were clothed, we so changed our own Constitution and Discipline as to make them harmonize with the Constitution and Discipline provided by the Union Convention, and so our part toward the Union of the various bodies therein represented was accomplished, and still we were perfectly intact as a denomination, our organization being complete."

Meantime not a few of the leaders in this Non-Episcopal Methodist Union were quietly making arrangements to return to the Methodist Episcopal Church. "Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon!" Let Dr. Scott again express his disappointment. "It soon became evident that the Union, if anything, would be far from what had been hoped. Many of the Wesleyan leaders proved unfaithful, not only to other churches which were parties to the union, but to their own church, and the great body of the Wesleyans backed out of the union altogether. I had been in correspondence with Dr. Luther Lee until within a week of our General Conference, and he still professed great devotion to the union movement, and expressed his purpose to be at our Conference, if he could make the necessary financial arrangements to do so. He did not come, however, and before our Conference was over, I heard that he had returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church. I was never more shocked in my life. I could not understand it. I have no hard things to say about Dr. Lee. I had esteemed him very highly, but he disappointed me sorely. I had one or two of his books, but I could not consult them with satisfaction, and I gave them away. I never met him afterward, or had any communication with him. Dr. Cyrus Prindle, Dr. L. C. Matlack, Dr. H. Mattison, Rev. S. B. Smith, and others, leaders in the union movement, and who had uttered the severest things against the Methodist Episcopal Church, all went back to that Church. Most of them are dead and I hope are in heaven, but they went by a way I would not choose."

While the brethren were cementing the Union hard and fast at Allegheny, the Michigan Conference of the Wesleyans, their strongest and most influential, was having a three days' discussion over it, and it was rejected by a vote of thirty-five to twenty-nine. The minority withdrew from the Conference in the heat of the decision, so that disunion among themselves was the fruit in this and other instances. They discovered that they would be in the minority in the new Church, and officialism, that bane of all honest attempts of the membership for union, could not brook the probable loss of occupation, and "ecclesiastical finesse" did the rest. In the Western Virginia Conference a division arose so serious that it was determined as the only solution that the societies and the preachers should make choice whether they would be Methodist Protestants or "Methodists," and fully one-half came back to the Methodist Protestant Church. They reasoned that it was more than they could understand how Methodist Protestant Conferences could "separate" from each other, and then resolve that the separating section was the original Church, and then resolve again, by conventional action among themselves, that they would enact a new Constitution and Discipline, and rename themselves "The Methodist Church," and still legally and logically remain the Methodist Protestant Church. It was too much for the brethren, and they vaulted back on the right side of the fence. About the same thing occurred in the Pennsylvania Conference. In Illinois a respectable body adhered to the East and South on the same theory, known as the South Illinois Conference, and also in Missouri about Des Moines. Individual congregations, like that of Union chapel, Cincinnati, did likewise; all was not serene.

The Baltimore official paper, under the editorship of J. T. Murray, from the General Conference of May, 1866, to March, 1867, was ably conducted; but the impoverished South was slow in responding to its support, so that it was found that the Book Concern had incurred a net loss of near \$1000 for the current year, which made it a necessity in the judgment of the Directory that recourse should be had again to the uncompensated editorial service of the city ministers as a committee. The change was made, and for the ensuing year the paper was conducted by Dr. S. B. Southerland, E. J. Drinkhouse, and Daniel Bowers.

Rev. W. J. Holcombe, M.D., departed this life February 21, 1867. He was born March 1, 1798, in Amelia County, Va., was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, removed to

Lynchburg, Va., where he successfully practised for many years. Converted in 1822, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was soon licensed to preach, joining with his extensive practice regular Sabbath preaching, with great popularity in both callings. He was refused ordination because a Reformer and a patron of the *Mutual Rights*, and was among the Expelled at Lynchburg in 1828. He was one of the founders of the Virginia Conference of the new Church. He was a man of large culture and literary gifts, and was by the *Richmond Medical Journal* rated at the head of his profession. Like Judge Hopper of Maryland, he was an emancipationist, freeing his slaves; and subsequently coming into the possession of about one hundred more through a relative, he removed in 1840 to Indiana, that within a free State he might carry out the provision of the will which declared their freedom unless he continued to reside in a slave State. He returned to Amelia, Va., in 1855, where he remained until his death. Like Judge Hopper also, he raised no issue with his slaveholding Christian neighbors, and preferred to spend his closing days in their society. He issued late in life an octavo volume of his poems, but the venture was a financial disaster. He expired suddenly of heart disease. The funeral was preached in the Lynchburg church by Rev. Dr. R. B. Thomson, and his remains deposited in the Presbyterian cemetery.

The call for a Convention to meet at Montgomery, Ala., in May, 1867, provoked a wide difference of opinion throughout the East and South, but it was favored in Maryland, Virginia, Alabama, and Mississippi, the strongest conferences. North Carolina held aloof, and some of the smaller conferences, but they all elected representatives in the contingency of its assembling. South of the Potomac the membership was poverty-stricken, large sections of the country desolated, church property destroyed, and a pall of gloom spread over a disintegrated organization. Largely the same condition of things obtained in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, but with desperate energy they set to repairing their waste places, and, as found, popularized their Church government with a lay-delegation, for some time favored by many of their leading preachers, and now stimulated by the resolves of Protestant Conferences under a combination of brethren who kept themselves in correspondence with the bishops, for a Union on its introduction as a compromise of differences. The commissioners the General Conference of the Church South had appointed in May, 1866, were active in furthering the scheme.

Thirty-odd thousands of Methodist Protestants would help to recoup their losses and give them a united front for Methodist evangelization in the South. Hence individual offers from ministers, and even from Conferences, were discouraged; they said they did not wish to disintegrate, but have Union as a Church.

It must be confessed that a man clothed and well fed cannot appreciate the appeal any prospect for material betterment made to these bare and hungry preachers. A number of leaders in Virginia came to Baltimore and proposed as a last resort that Maryland should man some of their fields with her single men and receive as many as possible of their married men in the emergency. It was not entertained, not being thought practicable, because Maryland, while approving the call for a Convention, more for the power it would give over certain portions of the Constitution than any serious idea of Union with the Church South, as a border state Conference had not seceded, and composed largely of "Union" preachers so called, all of them conservative, it was a menace to its confederal integrity, and the proposal was clearly a sectional one. The formation of the "Methodist" Church out of the Non-Episcopal Union Convention seemed to cut off all hope of a future restored continental Methodist Protestantism. It was a perplexing situation for the largest and strongest of the Conferences, but for these very reasons covetous eyes were turned upon it from every direction. The Methodist Episcopal Church had appointed commissioners to treat with any Methodists who would like to be taken in, housed, and fed. It will be seen that a delegation came to the Maryland Conference making loving tenders. In fine, "Union," as the several parties understood it, filled the very air. Thoughtful and loyal men to the principles and the memories of good men who had suffered for them heard these dulcet notes with suspicion. The sequel will show that the result of all this "ecclesiastical finesse" was to make farther disunion in the East and South, as "Union" had done for the North and West. These were the circumstances in which the Montgomery Convention assembled.

CHAPTER XXIX

The Montgomery, Ala., Convention of May, 1867; roster of members; J. J. Murray, President; C. W. Button and F. H. M. Henderson, Secretaries—The Commissioners of the M. E. Church, South, were introduced, and a committee to confer with them appointed; minor changes in Discipline proposed; provision for colored conferences—The overshadowing business was the proposal of the Church South for Union; the more it was canvassed the less the brethren understood the terms as interpreted by Bishops Pierce and M'Tyeire, Revs. Bros. Lee and Evans; the Conference replied in fifteen propositions; "ecclesiastical finesse" operating on both sides; reference ordered to the Annual Conferences of both Churches; the "managers" of the Union scheme baffled; Commissioners retire, and the whole scheme died of inanition—Convention adjourned—Holston Conference organized—Great Sabbath-school demonstration in Baltimore; five thousand computed present—Decease and sketch of Rev. Eli Henkle and Dr. Francis Waters—A lay-delegation in the M. E. Church proposed and carried; an emasculated thing in their General Conference of 1872—General Conference of the Methodist Church at Cleveland, Ohio, in May, 1867; roster of members; the Wesleyans do not attend; disappointment, and resolves to cover the awkward situation; synopsis of its doings; statistics, etc.—Adrian College transferred from the legal trustees to the "Methodist" Church.

ON the first day, May 7, 1867, of the seventy-one representatives elected to the Montgomery Convention, but thirteen were present at the roll-call. W. C. Lipscomb of Maryland was called to the chair, and F. H. M. Henderson of Georgia made Secretary. It adjourned to meet at 9 A.M. the next morning. It was then found that a quorum was present. Others arrived from time to time, so that the full roster of those elected was as follows:—

MARYLAND

Ministers

W. C. Lipscomb
J. J. Murray
L. W. Bates
S. B. Southerland
J. K. Nichols
Daniel Bowers
H. F. Zollickoffer
John Roberts
D. E. Reese

Laymen

T. A. Newman
W. D. Massey
A. Donelson
Wm. Turpin
W. H. Wheatley
L. J. Cox, Jr.
B. H. Richardson¹
John Coates¹
Richard Thomas¹

¹ Absent.

NORTH CAROLINA	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
W. H. Wills	G. J. Cherry
T. H. Pegram	L. W. Batchelor
J. L. Michaux	Henry Walser ¹
C. F. Harris	D. M. Lee ¹
W. B. McRoberts	S. V. Pickens ¹
Alson Gray ¹	W. A. Coe ¹
John Paris ¹	W. A. Coble ¹
W. C. Kennett ¹	John F. Harris ¹
A. W. Lineberry ¹	M. C. Whitaker ¹
VIRGINIA	
R. B. Thomson ¹	C. W. Button
J. G. Whitfield	H. B. Woodhouse ¹
G. R. Barr	Wm. Harding ¹
Wm. McGee	M. T. Peebles ¹
ALABAMA	
D. B. Smedley	B. S. Bibb
S. K. Cox	P. T. Graves
L. L. Hill	J. B. Clayton
J. C. Davis	C. E. Crenshaw
GEORGIA	
F. H. M. Henderson	John Bass
S. C. Masters ¹	
MISSISSIPPI	
P. H. Napier	Peter Loper
NORTH MISSISSIPPI	
A. A. Houston	W. R. Montgomery
TENNESSEE	
B. F. Duggan	R. H. Whitaker ¹
INDIANA	
B. F. Perry ¹	I. Burkhead ¹
SOUTH CAROLINA	
C. McSmith ¹	J. G. Grant ¹
SOUTH ILLINOIS	
E. C. G. Nickens ¹	J. W. Newton ¹
WEST TENNESSEE	
G. F. A. Spiller ¹	George Reems ¹
LOUISIANA	
Isaiah C. Wallace ¹	E. Hearn ¹
¹ Absent.	

Thirty out of seventy-one were absent. Considering the disruption of the railroads and the poverty of the men the attendance was remarkable.

Bishops Pierce and M'Tyeire, Rev. Dr. L. M. Lee, and Rev. J. E. Evans of the Commissioners of the Church South were introduced. On the election for permanent officers, J. J. Murray, on the second ballot, was elected President, and C. W. Button and F. H. M. Henderson, Secretaries. Communications were received from Rev. John Sexsmith of Des Moines, Ill., and also from Rev. W. W. Tipton, President of the Illinois Conference. The Standing Committees were named by the chair. The official papers from the Commission of the Church South were presented and addresses made by Bishops Pierce and M'Tyeire, Dr. L. M. Lee, and Rev. J. E. Evans, responded to by the President and sundry brethren. A resolution was passed to appoint one minister and one layman from each Conference represented to confer with them as a Commission. The President named them as follows: W. H. Wills, G. J. Cherry, J. G. Whitfield, C. W. Button, S. B. Southerland, L. J. Cox, Jr., B. F. Duggan, F. L. B. Shaver, P. T. Graves, F. H. M. Henderson, John Bass, P. H. Napier, Peter Loper, A. A. Houston, W. R. Montgomery. It will be observed in the occurrence of names that alternates were substituted for principals in the Alabama list as given in the roster, making F. L. B. Shaver, Isaac Spangler, and Edmond Harrison members.

The gist of the Church South papers was: "Union between the Methodist Protestant Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, with power to settle terms of union." The Commissioners in a letter defined their understanding of this "power": "We propose a formal and corporate union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and the Methodist Protestant Church. . . . We propose a union with your ministers, itinerant and local, and your members, each in their several relations, and entitled to all the rights and privileges common to our own ministers and members under the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South." It will be developed that there is an essential difference after all, between tweedledee and tweedledum as thus defined. An hour was spent by the Conference in a love-feast, or class-meeting experience, very refreshing and spiritual. The Maryland brethren had taken with them the sum of \$800 for distribution in the South, and it was so disposed of to the most needy. A Des Moines Mission Conference was created and the Illinois

recognized. The Florida had ceased to exist, leaving eighteen adhering Conferences. Sundry amendments were made to the Constitution and Discipline; the most important was a change in the relative position of the word "white" in Article 12th, so as to extend the inclusive force to ministers and preachers as well as members, a question heretofore referred to in this History. "The Monthly Meeting" in stations was made a feature of the Discipline, but it has fallen into desuetude. The next General Conference was appointed for East Baltimore station, Baltimore, Md. A movement was inaugurated for the appointment of a Conference Missionary in each of the Conferences where needed, to "organize the colored people into societies for instruction and evangelization, as shall comport with the genius of the Methodist Protestant Church, and for the formation of Annual Conferences of their own under the style of . . ." It was further amended: "It is highly desirable that we retain our colored membership in our own connection," etc. Under this encouragement various conferences of the colored brethren were organized, and a number now exist in the South.¹ The ratio of representation was fixed at one of each class in every thousand members.

The overshadowing subject occupying the attention of the Convention was the proposal from the Church South already cited. The Committee of Conference held numerous interviews with the Commissioners of that Church, and the more they conferred the less the brethren seemed to be able to understand the interpreta-

¹ A secession took place from the A. M. E. Church in Maryland in the year 1848, and they adopted substantially the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church at a meeting at St. Thomas's Church, Baltimore. Some years prior to this period there had been organized principally in Maryland and Delaware the African Union Methodist Protestant Church, taking the Book of the Methodist Protestant Church as their polity with such changes as would adapt it to their condition. These two branches had a temporary Union, but for a number of years have been working on independent lines. The African Union is much the larger body, with some able preachers, and a number of churches well organized in the territory named. A small monthly paper, *The Dawn*, has been issued semi-officially by them under the charge of Rev. Brother Scott, for a number of terms, also President of their Conference. The writer has been unsuccessful in securing their statistics. Rev. Brother Lee, President of the Colored Methodist Protestant Conference furnishes the following for his Church. No extant records between 1848 and 1881, at which latter date they claimed 15 ministers and preachers, 5 churches, and 3 missions, and about 400 members, and 500 Sabbath-school scholars. Between 1881 and 1896 they lost 2 churches by default of ground rent, 9 ministers by death and withdrawals, received 13 ministers and 4 preachers. They now claim 4 churches, 8 missions, 200 members, with 12 Sabbath-schools and 260 scholars. The African Union was a secession from the colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

tion placed upon the action of the Church South as made by the commissioners present. It slowly dawned upon them, however, after the first answer was made to their proposal. It covered fifteen points, made upon the supposition that the Commissioners were empowered to "settle terms of union." Essentially they called for a change of the united Church style and title; the abolition of the Eldership; the creation instead of as many bishops as Annual Conferences; the right of appeal of ministers; no veto power of the bishops; no transfer without the consent of the party; the parity of local and itinerant preachers; equal delegation in the Annual Conferences; the vote by order; the first newly elected bishops to be taken from the Protestant brethren; their system for trial of members; the Maryland Conference autonomy to be guaranteed, etc. It is an open secret that several of these points were made by brethren opposed to the "Union" altogether — riders to kill the bill. The "ecclesiastical finesse" developed on both sides. The Commissioners made reply in order. And now it became clear even to hazy vision that what was proposed was not "Union," but Absorption. The ministers and officials would be received into the Church South and the members would be received also; but not a vanishing point was to be left of the Methodist Protestant Church as such. And yet over the reply which made this fact manifest the brethren higgled and disputed and took votes by ayes and nays and entered upon the journal explanations of their votes, and a number of them finally uttered a protest against the whole farcical business. The brethren who in their individual and conferential capacity had presumed to speak for the whole Church in their letters and personal interviews with the bishops, etc., found themselves in an embarrassing position; they could not deliver the goods.

The final action was that "the Convention take no decisive action at this time, . . . and that a commission of one from each Conference be appointed to call another Convention at Lynchburg, Va., in May, 1868," in certain contingencies, and this was amended to the effect that if the Convention was not called, then the next "General Conference" of the Church should be held in 1870. The commissioners of the Church South took their formal leave with courteous greetings and resolves, the hand-in-glove brethren relieving the disgust these commissioners could not altogether disguise, as much as possible. And so ended a fiasco as notable as that of the Non-Episcopal Union Convention of the brethren North and West, but attended with much more disas-

trous results. It is but fair to state that literally the bishops were beguiled into the part they took by the resolves of the Alabama, Mississippi, and Virginia Conferences. The fifteen points presented were never submitted by them to their Annual Conferences, as suggested, and the "Union" of the two Churches was abandoned mutually. They soon began the work of "taking into their Church" the preachers and people individually, and as Annual Conferences piecemeal, but always at the invitation of those who had predetermined to unite with them. The full text of the papers on the subject may be found in the Appendix to the minutes of this Convention. A Board of Missions was elected by the Convention, with location in Baltimore, as follows: S. B. Southerland, W. C. Lipscomb, J. J. Murray, H. F. Zollickoffer, L. J. Cox, E. C. Thomas, John Coates, B. H. Richardson, William Bond, J. G. Clark, A. J. Fairbank, and James Bond. The Convention adjourned, after a night session, on the tenth day; its business was hurried, as the representatives had painful reminders of the impoverished condition of their whole-souled hosts which forbade a strain upon such self-denying hospitality. Prayer was offered by the oldest member, Rev. W. C. Lipscomb, at the close. J. J. Murray, President; C. W. Button and F. H. M. Henderson, Secretaries. The printed proceedings occupy forty-four octavo pages.

The *New York Methodist*, under Dr. Crooks, refuted elaborately Dr. Bond's "purse-string" argument of 1827, and so it received at last its death-wound in the house of its friends, August, 1867. In November, 1867, the Philadelphia lay-delegation reformers, as a step furthering their plans, practically reorganized the "Union Societies" of the Reformers of 1824-30; it did not occur to them that they could not legitimately do so as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and no attempt was made to discipline them for so doing. A Holston Annual Conference was organized out of parts of the West Virginia and the Virginia and the Tennessee Conferences in the winter of 1867, with George Barr as President, at Russellville, Tenn. (See official paper, January 4, 1868, and August 29, 1868.¹) Bowdon College was

¹ The organization took place December 13, 1867, and the first Plan of Appointments was as follows: George R. Barr, President; Abingdon Station, G. R. Barr; Good Hope Circuit, W. T. White; Jonesville, J. B. Mickle; Rye Cove, John Rasnie; Guess's River, Samuel Stallard, W. H. Bond and H. Stallard, assistants; Providence, J. R. Thompson, J. G. Johnson, assistant, and James Thompson, super-assistant; Hopewell, S. B. Sizemore, J. M. Slaughter and W. Wallace, assistants; Paint Mountain, N. J. Roberts; Buncombe, J. P. Eller; Saltsville Mission, G. R.

reorganized in Georgia, January, 1868. The churches of Baltimore determined upon a great Sabbath-school demonstration in its interest. It was held at the Maryland Institute, the largest hall then in the city, in March, 1868, and proved a great success. It was the Sabbath of the Maryland Conference meeting, and the entire body was seated on the platform. At first but half the great hall was opened, but as the Sabbath-schools with the attendant church members and interested friends filed in, the remaining half was opened, and yet the number surging in overcrowded the building, and not a few could not find admittance. It was estimated that between four and five thousand children and adults were present. A programme of music, and addresses by Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates, Luther Martin, Esq., and Rev. W. S. Hammond occupied the time, and the assembly dispersed. The Annual Conference for the year 1867 had reported a net gain of about eight hundred, and that of 1868 a net gain of about one thousand, or ten per cent. These things greatly encouraged the churches in this central position, and the hope inspired went out and saved perhaps the utter disintegration of the denomination in the South under the wileful influences now at work for "Union." The Maryland Conference also took action on the question, and recited that the fifteen propositions which were submitted at Montgomery for reference to the Annual Conferences of the Church South, and accepted as such, had not been submitted, and information having been received that the commissioners had indicated that no other terms than those offered would be proposed to the Methodist Protestant Church, *i.e.* absorption into its ministry and membership, adverse recommendation was made as to the expediency of the Convention named for May, 1868, not passing upon its unconstitutionality, which had been by this time clearly exposed, as the instrument made no such provision for its own destruction; and the Commissioner made announcement that no such Convention would be held.

In the old Church the lay-delegation question was of paramount interest, not a few of their Annual Conferences resolving in its favor, and numerous memorials and petitions again going up to the General Conference of 1868, to be held at Chicago. The *New York Methodist* was manfully marshalling the forces, and

Barr; Clinch Mission, J. P. Johnson; Poplar Creek Mission, Wm. Petty; French Branch Mission, W. L. Worthington. No list of laymen is given. Dr. M. T. Peebles has furnished me a detailed and reliable history of the Holston Conference, which is preserved among the archives of the writer for reference.

Philadelphia swarmed with Methodist Reformers. Almost single-handed, and with a courage and persistence worthy of a better cause, and assuming the fallen mantle of Dr. T. E. Bond, Sr., Rev. Dr. Hodgson of the Philadelphia Conference entered the lists and out-Heroded Herod with his extreme and unrelenting opposition to lay-delegation in any form. He was possessed with a species of clericomania and averred that from the time of Constantine onward the division of ecclesiastical responsibility with the laity was the "source of untold woes," and extended his congratulations to the Methodist Episcopal Church that "Methodism guided by the providence of God had shunned this mystery of iniquity." He passed away, however, before his righteous soul could be shocked at the profanation of the Methodist Temple by the presence of laymen.

Obituary of Rev. Eli Henkle of the Maryland Conference, August 24, 1867, in the eighty-first year of his age. He was born in Pendleton County, Va., April 15, 1787, his father being an itinerant of that day. The father raised a family of nine sons and two daughters, and six of the sons became preachers of the gospel, perhaps an unexampled case. Eli was converted in his youth, in his twentieth year, 1807, he was received by appointment of the Presiding Elder into the work, and continued until 1813, then located until 1815, when he resumed until 1824; then he again retired, and this closed his connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was a radical Reformer from the first, the John Knox of the American Methodist reformation. He took an active part in the early Conventions and did much to mould the new Church. He was elected President of the Maryland Conference in 1830, succeeding Nicholas Snethen, and again in 1846, 1847, 1848. One of the sweetest of singers and deeply spiritual, with a lucid, plain, practical style, he won a high place with the people as an evangelical preacher. He lived to see the Church he had done so much to found established on a sure basis, and rejoiced in it, continuing steadfast as a rock to its principles. Time touched him lightly on his farm in Baltimore County, where he peacefully met the last enemy. The obsequies took place in Mount Gilead church, by Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray, and he was laid to rest in its cemetery. A memorial service was held at West Baltimore station, September 29, 1867, Dr. Francis Waters officiating, and other senior ministers. As of rather rare occurrence, Dr. William Hamilton of the Methodist Episcopal Church sent a written tribute, and Rev. John Baer of the same Church, both

of them old colleagues, attended the services. (See Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 238-243.)

Daniel Perrigo, an early Baltimore Reformer, died February 1, 1868; Rev. William Griffin of Georgia, aged eighty-two, Reformer, March 28, 1868; Rev. Ulysses Ward, early Reformer, of Maryland, an unstationed minister, a liberal contributor, a wise counsellor, and firm adherent of the Church, and father of Rev. Dr. J. T. Ward: obituaries April 11, 1868, and May 16, 1868. He died as he had lived, a consistent Christian; services at his residence in Washington, D. C., by Rev. W. C. Lipscomb, a lifelong friend, Rev. Dr. J. P. Newman, now Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the writer; Rev. Thomas Burgess of Tennessee and Kentucky, early Reformer, May 2, 1868.

Rev. Francis Waters, A.M., D.D., died April 23, 1868, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, at his residence in Baltimore city. He was born January 16, 1792, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, of religious parents; his early education received their first care; and after an elementary course he was entered at the University of Pennsylvania, and was honorably graduated in 1810. He then read law, but was led to abandon it for the Christian ministry, and received ordination in the Methodist Episcopal Church. His evident bent was teaching, so he took charge of Washington Academy in Somerset County, Md., and on the 30th of December, 1817, was elected to the Presidency of Washington College, Chestertown, Md., before he was twenty-six years of age. He resigned in 1823, and returned to his home in Somerset, and remained in the peaceful pursuits of farming until 1828, when he moved to Baltimore, opened a private school, which developed into the academy at Franklin, near Baltimore. It was during this period that he took an active part in the Reform movement in Methodism. While he did not write voluminously, every touch of his pen was masterful, and was felt by friend and foe as unanswerable. In 1840 he took part in a Convention of the new Church, his connection with which has been already detailed in these pages, reflecting honor upon himself and the cause he had espoused, which was held in Baltimore, and among its results was the Windsor Academy, a theological and literary institute, which continued about three years, and at which several useful ministers were educated. Returning to the city, he united with Drs. R. H. Ball and A. A. Lipscomb in a first-class female seminary, of which he was Principal; but in 1853 he was elected

Principal of the Baltimore High School, which he resigned at the earnest solicitation of the trustees of Madison College, at Uniontown, Pa., but which he was compelled in turn to resign, owing to the ill-health of his wife. He then consented to a second election to the Presidency of Washington College, Md., where he remained, useful and respected by all who knew him, until January, 1860, when he retired to Baltimore and spent his declining years in the quiet of his home. As a writer, ecclesiastic, and teacher evidence has been given, and as a preacher he was transparently clear but unemotional, classical and at the same time spiritual; a graceful delivery with a commanding presence, being tall and erect, clear-cut in features, and of noble bearing, gave his public efforts a wide influence and reverent hearing. He frequently occupied the pulpits of the Protestant Episcopal Church before high church tendencies enforced the canon against such courtesies.¹ He was a member of the Maryland Annual Conference from the beginning, sustaining a supernumerary relation by special favor of the body and in recognition of his eminent services to Reform. A severe fall, which superinduced pneumonia, resulted in a tedious illness. Softening of the brain set in, and apoplexy closed his earthly career. The funeral sermon of this ideal Christian gentleman was preached by Dr. L. W. Bates, and his remains laid to rest in Greenmount cemetery. (See Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 182-192.)

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, stimulated from within by the growing pressure for lay-delegation and from without by the example of the representative Methodisms in their success, and the introduction of the feature into the Church South, led to a favorable consideration of the subject, and a plan, emasculated, it is true, as are all the schemes adopted in the hierarchic branches, of lay-delegation in the General Conference was formulated. It was the scantiest recognition, the proportion about that of one in three of the ministers, which was to be submitted to the Church, and if a majority of the members, male and female, favored it, then it was to be passed upon by the ensuing General Conference of 1872 by a two-thirds vote. It was

¹ Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates is authority for the statement received from Dr. Waters's own lips, that during the years of his residence in the country, on his visits to Baltimore, he was often invited, and as often accepted invitations, to preach in the St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church, corner of Charles and Saratoga streets. It indicates the change for the worse that has come over the venerable Church under altitudinous teaching of the historic Episcopate, etc. Think of a Methodist preacher, however eminent, preaching at St. Paul's in these days!

hotly contested on its passage in 1868, the old Bourbons predicting all manner of evil, but they went down chewing the last bitter cud of opposition to a scriptural, rational, and inevitable modification. The official paper of Baltimore was edited for 1868 by J. J. Murray, Augustus Webster, and Daniel Bowers. Reconstruction of Conferences continued in the South, with signs of religious revival, but side by side with it went on the work of insidious destruction by "Union" with the Church South. The negotiating parties felt that they had gone too far honorably to withdraw, as they understood it, so that with or without the authority of law or the membership they did all they could, not to go into the lap of the old South Methodism empty-handed in an ecclesiastical sense.

While the Convention of the Methodist Protestant Church was in session in Montgomery, Ala., in May, 1867, the "General Conference of the Methodist Church" was in session at Cleveland, O., May 15-22, 1867. It met by courtesy in the Wesleyan church. T. B. Graham was elected permanent President; W. H. Brewster, J. J. Smith, and C. Gray, Vice-Presidents; and A. H. Lowrie and T. B. Applegate, Secretaries. The following were declared elected Representatives to the Conference:—

NEW YORK	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. J. Smith	Thos. Brown ¹
CHURCH OF THE PILGRIMS, NEW YORK CITY	
S. A. Baker ¹	
NEW JERSEY	
T. B. Applegate	J. M. Brown ¹
ONONDAGA	
J. H. Richards	
GENESEE	
N. S. Clark	Thomas Barclay
PITTSBURGH	
V. Lucas	R. H. Marshall
J. Scott, D.D.	J. Sargent, M.D.
G. Brown, D.D.	J. Redman
Alex. Clark	W. Miller
W. Reeves, D.D.	
¹ Absent.	

ADRIAN (MICH.) CHURCH

Ministers

Prof. I. W. McKeever

Laymen

Prof. A. H. Lowrie

BRIDGEPORT (PA.) CHARGE

W. H. Brewster

SECOND CHURCH, PITTSBURGH

J. B. Graham

Geo. Fawcett

MT. VERNON (O.) CHURCH

H. B. Knight

M. Thompson, M.D.

MUSKINGUM

J. Burns

J. Fordyce

Z. Ragan, D.D.

Henry Cassell

J. H. Hamilton

F. Scott

C. Springer

H. E. H. Hartsock

G. W. Hissey

J. Slosser

E. S. Hoagland

J. Wells

Wm. Hastings

J. Springer¹

OHIO

R. Rose

Thos. J. Finch

J. M. Flood, M.D.

W. Gunckel¹

A. H. Bassett

T. Douglas

J. J. White

J. G. Rockhill

T. B. Graham

G. W. Kent¹

J. B. Walker

J. B. McKinnon

MICHIGAN

R. C. Lanning

Chester Cooley

WESTERN MICHIGAN

L. Mills

Erastus Williams

INDIANA

H. Stackhouse

T. Hansell

WABASH

A. S. Bissell

Izri Hall¹

NORTH ILLINOIS

C. Gray

M. Mead

W. E. Martin

P. F. Remsburg

SOUTH ILLINOIS

R. Wright¹C. Link¹W. M. P. Quinn¹E. Erwin¹¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	WISCONSIN	<i>Laymen</i>
S. P. Kezerta		B. H. Pritchard
	MINNESOTA	
S. Jones ¹		J. E. Bolls ¹
	NORTH MISSOURI	
G. Williams		T. L. Jeffers ¹
	NORTH CAROLINA	
Q. Holton		J. Thornton ¹
	NEBRASKA	
J. M. Young		J. Queen. ¹
	MISSOURI	
J. C. Nodurft ¹		O. C. Lyon ¹
	WISCONSIN (WESLEYAN)	
A. J. Chittenden ¹		— Webster ¹
	MORGANTOWN (W. VA.) CHURCH	
G. G. Westfall		J. Canaco ¹
	KANSAS	
J. Biddison ¹		Jonathan Watson ¹
	CALIFORNIA	
S. B. Dunton ¹		
	OREGON	
D. Bagley ¹		

Twenty-five out of eighty-six were absent. But four ministers and three laymen of the Wesleyan Church were officially present. The whole denomination had repudiated the Union, as well as all the faculty of Adrian College, except I. W. McKeever and A. H. Lowrie. Less than a dozen of their ministers came to the Methodist Church, and, as already recorded, a number of their leading men returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church, while the body rallied around their publishing interests at Syracuse, N. Y., and have maintained to this day a separate existence under their peculiar views as Methodists.² The situation was a perplexing

¹ Absent.

² They were reputed to number at the time of the proposed "Union" about 20,000. Rev. A. J. Jennings, editor of the *Wesleyan Methodist*, their official organ, furnishes me with these statistics up to date: Membership, 18,141; Sab-

one, and a committee on "Status and Relation" reported as follows, which was referred as the sense of the Conference: "Resolved, that we regard this General Conference as the outgrowth and culmination of the Cincinnati Convention; and the action of the Methodist Protestant General Conference at Allegheny City, in November last, in accepting the action of said Convention, as the necessary final doings of the late Methodist Protestant Church, by which it became the nucleus of the present Methodist Church, whose interests this body represents and has in charge." It was considered, and on motion subsequently to pass it, John Burns moved to lay it on the table, which was negatived. Finally the committee elaborated it, giving substantially the same views, and it was passed, the expression "the late Methodist Protestant Church" being eliminated. For full text see Document B, Appendix to the printed Minutes. Committee on new hymn book: William Reeves, Alexander Clark, J. A. Dorhman, I. W. McKeever, W. Rinehart. It was subsequently prepared, mostly by Clark, published as the "Voice of Praise," and continued in use until after 1880 in the North and West. A committee on a Catechism was appointed. Dr. Brown offered the new Discipline, which had been prepared to harmonize with the new Constitution, which was finally adopted after amendments. John Burns offered the following, which was accepted: "Each Annual Conference respectively shall have power to make its own rules and regulations in regard to stationing its ministers and preachers, provided it shall make no rule inconsistent with the Constitution of the Methodist Church." Adrian was fixed upon as the place for the ensuing General Conference, third Wednesday in May, 1871. The name of the Sunday-school paper was changed to *Sabbath-School Recorder*. Rev. John Scott, D.D., was reelected Editor, and A. H. Bassett, Agent of the publishing interests. Among

bath-schools, 465; scholars, 18,344; value of church property, including churches, parsonages, and publishing house at Syracuse, N. Y., \$580,472.24; Theological School, value, \$12,000; teachers, 5; missionary collection, \$6082.19; donations, \$40,000. President of the General Conference, Rev. N. Warder. They claim about twenty Conferences, most of them small. The support of their official paper and publishing house is their forte, having a subscriber for every three or four of their membership, an unprecedented number in any denomination. No member of a secret society of any kind can be a member of this Church, and this is a fundamental; in most other respects, their doctrine and discipline are Methodist. Their conferences are confined to the North and West. Between them and the Free Methodists of the same section there is scarcely a point of difference, and yet they preserve distinct organizations, officialism in this, as in not a few cases, being the bar to illusive organic "Union" among American Methodists.

the Boundaries prescribed in the new book are the following: North Carolina, North Carolina (colored), Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Georgia. At the suggestion of “Rev. Col. Anderson,” the body determined that they would act through the American Missionary Association and the Cleveland Freedman’s Bureau in whatever efforts they might make in the direction indicated. The report of the publishing Agent showed that the receipts from all sources about equalled the expenditures, and assets were claimed in the sum of \$20,912.20, minus \$2543, liabilities. *Methodist Recorder* list, tabulated, 3557; *Sabbath-School Recorder*, about six thousand. J. B. Walker, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Education, reported operations for the year, and was reëlected. About \$1500 was collected for current use, and \$11,000 for permanent fund. Dr. John Kost reported for College Endowment Fund \$100,000 as property trust, and for the nonce its trustees must be kept intact from the college trustees. Reuben Rose, Corresponding Secretary of Board of Missions, reported for appropriation \$1132.01, paid out, \$1100. Tentative efforts were making to establish Conferences in the South, one of five hundred members reported in North Carolina. Rev. J. S. Thrapp, who had been appointed Adrian College Agent soon after the rise of the General Conference of 1866, reported that \$40,000 had been secured for endowment, and that in accordance with the conditions precedent to the transfer of the college to the Methodist Church the steps had been legally taken and the property held for the Church. The success of the plan was largely due to his indefatigable efforts. A change of the location of the Publishing House was again mooted and referred to a commission. The statistics tabulated are as follows: itinerants, 624; unstationed, etc., 444; members, 49,030; houses of worship, 482; parsonages, 104; value of church property, \$1,145,150. It appears from Document P that the editor had had some difficulty as to the “liberty of the press,” and had exercised his discretion, which called for a mollifying deliverance. The Diaconate as an order having been abolished, provision was made for this class up to their ordination as elders. “The Minutes were read up and adopted, when the Conference adjourned *sine die*.”

CHAPTER XXX

Decease and sketch of Rev. Thomas H. Stockton and others—The dissevered Methodist Protestants coming together; steps in that direction; fraternity with other Methodisms at the Maryland Conference of 1870—Tenth General Conference of the Church in Baltimore, May, 1870; roster of members; Rev. J. G. Whitfield, President; report on the fraternal delegations—Convention on periodical and Book Concern—Virginia Conference, secession resolve presented; action on it—Secessions to the Church South from the Alabama and Mississippi Conferences; the Virginia case in detail; violent proceedings—Gift of \$21,000 by J. J. Amos of Indiana to Adrian College—Trouble in the West over the church name "Methodist"—Obituaries of Reformers, L. J. Cox and others—Bishop M'Tyeire on surrender of power by the preachers in their lay-delegation; comments—Western Book Concern removed to Pittsburgh.

REV. THOMAS HEWLINGS STOCKTON deceased October 8, 1868. He was born at Mount Holly, Burlington County, N. J., on the 4th of June, 1808. He received from his father, William S. Stockton, and his saintly mother all the advantages of education for his personal supervision and the accessible schools could afford. He was never a linguist, but became one of the purest and greatest of idiomatic English writers and speakers. He joined the St. George's Methodist Episcopal church, Philadelphia, in 1826, made tentative efforts in the choice of a calling, as compositor, medical student, and litterateur. God meant him for a preacher, and so it was decided. His associations and convictions made him a Methodist Protestant, and this he remained until his death, despite his vagaries of departure in his unique notions of a "Society of Brotherly Love." Both as a writer and a preacher he was original, and, in his day, peerless. Dr. Colhouer aptly depicts him: "He was the prince of modern pulpit orators. His tall, majestic form, dignified manner, pallid face, blue eagle eyes, intellectual forehead, with long, silvery hair at forty years onward, expressive mouth, sweet, musical voice, his whole classic appearance seemed to stamp him with almost angelic faculties and features; and, when radiant with divine light and love, he entranced and thrilled the vast congregations, to whom he ministered, like the mighty wind moves the waves of the sea." As a writer, his posthumous remains, published and unpublished,



THOMAS H. STOCKTON.

make a catalogue in which, as prose-poet, word-singer, dialectician, and rhetorician, he had few equals and no superiors. All these elements combine in the last of his productions, given to the public after his death, 1870, "The Book Above All." As a Reformer he was unflinching, and, while at times personal considerations turned him awry, his convictions remained unchanged; and, to the last, he pronounced the Methodist Protestant Church the very best of denominational forms. In his sermon upon the death of Dr. S. K. Jennings, 1854, his deliverance is crystallized in these words, true in every syllable: "But originally Methodism was only spiritual. Since then it has become ecclesiastical. Its spiritual character has always been its glory. Its ecclesiastical character has always been its shame. From the beginning its government has been an intermitting volcano, starting, at various intervals, into flaming eruption and filling the circuit of its power with saddest devastations. Alas! for all man's governments! Alas! for all *over-government*—all unyielding government—all *idolized* government." His career has been largely traced in these pages elsewhere, and the notable events of his life are too numerous for this casual mention. His lingering illness of pulmonary affection, which followed him through his life, was a triumph of redeeming grace and the eloquence of Christian victory. His funeral was from his old church at Eleventh and Wood streets, Philadelphia, and the sermon to the crowded congregation was by his old friend, J. G. Wilson, assisted by Alexander Clark and J. W. Jackson. He was buried in Mount Moriah cemetery. Memoirs were written both by Wilson and Clark, and Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 291-307, gives a merited tribute.

Rev. Mrs. Hannah Reeves departed this life November 13, 1868. She was the wife of Rev. Dr. William Reeves, and the first of women preachers in the new Church who was honored as having "a call to preach," which it could not fail to recognize. She died in peace at New Brighton, Pa., after a marriage union of thirty-seven years, a "helpmeet" to her husband in a double sense. "The Lady Preacher," by Rev. Dr. George Brown, published in 1870, records her useful life and private virtues. Rev. Samuel Roberson, early Reformer of Georgia, aged seventy-nine, died January 6, 1869; Rev. Allen Wallis, early Reformer of Tennessee, died January 30, 1869. James L. Armstrong, M.D., early Reformer of Tennessee, deceased April 5, 1868, full of grace, full of glory, and in the eighty-seventh year of his age. He was born in Greenbrier County, Va., April 2, 1782, and removed in

his youth to Kentucky, studied medicine, and, in 1809, settled in Bedford County, Tenn. Early converted, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, served his country as surgeon in the War of 1812, and during the cholera scourge of 1832 stood to his professional post. He embraced Reform principles from the beginning, and was expelled, without trial, by Elder James Gwinn in April, 1826. Henceforth he devoted himself to the new Church, was often elected to the early Conventions and General Conferences, and as delegate to the Annual Conferences. A forcible writer and speaker, a wise counsellor and earnest Christian, the Church in the West never had a truer friend.

Notwithstanding the steps taken in the North and West and those in the South and East at this period seemed to widen the breach between these sections, the old Methodist Protestant instinct and unity of ecclesiastical principles were quietly working, but need not be diffusively traced. The task has been impartially performed by Rev. Dr. Scott, in his work, "Fifty Years." As early as January 3, 1866, as editor of the Western paper, he wrote of the Baltimore paper, as the first of his exchanges, "This is natural enough because of cherished *memories* and cherished *hopes*," the words here italicized being so in the article. The correspondence between Rev. Dr. Daniel W. Bates and Rev. Dr. William Collier, already referred to, ripened into the appointment of fraternal messengers from the Pittsburgh to the Maryland Conference in 1869. This was cordially reciprocated by the appointment of messengers to the ensuing Pittsburgh Conference. The fraternity was repeated at the Maryland Conference of 1870, but came near miscarrying by reason of a misunderstanding as to some two hundred and seventy-five brethren in the West Virginia Conference, Pocahontas County, who had preferred a connection with the Pittsburgh Conference, and which the Baltimore paper interpreted, for lack of full information, as a proselyting scheme of the brethren West. This is the incident referred to early in these pages as in evidence that the "Methodist" brethren spurned the imputation of poaching or of imitating the Methodist Episcopal Church in its inroads upon the South. These reciprocations were not so favorably regarded in the South, especially in North Carolina, made sore by the recognition of the disaffected in that State by the West. At the Maryland Conference of 1870, other messengers were present: Drs. Scott and Cowl, Dr. John Paris from North Carolina, and from the Church South in the persons of Drs. Rozel and Poisel,

who were profuse in their compliments and overdid the courtesy. And, inasmuch as a few months later, at the Tenth General Conference in Baltimore, Rev. Drs. Eddy and Lanahan, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Rev. Drs. Linn, Huston, and Kepler, of the Church South, appeared with loving congratulations on fraternal grounds, one would have been impressed with the idea that the era of good feeling was indeed inaugurated by these brethren of a common Methodism; but some things were subsequently found in the ointment that spoiled the flavor.

The Tenth General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church convened in East Baltimore station, Baltimore, on Friday, the sixth day of May, 1870. Rev. George Nestor was called to the Chair, and G. J. Cherry, Secretary. The roster is as follows:—

MARYLAND

Ministers

L. W. Bates
J. J. Murray
J. K. Nichols
Augustus Webster
S. B. Southerland
J. T. Murray
T. D. Valiant
D. E. Reese
H. C. Cushing
E. J. Drinkhouse
John Roberts

Laymen

Gaven Spence
J. W. Hering
J. W. Thompson
Joseph Graham
John T. Dodd
Southey F. Miles
Ormond Hammond
R. S. Griffith
John G. Clarke
J. D. Cathell
B. H. Richardson

WEST VIRGINIA

John Clarke
George Nestor
J. G. Weaver
G. W. Barrett
Oliver Lowther
W. M. Betts

C. W. Newline
Samuel Engle
J. W. Williamson
Z. Kidwell
J. A. Hartley
Wm. Vandervort

NORTH CAROLINA

W. H. Wills
T. H. Pegram
A. C. Harris
A. W. Lineberry
C. F. Harris
A. W. Lowe
John Paris

G. J. Cherry
J. W. Hancock
P. A. Cox
J. P. Speight
L. W. Batchelor
J. M. Adell
J. T. Pickens

SOUTH CAROLINA

John Burdine

Lewis Yarborough

<i>Ministers</i>	ARKANSAS	<i>Laymen</i>
Thomas Aaron		W. F. Wallace
J. W. Chandler	TENNESSEE	Wm. Collins
W. W. Tipton	ILLINOIS	Orestes Ames
J. G. Whitfield	VIRGINIA	C. W. Button
L. F. Cosby		Wm. Harding
G. R. Barr	HOLSTON	M. T. Peebles
A. J. Grove	ALABAMA	C. E. Crenshaw
G. H. McFaden		Edmund Harrison
L. L. Hill		J. D. Houser
M. F. Rosser	TEXAS	G. W. Simmons
F. H. M. Henderson	GEORGIA	J. B. McDaniel
E. C. G. Nickens	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
J. C. Wallace	LOUISIANA	Dr. Herring
Joseph Watrous	PENNSYLVANIA	James Vancamp

There is no notation of absentees, if any. The writer was a member of the Conference, and his recollection is that there were few, if any, absent of those named, though it is to be observed that there is no representation from Mississippi, Missouri, McCaine (Texas), or Des Moines. The minutes show that Rev. William Trogon was recognized as a representative from Arkansas. He had been elected by the new North Arkansas Conference, with G. W. Simmons, layman, though not in the roster of Conferences.

On the afternoon of the first day J. G. Whitfield was elected President, J. G. Cherry and J. T. Murray, Secretaries. The following are the chairmen of the standing committees: Journals,

W. H. Wills; Boundaries, G. R. Barr; Judiciary, Augustus Webster; Executive, L. W. Bates; Literature, S. B. Southerland; Means of Grace, John Clarke; Finance, B. H. Richardson; Home and Foreign Missions, H. C. Cushing; Sabbath-schools, E. J. Drinkhouse; Temperance, G. H. McFaden; Ecclesiastical Visitors and Communications, J. J. Murray. On motion of George Nestor the word "Western" in Discipline was stricken out and West Virginia substituted. Much time was consumed in amendments to the Discipline, few of which were adopted (see revised edition). The form for a Church Register was submitted from Rev. B. F. Benson, and adopted. The papers from the fraternal Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church were read, the gist of them being, that they were "appointed to treat with a similar commission from any other Methodist Church desirous of union with us," etc. It consisted of seven bishops and seven prominent brethren. The fraternal messengers from the "Methodist" Church were: George Brown, William Collier, and Alexander Clark. They addressed the Conference by courtesy first, and "expressed the fraternal regards of the Church they represented for the Methodist Protestant Church, and their earnest desire that the old ecclesiastical union might be restored." Then Drs. Eddy and Lanahan spoke for the Methodist Episcopal Church, and "expressed brotherly regard for your Church, and the hope that there might be a closer bond of union between the different parts of the Methodist family," etc. Later Drs. Linn, Huston, and Kepler, of the Church South, fraternal messengers, were introduced and "bore the fraternal greetings of their Church to the Conference," etc.

To all these addresses the President made suitable replies at the time, and, subsequently, the Committee on Visitations, through J. J. Murray, reported responses in much detail. To the Methodist Episcopal Church suggestions were made for a "closer union," some of them quite wholesome and effective, with a request that they be referred by that Church to their Annual Conferences. It was not done, however, for the reminders were probably not agreeable, it may be assumed. To the "Methodist" Church the gist of the response is in the resolution that "whenever the Conferences aforesaid shall see fit to rescind their act of suspension and place themselves again under the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church, they will be cordially received as colaborers in the cause of Christ and constituent members of this body." It was

also suggested that if they would appoint Commissioners to "consider the subject of union between that Church and the Methodist Protestant Church," the President of this body is authorized to reciprocate such appointment of Commissioners. To the Church South congratulations are extended on their introduction of a lay-delegation into the General Conference, and the hope expressed that they will go forward until the differences are still less pronounced, etc. On final passage the report was agreed to except the words "rescind their act of separation," and the provision for Commissioners to the "Methodist" Church.

The question as to whether the Conferences had ordered a Convention was a vexed one, and not decided until near the close, when it was negatived, with an order for the submission of the same question at the ensuing Conference, set for Lynchburg, Va., May, 1874. Many changes were made in the form of the Ritual. Des Moines and Missouri Conferences were united. Statistics were referred for completion. Western Maryland College was recognized as a general institution of the Church. Boundaries were fixed, and the Convention of the Book Concern and Periodical held May 11, Rev. D. E. Reese in the chair and H. C. Cushing, Secretary. The report of the Book Directory was submitted, with an estimated worth of the Concern, March 1, 1870, \$7355.67, and a net profit in four years of \$2036.06. The circulation of the official paper in March, 1867, is given as 2151, and for March, 1870, 3185, an increase of 1034 in the three years. A *résumé* of the management for the three years is given, and suggestions made for the future conduct of the paper were carefully considered. On motion, at a second session of the Convention, the report was adopted, with thanks to the Directory and the brethren who rendered voluntary service as editors, and that portion of it as to the future management of the paper referred to a special committee of one from each Conference represented. It was so appointed, and they reported that it seemed expedient to continue the service by editorial committee until the Concern was in assured condition to employ an editor. A paper from the Virginia Conference set forth that they had agreed with the Commissioners of the Church South to accept corporate union on the terms offered, and asked the General Conference to unite with them in effecting such a union for the whole Church. A detailed answer was made from a special committee, deprecating this action, and earnestly appealing to them not to disintegrate or unite with another denomination, but, "if at their ensuing

Conference they shall find self-preservation no longer possible, in that event the Presidents of the Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland Conferences are hereby authorized to distribute the territory, with its ministers, members, and church property, in their present relations, etc., by and with the consent of the Virginia Conference." Fraternal messengers were appointed to the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Methodist Church. On the twelfth day, May 18, 1870, the Conference adjourned, with prayer by Dr. L. W. Bates.

At the Maryland Annual Conference, March, 1869, Rev. W. C. Lipscomb was admitted to membership, to sustain the same relation vacated by the decease of Rev. Dr. Francis Waters, in recognition of his Reform services. The privilege was afterward extended to the remaining survivors in the unstationed ranks; to wit, the venerable Rev. Thomas McCormick and Amon Richards, of the Maryland District. Jamestown Female College of North Carolina, which had become very much involved, was rescued temporarily from enforced sale by the intervention of Rev. Alson Gray and T. H. Pegram selling their farms to meet \$3000 of the \$9000 due. Such acts of heroism merit record, however futile in the end. It was afterward destroyed by fire. Rev. T. H. Colhouer issued a volume, twelvemo, on "Non-Episcopal Methodism," ably written and trenchantly enforced. Three editions of it were sold, and it is still obtainable.

The Virginia Conference, at its session of November, 1869, had passed decisive resolutions on union with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, already referred to. A strong minority opposed and endeavored to have the question referred to the societies in their primary assembly; this the majority voted down, but agreed to submit it to the Quarterly Conference of the District, with the result that there was a majority of one against the revolutionary and destructive movement. Bent, however, upon the accomplishment of their purpose, at the ensuing forty-first session, held at Norfolk, Va., November 3, 1870, Rev. J. G. Whitfield was elected President, and, on motion, a committee was appointed to consider the proposition from the Church South, Rev. Dr. Leroy M. Lee of that Church being present to assist, by his counsel and assurances, the dismemberment of the Conference by invitation of the malcontents. The committee reported favorably to disbandment and "union" with the Church South. The writer was present as spectator, and also to assist, by counsel and encouragement, against the disruption. The debate was

able and often eloquent. The President insisted, in his rulings, that the matter must be referred to the churches, as the issue had been met and defeated in the Quarterly Conferences; but the strange logic of desperate men was advanced, that the Quarterly Conferences voting affirmatively were inclusive of the majority of the members, the very proposition they had submitted in 1869 and now refused to entertain. Finally, pressed to a vote, it was carried by fourteen to twelve, three lay-delegates, whose Quarterly Conferences had voted against dissolution, disregarding their instructions, and voted to dissolve the Conference. The President vacated the chair, and they adjourned to the basement for final adjustment with the Agent of the Church South, Dr. Lee; the minority, as they passed out, repudiating such action as revolutionary and unconstitutional, remained in their seats, elected Rev. L. F. Cosby, President, and resumed business. It is fair to state that those who retired were the real itinerants of the Conference, and had most, personally, at stake. They made terms for themselves, but discovered that the Church to which they had gone, in the eastern section of Virginia, was as impoverished as their own people, the armies of the Civil War having left it a wilderness of desolation. The Virginia Conference of the Church South was unable to take care of the work they thus received; but so complete was the wreck of church interests that no recovery has ever been made of the Methodist Protestant Church in the east of Virginia; a section lying nearest North Carolina was absorbed by it, and the Holston Conference, uniting with the minority at Norfolk to perpetuate the Virginia Conference, took care of the western section. Maryland received Lynchburg, Heathsville, and Amelia on the Potomac border. Dr. Whitfield and Dr. R. B. Thomson, now aging, found a church asylum, the first in the North Carolina and the last in the intact Virginia Conference. Subsequently, a suit to recover the Hopewell church property, Virginia, in 1871, led to judicial decision by Judge Wingfield, that those who adhered at the Norfolk Conference (and those who adhered in any divided society, as well) were the "Virginia Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church."¹ The dissolution was heralded, however, as legal and complete, in the *Richmond*

¹ About this time, or not long after, a case in Noble County, O., was decided by the resident judge, the Methodist Protestants entering suit to recover a church from the "Methodist" brethren, after reviewing all the evidence, that the possessing parties were the "Methodist Protestant Church." Thus, as to this question, the one thing made clear is that there are judicial decisions and judicial decisions. Neither of these cases was appealed.

Christian Advocate by Dr. Lee and those who had left; a paper by Hon. Charles W. Button, refuting the allegations, was refused publication in it, but may be found in the official organ of Baltimore. The Preachers' Aid Society Fund of the Conference, held by Dr. Whitfield as Treasurer, on demand was surrendered to Rev. Dr. Barr, and is now in possession of the Virginia Conference, which, though greatly decimated of its old, able leadership, has not ceased to meet in annual session, and is gradually growing. The whole transaction is the saddest and most disastrous in the history of the Church.

Within a year six ministers of the Alabama Conference withdrew and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in some cases carrying societies with them. The same occurred in the Mississippi Conference, the leading men making terms for themselves and carrying off societies. In some other places there were isolated withdrawals, the Church South now taking all who offered; losing sight, apparently, of their expressed determination not to assist in a disintegration, but now chagrined, it may be, over the failure to capture the Church denominationally. Those who retired found themselves lost in the Conferences to which they had gone, and nothing came of another "union" scheme but disunion and disorder. Too much praise cannot be accorded those who adhered through all the enticements, and who have struggled heroically against wind and tide to maintain organization. There must have been not a little of intrinsic worth and alluring power in the principles of the Methodist Protestant Church to conserve it in these circumstances. The membership generally, except under menace of being left without pastoral supply, adhered to the Church; but great damage was wrought, and it has taken long years of struggling effort to recover, even partially, in these States as well as in Virginia, from the illusive union scheme.

In December, 1869, J. J. Amos, a liberal and loyal lay-brother of the Indiana district, deeply interested in education in the Church, donated to Adrian College \$21,000 for endowment. He was not a wealthy man, and offered this example of gift by sacrifice. The Muskingum Conference inaugurated fraternal intercourse with the Maryland Conference early in 1870. The North Arkansas Conference was organized out of the Arkansas, November, 1869.¹ Paris's "Manual," a compend of Methodist Protes-

¹ The division of the Arkansas Conference took place in the autumn of 1869; and the new North Arkansas Conference met December 29, 1869, and elected

tant history and polity, was reissued and enlarged from the edition of 1859, and was a timely stimulus to fidelity in these days of blatant union. It is now out of print. Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray, and his brother J. T. Murray, conducted the official paper of Baltimore, editorially, in 1870, with the faithful T. W. Ewing as publisher and Agent; and nothing was left undone by these brethren to render its pages attractive and to increase the circulation. Volume 37, No. 1, began with July 9, 1870.

In the West the gravity of the situation as to the "Methodist" Church confronted the brethren. The old name was graven in stone on tablets facing nearly all the church property and in all the deeds. It was not found an easy legality to change the name in the chartered funds and institutions; the reason for making it and, much more, for retaining it, had passed away; Dr. Brown and Dr. Collier, in the *Methodist Recorder*, advocated a return to the Methodist Protestant name, in June, 1870, and others united in discussing the proposal. About this time the Jamestown College in North Carolina had met with its crowning disaster of destruction by fire, in the autumn of 1870. Yadkin Institute was also discontinued. The financial pressure in the South, superinduced, in part, by the reconstructive legislation of Congress, crippled every enterprise. Dr. John Scott, for private reasons, resigned the editorship of the *Methodist Recorder*, and was succeeded, in October, 1870, by Rev. Alexander Clark. He brought to the position youth, energy, and gifts of a high order. He placed himself in touch not only with the subscribers, but, by his facile pen and genial manners, secured personal following in other churches, much to the advantage of the paper in popularity and increased circulation.

George W. Haller, early Reformer of Maryland, deceased September, 1869, aged seventy-six. It was at his home in Georgetown, S. C., that Lorenzo Dow found hospitality and a dying bed, in 1833. Rev. William Haisten, early Reformer of Georgia, deceased January, 1870. Rev. Abraham Woolston, born in New Jersey, November 9, 1791, became a Reformer in 1828, labored

J. Sexton, President, and T. Leach, Secretary. The ministers were, J. Sexton, William Trogdon, T. Leach, J. E. Carnette, W. G. Teague, W. B. Wilson, D. C. Mason, T. M. Hallifield, A. D. Evans, C. L. Manus, G. Droak. Preachers, J. P. Boyd, J. Chapman, S. F. Knykendall. Delegates, W. B. King, J. Elms, J. G. A. Bates, E. Shackelford, G. Turney, W. B. Whitaker, G. W. Simmons, R. White. The new district comprised 882 members, 10 circuits and missions. William Trogdon and G. W. Simmons were elected representatives to the ensuing General Conference.

faithfully for Christ and the cause of Reform in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, and departed this life in Ray County, February 8, 1870, full of years and honored by his brethren. Rev. Thomas Sim, M.D., unstationed minister of Maryland and early Reformer, died April 20, 1870. He was a man of mark both as physician and churchman. Rev. Luther J. Cox, early Reformer and one of the Expelled of Baltimore in 1827, deceased, obituary July 30, 1870. He was born in Queen Anne County, Md., on December 27, 1791. Converted in 1807, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church; was licensed to preach in 1819, and labored successfully in the local ranks until expelled in 1827. He was a pillar in the new Church, and did much, by his counsel and means, to establish it. Successful in business, venturesome, and ardent in temperament, fortunes were made and faded away, but nothing deterred him in his devotion to the Church of his choice; the Hampden church and congregation are in evidence of his almost single-handed endeavor to crown his closing days with this last achievement. He was made a supernumerary member of the Maryland Conference in 1869. He was forcible as a writer and had gifts as a poet of no low order. He is the author of the hymn preserved in the Church Hymnal:—

“An alien from God and a stranger to grace,”

which was, years afterward, published in an English paper and ascribed to a distinguished poet of Great Britain. It has been garbled and mis-ascribed often, but stands now properly credited, with other hymns of his composing. In June, 1870, almost at the close of life, he wrote the poem:—

“O precious book! O book divine!”

of no inferior merit. He died of cancer of the stomach—his end peaceful and happy—on the 26th of July, 1870. The funeral services were held by Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray and others, and his remains deposited in Greenmount cemetery, Baltimore. Daniel H. Horne, born November 26, 1788, deceased March 27, 1870. He was one of the original members in Cincinnati, and contributed liberally of his means to the cause of Reform a sum aggregating \$10,000, though not a wealthy man. Rev. James S. Ferguson of the Pennsylvania-Philadelphia Conference, early Reformer, died October 1, 1870, aged ninety years; John Webb, early Reformer, layman of Georgia, aged seventy-seven, October

29, 1870, honored and loved; Rev. Oswald Potts, pioneer and Reformer of West Tennessee Conference, aged seventy-seven, December 17, 1870; Rev. George Redding, early Reformer of Illinois, aged seventy-eight, February 4, 1871.

Rev. William Reeves, D.D., of the Pittsburgh Conference, departed this life April 20, 1871. He was born, December 5, 1802, at Stapleshurst, England, of poor but pious parents, so that his early education was limited. Converted at twenty-three years of age, he applied at once to the Missionary College to prepare for that work in India, but the plan failed. He turned his face to America, where he arrived in 1829, and came into association with the Reform Methodists of the day. He united, accordingly, with the first Conference of the Ohio District, in 1829, where he labored until 1833, and was then set off with the new Pittsburgh Conference. Intellectual, philosophical, a good theologian, his forte was as a revivalist, and he had great success. He held the confidence of his brethren and was frequently a member of the early Conventions, General Conferences, and President of his Annual Conference. He married Miss Hannah Pearce, the first of women preachers in the Church, though of English birth and education, in 1831. She departed this life November 13, 1868. Brother Reeves contracted a second marriage, but soon thereafter was afflicted with rheumatism and neuralgia, and succumbed to the disease. He was buried at New Brighton, Pa., beside his first wife. A memorial service was held by the Pittsburgh Conference, September, 1871, the venerable Dr. George Brown delivering the sermon. "He was a great and good man—a worthy compeer in the great work of Reform." Rev. William H. Collins, aged seventy-five, early Reformer of the Illinois Conference, died May 6, 1871. He was active and useful, and his memory is blessed. John Duke of Harper's Ferry, Va., but in the Maryland District, aged ninety years, an early Reformer and staunch friend of its supporters, died May 13, 1871; Rev. George Smith, born in Connecticut, in 1795, converted at fourteen, licensed to preach at twenty, a Reformer from 1830, as preacher, teacher, and President, he was devoted, and died in peace at North Hebron, N. Y., June 13, 1871; G. J. Cherry of North Carolina, one of the secretaries of the General Conference of 1870 and a previous one, a leading layman of his Conference, died May 27, 1871.

The lay-delegation scheme of the Church South was adopted by the two-thirds vote of the Annual Conferences and formally

introduced at the General Conference of that Church in 1870. Bishop M'Tyeire says of it: "So ripe was public opinion, and so propitious the times, and so well digested the scheme, that this great change was introduced without heat or partisanship. Unstintedly, voluntarily, on their own motion, the ministry, who had held this power from the beginning, divided it equally with the brethren. Their appearance in the chief council of the Church, and their influence, justified their introduction, even to those who had feared; a new power was developed, a new interest awakened, a new progress begun."¹ The Methodist Protestant Church had been teaching all this for forty years—an object-lesson always before them, had they heeded its instructions. The good bishop lays great stress upon the voluntary surrender of power by the ministers. It is true that the Church South, after looking askance at the bugaboo for half a century, marched up to it, only to find, to their surprise be it said, that it was a friend, if it did not wear a white cravat and a shad-bellied coat. It was more of an impromptu affair than in the Church North; but to this day what was conceded is, indeed, a lay-delegation, and in no proper sense a lay-representation, inasmuch as the machinery of the election of the laymen in the official bodies of the churches is such as to be always under the influential control of the ministers, if politic to exercise it. The mild boasting of the generous divide "equally with the lay-brethren" is rebuked in the light of the axiomatic truth of Bishop Hooker and Dr. Barrow in the citations upon the title-page of the first volume of this work. It was a movement, however, in the right direction, and they are to be congratulated on the illumination.

The Arkansas and the Louisiana Conferences were united in the autumn of 1871. It was the second change in its original boundary, afterward so frequently made by divisions and subdivisions for a series of years, with a final reunion; but it would not make edifying reading to follow them closely as of purely local moment. Rev. J. T. Murray, pastor of East Baltimore station, was elected editor of the *Methodist Protestant* by the Book Directory, in the spring of 1871, and was continued for one year as a hopeful experiment that the paper would become self-supporting; if it proved unsuccessful as a venture, it was not for want of any literary or executive ability on his part. After the first flush of the zealous reception of the secedent ministers

¹ "History of Methodism," p. 669.

and churches in the South had expired in cold, practical work, it was discovered that the Church South could not man the work it had received, so that much of it lay open to gradual disintegration as congregations, or was recovered by the faithful men who tried to rebuild the fallen walls of the Church in that section. The ill-starred movement only impoverished the Reform cause still more, without enriching it to any appreciable degree. The Book Concern and periodical of the "Methodist Church" was removed from Springfield, to Pittsburgh, Pa., in October, 1871, by General Conference action. A generous offer was made the Publishing House by the trustees of the First church, by which they came into possession and occupancy of the large parsonage property adjoining the church on Fifth Avenue, which was transfigured into a store and printing establishment in this commanding location. This and the facilities for mailing and other considerations decided the change. Revs. T. H. Colhouer and E. R. McGregor were sent as fraternal delegates from the Pittsburgh to the Maryland Conference at its March session, 1871, and the Conference, through a committee, resolved, in part, as to this visitation: "Conscientiously differing in some points of church polity, which have broken our ecclesiastical unity, we patiently bide the time when, in the providence of God, we can see eye to eye; and that unity may be restored without the sacrifice of principle or prejudicing the interests of either organization." Messengers were appointed in return.

CHAPTER XXXI

General Conference of the Methodist Church, May, 1871; roster of members; Hon. F. H. Pierpont, President; fraternal messengers from Maryland; Revs. J. T. Murray and McCormick suggested Union with the Methodist Protestant Church; five messengers appointed to reciprocate; statistics; Adrian College report by J. S. Thrap very favorable; Book Concern and periodical in good condition; fraternal delegates made a commission on Union, etc.—Decease and sketch of Rev. Dr. George Brown—Virginia Conference met at Norfolk, Va., November, 1871, in refutation of the allegations that it had been “dissolved”—Dr. J. J. Murray as fraternal messenger to the General Conference of the M. E. Church; what he said, and what they did; curious denominational reserve, but characteristic—First Foreign Missionary Society by the Women of the Church in Baltimore in 1872—*The Central Protestant* in North Carolina, under Rev. J. L. Michaux—Obituaries of Reformers—General Conference at Lynchburg, Va., May, 1874; roster of members; Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates, President; the diaconate abolished; call of a Convention for Abingdon, Va., for May, 1878; reconstruction of the Book Concern; none of the Commissioners of the “Methodist” Church appeared officially; reasons for it—A perilous period to the Church; fidelity of the ministry to the cause; examples; their moral heroism; elaboration of the idea as an encouragement to-day.

“MINUTES of the Second General Conference of the Methodist Church (formerly Methodist Protestant), held at Pittsburgh, Pa., May 17–27, 1871.” This is the title-page of the twelvemo, 80 pp., pamphlet containing the minutes. Its assembly at Adrian, Mich., had defaulted on a difference of opinion. Francis A. Pierpont was called to the chair and H. B. Knight, Secretary. The following is the roster of members:—

NEW YORK	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. J. Smith	Lewis Johnson ¹
J. H. Robinson	Calvin Tomkins ¹
ONONDAGA	
Hosea Ure	Daniel Eddy
N. R. Swift	Peter Weaver
GENESEE	
E. A. Wheat	Alexander Cary
NEW JERSEY	
E. D. Stultz	J. M. Brown ¹

¹ Absent.

NORTH CAROLINA

<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
W. M. Kerr	W. A. McCall ¹

PENNSYLVANIA

Benjamin R. Smith	S. Bloes ¹
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PITTSBURGH

George Brown	F. H. Pierpont
William Collier	F. H. Collier
John Scott	G. W. Pogue
Alexander Clark	Thomas F. Scott
Peter T. Laishley	Benson Fordyce
Horace B. Knight	William Rinehart

MUSKINGUM

John Burns	Joseph Wells
William Hastings	Lewis Browning
E. S. Hoagland	William Deford
Cornelius Springer	Henry Cassell
Joel S. Thrap	Samuel Moore
J. C. Ogle	J. B. Hamilton
Joseph H. Hamilton	H. E. H. Hartsock

OHIO

W. R. Parsons	Thompson Douglas
Thomas B. Graham	James M. Johnson
Jonathan M. Flood	Thomas J. Finch
S. B. Smith	H. C. Hamilton
Martin B. V. Euans	J. C. Murphy

MICHIGAN

Asa Mahan	Chester Cooley ¹
William H. Bakewell	Harmon Owen ¹

WESTERN MICHIGAN

John Kost	E. Williams
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INDIANA

S. M. Lowden	A. D. Amos
H. Stackhouse	Joseph Hall

NORTH INDIANA

J. H. Luse	E. Hall ¹
R. Hussey ¹	A. D. Whitford

NORTH ILLINOIS

W. H. Jordan	J. R. Mulvane
Cornelius Gray	Richard Mount

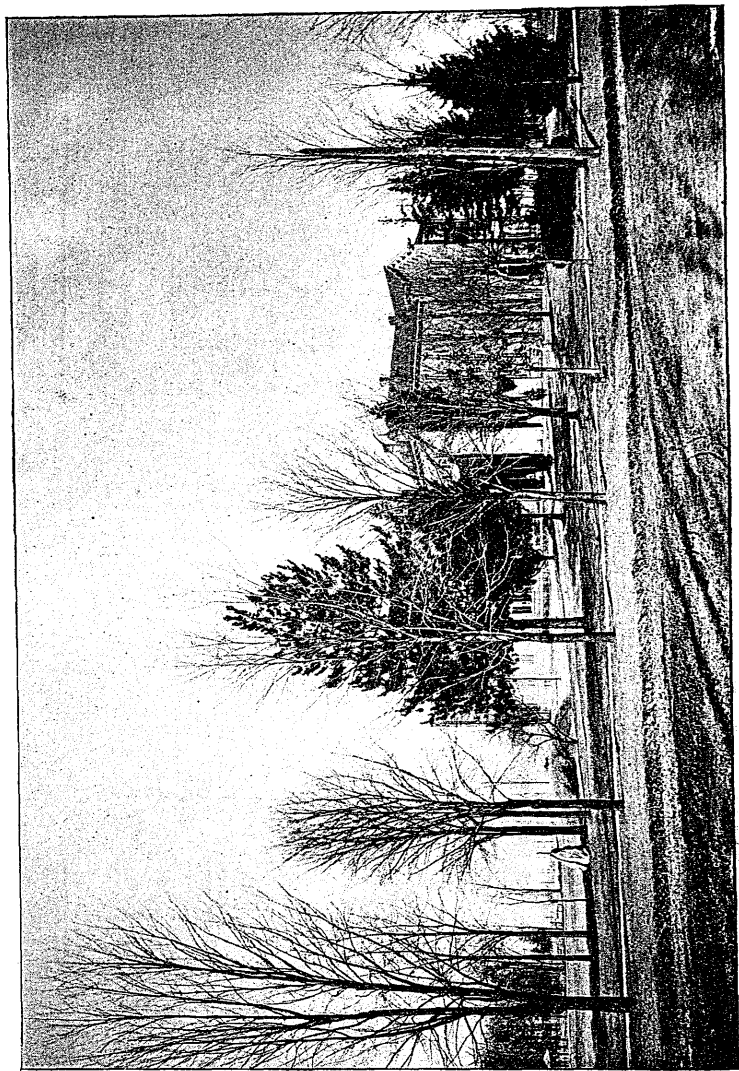
¹ Absent.

SOUTH ILLINOIS	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
S. M. Gentry	C. Link
W. M. P. Quinn	George Stout
IOWA	
William Remsburgh	John M. Murphy
W. Huddleston	David Patterson ¹
A. S. Elliott	J. Bartholomew
NORTH IOWA	
William Purvis (deceased)	T. B. Carpenter
NEBRASKA	
John M. Young ¹	Alanson Jones ¹
KANSAS	
Samuel Young ¹	F. W. Johnson ¹
MISSOURI	
William McFarland	R. Calvert
A. W. Motz	J. W. Bush
NORTH MISSOURI	
R. A. Bathurst	Robert White ¹
TENNESSEE AND NORTH GEORGIA	
William J. Witcher ¹	A. S. Vining ¹

Hon. Francis H. Pierpont was elected President, H. B. Knight and J. R. Mulvane, Secretaries. The salient business was as follows: A resolution by J. H. Hamilton was referred, "That the committee on legislation be instructed to inquire whether the change of name from Methodist Protestant to that of Methodist Church does not require a more particular statement of the steps taken to bring about that change, with the view of more fully assisting in litigation in regard to church property." The fraternal messengers from the Maryland Conference, Rev. J. T. Murray and Rev. Thomas McCormick, were heard, with responses by Rev. Cornelius Springer and Rev. A. H. Bassett; and the messengers from the Methodist Episcopal Church, Rev. J. G. Bruce and Rev. S. M. Merrill, responded to by George Brown and William Collier. Five fraternal messengers were appointed to the ensuing General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church. The removal of the Book Concern from Springfield to Pittsburgh,

¹ Absent.

Pa., consumed much of the Conference time, but was finally determined in favor of the change, "say by October 15, 1871." The new hymn book was accepted, with modifications. The report of the committee on ordination of women was received, and with it a minority report by J. J. Smith. It was several times discussed, and, finally, on a motion to adopt the minority report, which was against the ordination of women, it was carried by a vote of forty-six to seventeen. The next day "sister Bradford" was allowed to address the Conference on the ordination of women, stating her experience. The following motion was offered, but not passed, "That each Annual Conference shall have power to authorize females to preach the gospel in the Methodist Church." The report on the Book Concern showed assets, \$23,000, liabilities, \$700. The subscription list of the *Methodist Recorder* was 4604, including free and exchange papers. It was an increase of 1047 in four years. Alexander Clark was reëlected editor by a practically unanimous vote. On the second ballot A. H. Bassett was reëlected Book Agent. F. H. Pierpont, George Brown, and H. B. Knight were made a committee "to inquire and report on what further legislation, if any, is necessary for securing our church property, and, if any, procure the same." The report of J. S. Thrapp, agent of Adrian College, showed, as an exhibit for the past four years and five months: College ground, buildings, and other appurtenances, \$150,000; lands transferred to us with the college, \$2000; notes for payment of debts, \$10,540; other promises, \$3000; interest now due, \$11,000; endowment invested and collectible, \$100,000; total, \$276,510. Debts unprovided for, \$14,017.04. The Board of Missions reported for the quadrennium, receipts, \$5554.64, expenditures, \$5559.65. C. H. Williams was elected Corresponding Secretary. The Board of Ministerial Education reported that thirty-three students had been under its care in the four years, fifteen of these had joined their Conferences. Receipts for the same period were \$21,690.82; expenditures, \$19,009.23. J. B. Walker was reëlected Corresponding Secretary. The committee on Methodist Union reported in part: "In the love of the Saviour, and by the precious memories of those honored servants of God, who were the founders of the Methodist Protestant Church, we invite our brethren to meet us in an effort to effect union of the two churches. We recommend that the fraternal delegates appointed by the General Conference be constituted a Commission to receive any propositions looking toward union

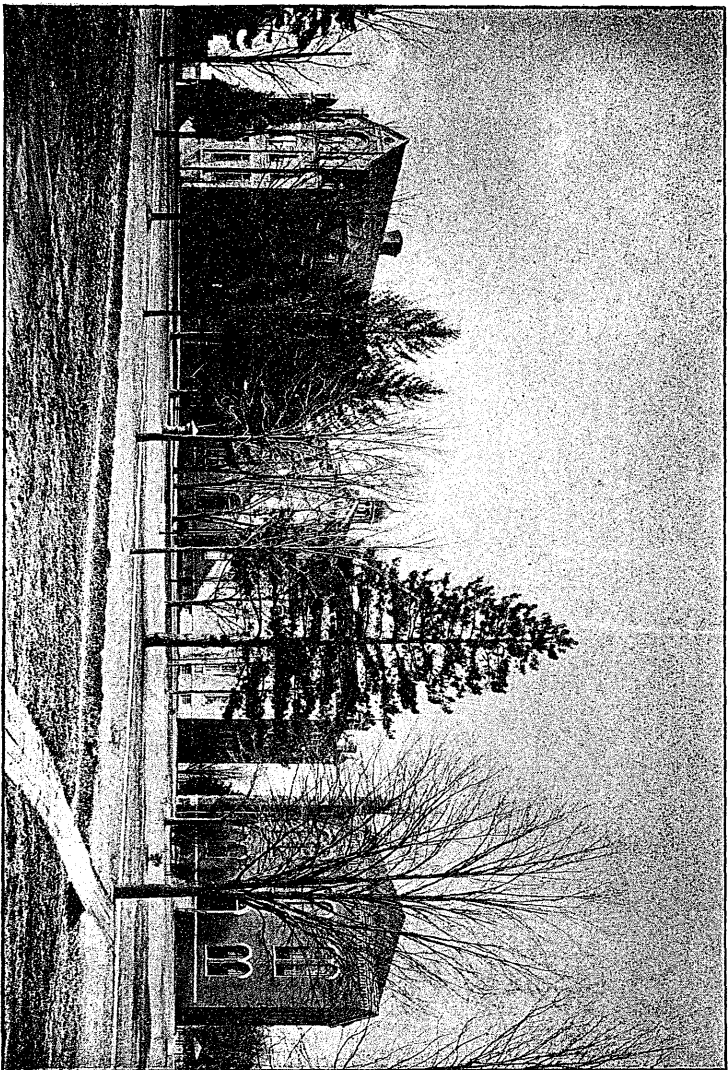


NORTH HALL.

ADRIAN COLLEGE BUILDINGS.

Location of Buildings, Adrian, Michigan.

MUSEUM.



DOWN'S HALL.

SOUTH HALL.

METCALF HALL.

ADRIAN COLLEGE AND CAMPUS.

Estimated Value of all the Buildings and Grounds, \$150 000.

that may be made by the General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, and report the same to the next General Conference of the Methodist Church. We also hope that the literature of both churches will be freely interchanged." The statistics were: itinerants, 766; unstationed ministers and preachers, 432; members, 52,000; probationers, 1796; churches, 569½; parsonages, 143; value of church property, \$1,609,425. In North Carolina, 50 itinerants, 1731 members, 13 churches, with value of \$1600 were claimed, and are included in the totals given, but no reliance can be placed upon the representations; and a critical examination of the figures upon their face shows a misstatement and exaggeration as to North Carolina. Princeton, Ill., was fixed as the place for the next General Conference. A brief address from the President, and the Conference adjourned.

South Hall of Adrian College was destroyed by fire early in 1869, but was rebuilt at a cost of \$13,000. The last issue of the *Methodist Recorder* at Springfield, O., bears date October 25, 1871. The plant was then removed to Pittsburgh in hired apartments. The publisher, A. H. Bassett, was prostrated with disease, and the editor, Alexander Clark, failed in health, leading to a protracted absence in California of some months. In February, 1872, the publisher resigned, and was succeeded, the ensuing July, by James Robison. About May, 1873, the Board of Publication came into possession of the old parsonage of the First church, and established the paper and Concern in it, to enter upon a course of reasonable prosperity, the subscription list of the paper running up to the highest figures it ever reached under the popular and versatile editor.

And now came a shock to the West and the whole Church. Dr. George Brown departed this life October 26, 1871, in the fifty-sixth year of his ministry and the seventy-ninth year of his age. He was born in Washington County, Pa., January 29, 1792, his parents having first settled at Pipe Creek, Md., and were members of the first class formed in America by Rev. Robert Strawbridge, not later than 1762.¹ In 1800 his parents removed to Ohio, and built a cabin on Cedar-Lick-Run, now in Jefferson County. His educational advantages were limited, but, by unre-

¹ Not only is this date in evidence, but there is collateral proof that within a year after, or in 1763, Strawbridge had organized a work on what is known as Patapsco circuit of the Baltimore Conference of the M. E. Church, and regular Methodist preaching can be traced from that year. In the old Patapsco church the one hundred and thirty-fifth anniversary was celebrated in the autumn of 1898, under the present pastor, Rev. W. F. Roberts.

mitting application, he gained knowledge enough to teach school in 1811. In 1812 he enlisted, and rose to orderly sergeant in the American army. August 21, 1813, at a camp-meeting near Baltimore, Md., under the preaching of Snethen, Shinn, and McCaine, he was converted, and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the twenty-first year of his age. Joining the Baltimore Conference in 1815, he labored until 1823, when he was appointed Presiding Elder on the Monongahela District. In 1826, while stationed at Steubenville, O., he heard the first discussion on church polity, between the Elder Swazie and Dr. David Stanton, father of War Secretary Stanton, whose mother belonged to the old Church at the time. On the 3d of June, 1828, having lingered for a season, he cast in his lot with the Reformers, leaving preferment and a good support for the labors and sacrifices of a new Church. The motives of such men cannot be impugned. His controversy with Bishop Hedding, which he has traversed in his "Recollections of Fifty Years in the Itinerancy," in vindication of his actions and his memory, led to much slanderous abuse, as already exposed in these pages. In 1829 he assisted in the organization of the Ohio Conference, a member of the Convention of 1830, and of numerous Conventions and General Conferences thereafter, as stated in current connections, filling all the responsible positions of the Church, College President, Editor, and voluminous writer for the press, and to the last maintained a phenomenal activity, as late as 1869 travelling seven thousand miles, and preaching eighty-five times in his seventy-seventh year. Blessed with splendid health, he never missed his Conference from 1815 to 1871. Physically, he was of large stature, well developed, of robust frame and iron constitution. Mentally, he was largely endowed, a fine debater, an entertaining conversationalist, of pure life and unspotted reputation built upon a character of great symmetry and beauty. The life of every company, witty and genial, he was loved by old and young. His attainments were considerable, a preacher of power, and even for the years after a nervous affection gave to his speech a staccato utterance, he seemed all the more interesting as talker or declaimer. At last the remarkable vital powers failed, though conscious to the end. He said to Rev. A. H. Bassett: "What a blunder it would have been, if I had come to this hour without securing the comforts of religion. But I have unshaken faith in God! I know whom I have believed." His funeral, at Springfield, was largely attended, twenty-six ministers of the various

denominations, with the venerable Bishop Morris, one of his close personal friends, adding their presence in respect to his memory. He was buried in the town cemetery, and a suitable monument marks the spot. (See Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 406-411.)

The Virginia Conference assembled at Norfolk, Va., November, 1871, selecting the place in refutation of the allegations, that those who had withdrawn in 1870 had dissolved it, either practically or legally. The Hopewell church property case had established its legal status; the Holston Conference, which had been set off in the southwest of the State, was merged in it, and its annual sessions have been continuous ever since. Yadkin College, having been repaired and reconstructed in organization, was formally accepted by the North Carolina Conference at its annual session of 1871, and has continued under its patronage, with varied fortune, to the present time. President S. Simpson labored for a series of years to establish it, and his successors likewise, under disadvantages of location and other discouragements.

Rev. Dr. D. D. Whedon, editor of the *Methodist Episcopal Review*, and editor Nesbit, of the *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate*, sharply discussed Prelatical and Presbyterial Episcopacy, the former stoutly contending for the prelatical view of Methodist Episcopacy, and was the head of a school of thought, not yet quite extinct in that Church, with its inconsequent reasoning, its bald assumptions, and its inconsistent positions as to Wesley, Coke, and Asbury. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church assembled in May, 1872. The lay-delegates, elected in the proportion of one to three of the ministers, took their seats by action of the Conference, just ninety-nine years after the assembly of the first Conference, — it had cost a century of struggle to wrest the pitiful boon from the exclusive clerical governmental aristocrats. The General Conference of 1870 had appointed Hon. George Vickers and Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray as fraternal messengers; the former was detained by his duties in the United States Senate, so that the latter represented the Church. He was cordially received, and made an acceptable address; even his declaration, "You would not have me say that you have made no mistakes," with mental reference to the doings of 1820-30, elicited no dissent, except to put the body in more alert attitude as listeners. This, or something like it, seems to have put the grave and reverend seniors into a pacific mood, as they invited the coöperation of other Methodist bodies, with their

Missionary Church Extension Society, the Freedman's Aid Society, etc., but mark the inevitable provisos, "but only so that no loss shall accrue to us through such arrangements"; with instructions to their officials to "be careful to locate the schools where they will be of the most advantage to our Church."

The Maryland Conference at its session of March, 1872, made a tentative effort to reconstruct the Book Concern by raising a fund of \$10,000 on a coöperative plan, through W. J. C. Dulaney's book establishment, but it did not materialize. An effort was made by the West Virginia Conference to establish a school, or college, at Pruntytown, W. Va., in the autumn of 1872. Rev. Henry Nice, pastor of Cumberland, Md., station, leading a disaffected section, was tried and suspended by Conference action for malfeasance. The proceedings culminated in the secession of the majority, who held possession of the church and parsonage, and the disloyal pastor was received into the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, carrying the property and his adherents with him. Litigation to recover it by the minority resulted in a favorable decision by the civil court on the principle of common law and equity, that those who adhere are the legal representatives of those who built the property for specified use denominationally. Coming so near the General Conference action of the old Church just referred to, it is not known whether the Baltimore Conference took their cue in thus making themselves a party to the transaction as an illustration of the coöperation invited with other Methodist bodies, "so that no loss shall accrue to us," or not. To say the least, it was utterly discourteous to a sister Methodism.¹

A Woman's Foreign Missionary Society was formed at the

¹ The disaffected majority held possession under encouragement from the presiding elder of that district for several years before the minority could secure legal decision, which was finally made in our favor by Judge Pearre in 1874. During the pendency of the case the Maryland Conference, trusting in the sense of ecclesiastical comity of the Baltimore Conference, appointed the venerable Rev. Dr. Augustus Webster to visit the annual session of 1874, and secure if possible a hearing in the case. He was kindly received, and the matter referred to a committee, with the assurance to him that when they met he should have an opportunity of being heard before it. He attended with this purpose for several days, when he was surprised to hear that the committee was ready to report, and did so with the decision that they had "no jurisdiction" in the case, and without debate it was approved. The elder then blandly approached Dr. Webster, who was present, and asked him what he thought of the report. Righteously indignant over the breach of faith with him, he bluffly answered, "I think the receiver is as bad as the thief." Not a few of the brethren have never since been proud of their conduct on this occasion.

East Baltimore station in 1872, largely through the efforts of the pastor's wife, Mrs. Mary Ann W. Murray, and Jane R. Roberts. It was the first of its kind in the Church, and, as no such work existed as yet in it, this society for some years operated as an auxiliary to the Woman's Union Society of New York, on an un-denominational basis. Dr. Curry, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, in January, 1873, put a damper of discouragement upon the movement for general Methodistic Union, with the result that Alexander Clark, of the *Methodist Recorder*, earnestly advocated a reunion of the Methodist with the Methodist Protestant Church. Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates, having succeeded J. T. Murray as editor of the official Baltimore paper, assisted by Dr. Augustus Webster and Dr. S. B. Southerland, he resigned in May, 1873, in favor of the former committee plan with joint powers, and for 1873, to the ensuing General Conference of 1874, the committee was Drs. Augustus Webster, L. W. Bates, and S. B. Southerland. Volume 40 of the paper began with the issue of July 12, 1873. Quite a discussion arose in the paper over a proposal to strike out the word "white" by the ensuing General Convention, which elicited a diversity of opinion, but strongly in favor. The Maryland Conference at its session of 1873 had, through A. Webster, J. K. Nichols, and others, resolved to recommend to the Annual Conferences to substitute for the 12th Article of the Constitution, "Each Annual Conference shall have power to define terms of membership and eligibility to office within its own district." This would have eliminated the word "white" from the book, and it was a growing sentiment in the Church. The *Protestant Advocate*, a weekly paper, was inaugurated in Georgia, by Rev. J. G. Coldwell, under the auspices of the Conference. He was a strong writer, and the enterprise was pushed with energy; but after a few years declined to its extinction, adding one more to such wrecks along the ecclesiastical shore. The *Central Protestant*, a weekly paper, was proposed for North Carolina, by J. L. Michaux, editor and proprietor. The first number was issued February 14, 1874, at Greensboro', N. C., folio sheet of four pages. It was patronized by the Conference and assisted by brethren, but without financial responsibility by the body. The editor, having lost his preaching voice, resorted, in part, to this enterprise for a subsistence, and, through toils and sacrifices, and a single-eyed devotion rarely equalled, he maintained its existence, under varying fortune, until 1890, a period of sixteen years, the best sustained effort to

keep alive an Annual Conference organ in the history of such enterprises. The *Pennsylvania Methodist Protestant* was inaugurated by Rev. G. W. Sterigere of that Conference, and its first number appeared April 11, 1874. It was a monthly at fifty cents a year, small quarto of four pages. It was continued about a year, and then went the way of all ephemeral things, despite the devotion and ability of its projector. The Book Concern at Pittsburgh, Pa., was burnt out early in January, 1874, but soon recovered its normal condition.

Ivy Harris of North Carolina died October 19, 1872, aged eighty-six years. He was one of the most influential and pronounced of the original Reformers and the progenitor of a family whose consecration to the cause is perpetuated to this day. The name of Harris and Methodist Reform in that State are identical. His masterful correspondence with Rev. William Compton of the old Church anent the expulsion of Lewellyn Jones for his Reform principles is preserved, in the full text, in Paris's "History," pp. 102-125. He departed in peace, and his memory is blessed. Rev. H. T. Arnold of South Carolina, Reformer, died November 30, 1872; Rev. W. C. Pool, the co-martyr with Dennis B. Dorsey, in 1827, of Reform, after a varied experience of ministerial and secular employ as surveyor, etc., found an honored grave in Nebraska, then a frontier, December 14, 1872; John Jervis, Reformer of Maryland, aged eighty-four years, obituaries January 18 and 25, 1873; Henry Webster, Reformer of Harford County, Md., January 25, 1873; David Arthur of Chestertown, Md., early Reformer, aged eighty-three, April 5, 1873; Hiram Harding, M.D., of Virginia, early Reformer, April 19, 1873; John Rose, M.D., of Baltimore, Md., early Reformer, March 14 and 28, 1874; Rev. Jordan Chandler, early Reformer, May 9, 1874.

The Eleventh General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church convened at Lynchburg, Va., May 1, 1874, by calling Rev. John Paris of North Carolina to the chair, and J. W. Charlton of Maryland, Secretary. A committee on credentials reported the following as representatives-elect to the body:—

VIRGINIA

Ministers

M. J. Langhorne
George R. Barr
J. G. Johnson

Laymen

I. S. McQuown
S. K. Brooks
C. W. Button

MARYLAND

Ministers

L. W. Bates
D. A. Shermer
David Wilson
E. J. Drinkhouse
S. B. Southerland
D. W. Bates
J. W. Charlton
W. S. Hammond
W. M. Strayer
J. J. Murray
T. D. Valiant

Laymen

W. J. C. Dulany
R. S. Griffith
W. B. Usilton
J. W. Thompson
O. Hammond
A. Donelson
Pere Wilmer
T. A. Newman
S. S. Ewell
J. A. Kenneday
Charles Billingslea

NORTH CAROLINA

John Paris
J. H. Gilbreath
J. R. Ball
A. C. Harris
J. L. Michaux
J. H. Page
T. H. Pegram

F. H. Whitaker
S. Simpson
W. A. Harris
W. J. Ellis
W. A. Lindsey
J. M. Odell
L. W. Batchelor
J. L. Ogburn

GEORGIA

F. H. M. Henderson
J. Q. A. Redford

J. W. Adamson
J. B. McDaniel

ALABAMA

G. H. McFaden
D. J. Sampley
W. J. Nolen

B. S. Bibb
C. E. Crenshaw
A. H. Townsend

WEST VIRGINIA

George Nestor
O. Lowther
G. W. Barrett
John Clark
W. M. Betts
H. P. F. King
E. F. Westfall

J. B. Watson
A. T. Cralle
B. Jackson
W. Vandervort
W. J. Lowther
Samuel Saylor
J. H. Curray

SOUTH CAROLINA

John Burdine

Lewis Yarborough

TENNESSEE

W. J. Finley

Wm. Collins

TEXAS

G. W. Johnson

Young Smith

PENNSYLVANIA	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. K. Helmbold •	John Kitson
INDIANA	
G. W. Boxell	J. Rodgers
MISSISSIPPI	
Elijah Red	W. B. Nance
ILLINOIS AND DES MOINES	
John Sexsmith	Orestes Ames
ARKANSAS AND LOUISIANA	
J. W. Harper	W. F. Wallace
J. M. P. Hickerson	Elijah Hearn
WEST TENNESSEE	
J. A. Fussell	J. T. Ray
NORTH TENNESSEE	
John Stone	J. W. Patrick
McCAINE	
G. P. Miller	J. C. Wayland
COLORADO	
Eli Terry	J. J. Mabry

There are no notations of those absent, but the writer's recollection, as a member present, is that it was not large, and confined to the outlying Conferences.

The election for permanent officers resulted in L. W. Bates, President; A. C. Harris and J. B. Watson, Secretaries. The President announced the usual standing committees. The order of Deacons was stricken from the Discipline, with the form of ordination. The fraternal greetings of the Conference were sent to the General Conference of the Church South, then in session at Louisville, Ky., and a reciprocating message was received in return. Lynchburg, Norfolk, and Heathville of Va., were added to the Maryland District. The Committee on Literature reported, commending Yadkin and Western Maryland Colleges with the Theological department of the latter to the care and patronage of the Church, and favorable mention made of a proposal from the

trustees of Bowdon College, Georgia, to make it a Conference institution on given conditions. Rev. Dr. R. B. Thomson of Virginia was made an honorary member of the Conference. Rev. Dr. Wesley Kenney, from the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was introduced, and addressed the Conference fraternally and officially, Dr. L. W. Bates responding. Two-thirds of the Annual Conferences not having concurred in any of the proposed changes of the Constitution, none was made. The Committee on Home and Foreign Missions reported, deploring that the Church had done so little in this direction, and making sundry recommendations, among them one for a new Board: S. B. Southerland, R. S. Rowe, F. Swentzel, Thomas McCormick, H. T. Gernhardt, ministers. Laymen: W. S. Greenwood, F. A. Fairbank, J. G. Clarke, William Bond, J. E. A. Cunningham, James Bond, and James Frame. Rev. Alexander Clark, editor, and James Robison, publisher, of the *Methodist Recorder*, were introduced, and expressed the cordial fraternal greeting of the Methodist Church, which was responded to by Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates on behalf of the General Conference. A report from a special committee, through John Paris, was read three times and adopted, with great unanimity, as follows:—

WHEREAS, this General Conference is satisfied that there is a growing desire on the part of the membership of the M. P. Church to hold a General Convention to take into consideration certain changes in the Constitution of the Church—Therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That we recommend the Annual Conferences composing the Methodist Protestant Church, to unite unanimously in a call for a General Convention for the purpose of effecting such changes in the 2nd, 10th and 14th Articles of the Constitution of the M. P. Church as may be deemed by said Convention necessary, together with such alterations in all other articles of the Constitution and book of discipline, as they may judge proper.

2. *Resolved*, That said Convention shall meet at Abingdon, Va., on the first Friday in May, 1878.

3. *Resolved*, That a committee of nine persons be appointed by this General Conference to confer with any like commission from any Methodist body in America who may signify a desire to confer with them upon the subject of union with the M. P. Church; and especially with a committee of 9, to be appointed by the General Conference of the Methodist Church, which has made overtures to us for a reunion, believing it to be the desire of the majority of the members of the Methodist Church to effect a union of the Methodist and Methodist Protestant Churches, upon terms which shall be alike agreeable and honorable to each; and to submit the terms of union to the General Convention herein before provided for.

4. *Resolved*, That said Commissioners shall be appointed as follows: 2 Ministers and 1 Layman from Maryland; 1 Minister and 1 Layman from

West Virginia; 1 Minister and 1 Layman from North Carolina; 1 Layman from Virginia, and 1 Minister from Tennessee. The representatives from the respective Conferences shall nominate by ballot from among their own number, to be confirmed by this General Conference.

In the event of the death of any Commissioner thus chosen before the time of meeting as heretofore named, the standing District Committee of the Conference having the vacancy shall have power to name a substitute.

The following are the nine Commissioners elected under the 4th Resolution: Rev. L. W. Bates, Rev. S. B. Southerland, and O. Hammond of Maryland; Rev. E. F. Westfall and W. V. Chidester of West Virginia; Rev. R. H. Wills and S. Simpson of North Carolina; M. T. Peebles of Virginia; Rev. B. F. Duggan of Tennessee.

The Committee on Revision of the Discipline suggested sundry minor changes, which were adopted (see revised edition). The Committee on Statistics reported by Conferences, several not heard from and others imperfect as to details, giving totals: itinerants, 546; members, 49,310; value of church property, \$1,122,351. Abingdon, Va., was selected as the place for the next General Conference. Fraternal messengers were appointed to the Methodist, the Methodist Episcopal, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The Conference adjourned May 12, 1874, with prayer and benediction.

The Convention on the Book Concern and Periodical was held May 5, in an interval of General Conference. C. W. Button was called to the chair, and W. S. Hammond, Secretary. The report of the Book Directory was read, and made the following exhibit:—

GENERAL VIEW OF THE BUSINESS OF THE CONCERN

1. *Estimated worth of Concern, March 1, 1874:*

Ledger accounts	\$813 05	
Merchandise (stock on hand)	1,985 14	
Baltimore City Stock	2,500 00	
Cash	1,014 86	
		\$6,313 05

LIABILITIES

Ledger accounts	809 22	
Amount due 2,834 subscribers, aggregating 867 full subscribers, for one year, to the <i>Methodist</i> <i>Protestant</i>	1,647 30	
		2,456 52
Net worth of Concern, March 1, 1874		\$3,856 53

2. *Estimated worth of Concern, March 1, 1870 :*

Bill receivable	\$1,312 88	
Merchandise (stock on hand)	1,682 34	
Baltimore City Stock	2,500 00	
Cash	1,860 45	
	\$7,355 67	
Liabilities	188 85	
		\$7,166 82

Net loss in four years was \$3,310 29

Showing an average loss for each year of \$827.57.

The loss for the year just closed was \$1,019.80, which further shows that our losses are increasing.

The item of amount due subscribers, \$1,647.30, has not heretofore been estimated a "liability," the "good will" or "list" of the Concern being considered a just offset.

3. *Subscription to the Methodist Protestant :*

Number of Subscribers March 1, 1871	3,260
an increase over 1870 of 75.	
Number of Subscribers March 1, 1872	3,374
an increase over 1871 of 114.	
Number of Subscribers March 1, 1873	3,254
a decrease on 1872 of 120.	
Number of Subscribers March 1, 1874	2,834
a decrease on 1873 of 420.	

4. *Management of Methodist Protestant.*

On the 3d of April, 1871, the Directory elected Rev. J. T. Murray, D.D., editor, at a salary not to exceed \$800 per annum; which position he filled till March, 1872, and received for his services the supposed or real profits of the Concern for the year ending March, 1872, amounting to \$462.95.

On the 11th of April, 1872, the Directory elected Rev. L. W. Bates, D.D., editor for one year, without compensation, which position he held till 20th May, 1873, when he resigned, since which time the paper has been conducted under the management of an Editorial Committee, composed of Dr. L. W. Bates, Dr. A. Webster, Dr. S. B. Southerland, and Dr. J. T. Murray.

An elaborate plan from the Maryland Conference for the reconstruction of the Book Concern was submitted, referred, and, by the General Conference committee, disapproved as impracticable. (See printed Convention Minutes, pp. 25, 26.) May 8 another session was held, with unimportant results. May 11 another meeting, when the Committee on Book Concern and Periodical submitted a plan, the salient points of which are as follows:—

1. In reference to the Book Concern, to secure the services of some one established in business in the book trade, as agent, who shall furnish office room for the Book Concern and Periodical, light and fuel; and shall have

exclusive control of the business of the Book Concern, keeping always on hand an ample supply of our Church Hymn Books and Disciplines. As compensation for his services and the facilities furnished the Periodical and Editor, he shall have the use of the copyrights and plates of the Book Concern.

In entering into this arrangement he may purchase the present stock in trade of the Concern at the just valuation of three disinterested persons in the book trade.

2. The Convention shall elect a new Directory, whose duty it shall be to carry into effect the measures herein proposed.

The Convention shall also elect an Editor, who shall have charge of the Church paper and manage all the business pertaining thereto.

The Directory shall exercise a general supervision and control of the publishing interests of the Church. They shall fix the salary of the Editor, and act for this Convention in the interim of its sittings in any matter relating to its publishing interest; and should said Directory fail in perfecting the arrangements herein proposed, then full authority is herein given for the adoption of any other plan that will best subserve the interests of the Methodist Protestant Church.

And we would recommend these arrangements to go into effect, at as early a day as may be found practicable.

As to the change proposed in a paper referred to us, looking to a change of the paper from a folio to a quarto, we advise that it be left optional with the Directory.

JOHN PARIS,
WM. B. USILTON,
GEORGE NESTOR,
GEORGE R. BARR,
J. W. ADAMSON,

WILLIAM COLLINS,
G. W. JOHNSON,
B. S. BIBB,
JOHN BURDINE.

The plan was adopted. The salary of the retiring Agent, T. W. Ewing, was, by order, continued until October 1, 1874, as a gratuity. May 12 a final session was held and the following new Directory elected: H. F. Zollickoffer, T. B. Bateman, H. T. Gernhardt, J. G. Clarke, W. J. C. Dulany, James Frame, with L. W. Bates and D. E. Reese, *ex officio*. All were new members but Clarke and Dulany. "Dr. E. J. Drinkhouse was elected Editor of the *Methodist Protestant*. Whole number of votes cast, thirty-six; number cast for Dr. Drinkhouse, twenty-four." Pledges were made to support the periodical and Concern. After incidental business the Convention adjourned.

Some facts of history demand recognition not heretofore considered, so as not to break the flow of the official business of this Conference and the Convention on Book Concern. Not one of the "Methodist" Commissioners appointed to treat with the Church on union appeared at Lynchburg, on the ground that the General Conference of 1870 had stricken out the authorization of

Commissioners to meet those appointed by their General Conference of 1871, consisting of John Scott, John Burns, F. H. Pierpont, A. H. Bassett, and H. E. H. Hartsock, who were empowered to "receive any proposition looking toward union that might be made" them, but not to offer any. Dr. Scott, in his work, "Fifty Years," says, "These commissioners, for what they considered good and sufficient reasons, did not attend." He also gives the full text of a private correspondence between the writer and himself anent this matter. The fraternal messengers, Alexander Clark and James Robison, made and received some explanations at Lynchburg, which led to the action the Conference took, as already given. As a finality, Dr. Scott adds, "There is one amusing thing, however, which cannot fail to be noticed in connection with the action of each of the parties to the proposed union, and that is the caution taken to prevent the impression that *it* was the party that first proposed the union." He leaves the reader to his own inferences, and the writer will do the same.

It was the gloomiest period in the history of the Methodist Protestant Church, and was felt by the representatives at Lynchburg. Then were revealed the devastating effects of the aborted Union movement with the Church South. The condition of the Book Concern and periodical was critical in the extreme. After the greenback issues of the Civil War, and the inflation of artificial values, there came the necessary reaction, and the period of 1872-76 was one of depreciation and well-nigh panic. All the Churches shared in the depression, and, as is the case in times of discouragement, they cast about for helps; and it inaugurated among the Methodists in particular the era of fraternity and "Union." It developed a marvellous tenacity and fidelity to principles at the same time, and, if the writer were disposed to claim special providential oversight, it is apparent that nothing but such oversight saved the Methodist Protestant Church, in its disunited sections, from absorption, and proclaimed its mission among the Churches, not yet accomplished. With the best motive ecclesiastical selfishness is capable of, not a few of the prominent ministers were baited to change their Church relations. The futility of such a struggle, as churches, was pointed out, and the fatuity of preachers, whose abilities would command ample temporal support, still adhering, with the love of personal sacrifice, to a theory of church government, insidiously urged. One case is fresh in the recollection of the writer. A minister of the Tennessee Conference, who had won reputation in all his section

as a forcible and eloquent preacher, was approached by a Presiding Elder, a personal friend, with the kindly meant suggestion that his own destitution, as well as that of his family, could be relieved, with the promise of an appointment that would amply support him and family, if he would come into the Methodist Church, South. The ill-provided brother listened in tearful silence, knowing that the offer was one of friendship and sincerely made, and then gave answer, "I cannot do it!" He is still a minister in the Church. It was about this time that the writer, not among the ill-paid and not open to such a temptation, wrote for the encouragement of all true men, an article for the official paper on the "Moral Heroism of the Methodist Protestant Preacher," which is here in part reproduced with a like purpose.

Not the fathers only, but their honored sons in the gospel, are worthy of such designation, the contention of to-day losing none of the features of the contention of 1820-30. It was one of those anomalies in governmental reform, whether profane or sacred, when concessions are proposed by those who represent the throne, and authority itself suggesting the distribution of its powers. That ministers should have engaged in this scheme of self-abnegation, and joined the voice of the people, whose rights had been overslaughed by the divinely authorized lawmakers and expounders, is irrefragable proof of their distinguished moral worth and exalted heroism. The churchmanship which could anticipate the struggle which has since marked the political history of both the great mother organizations, resulting in lay-delegation in their respective councils, could also vaticinate the bitter prejudice, loss of social position, personal hardship, and other attendants of a state of persecution which followed the dangerous experiment upon which they resolved to enter. They were men of inflexible will and leonine heart, and for what? Redress of personal grievance as ministers? Party ambition in those who were behind the throne in their day, and courted to share the irresponsible functions? Who, in consenting to expulsion and separation from all the loved associations of their spiritual mother, also consented to slanderous aspersions of their fair names, the inquisition of their motives, and the traducement of their purposes? Was it to leave the strong side for the weak? He has read the history of human nature without profit who cannot see a sublime spectacle in this procedur  of a privileged class of men voluntarily descending from their elevation, and, on their own motion, *parting with power*, that element whose tendency is to

accumulation, and its march ever onward, and accepting position in a Christian brotherhood where the minister is the equal of all, but the superior of none.

All great movements in Church or State, under the leadership of advanced ideas, never find the people, in their average mental and moral status, abreast with the progress proposed; otherwise advanced ideas would be a solecism, and leadership a name. Progress would then be in masses, and such coincidence of revolutionary thought contradicts all historic experience in science or religion. When it is admitted, therefore, that popular Methodism, in the early days of Reform, was not prepared for what has been stigmatized as "radical" changes, it is no argument against the truth for which the Church has set itself in defence; but a simple iteration, in fact, of what is true of every step taken by advancing society. It does not strip the garlands, which their children have woven, from the reverend heads of the hero fathers. They were men of advanced ideas, as their writings attest; imbued with a sense of religious liberty, so Christ-like in its breadth of love, as might not suffer the exercise of exclusive rule in themselves, but insisted on division of authority with all who are in our Lord Jesus Christ; and it may be questioned whether the people, as such, were not much better prepared for this onward movement in the days of 1828, than the Episcopal brethren are willing to admit; if judgment may be based on the violent means employed for the suppression and extirpation of the suspicious innovation by the velvet-gloved, but iron hand of priestly authority.

But, as in all kindred measures, an elective affinity attracted to its standard the true and tried from out the serried ranks of the Methodist host; and around them, for more than fifty years, there has been an accretion of the same material, constituting, for the most part, an intelligent and appreciative community of men and women known as the Methodist Protestant Church. It is no derogation, then, of her worthy lay-element, if stress is more particularly laid upon the heroism of her ministry. Few have entered her itinerant ranks who would not have received a hearty welcome to the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North or South, and have been borne upon their wings to positions of honor and usefulness. Those who were, and are, the young men have chosen otherwise. They must be credited with an intelligent discrimination. They espoused the cause because they found it worthy. Now and then some one who has

been nursed upon the Church bosom, for policy or pelf, turns away from his maternal love, and gives his strength to another denomination, more respectable (?), mayhap, or overweening in numbers and influence. And now and then some one, confessing weakness in the act, — the lack of that grit which carries a true man forward to the hero's crown, — drops out of the ranks, and joins himself where weak things can cling and live, like barnacles on the ship's bottom. But these exceptions granted, the Conference records are rolls of honor — brave spirits who have worn their escutcheons untarnished by the thought of desertion or the feeling of dismay. And that, too, under discouragements which, while they should not be magnified on the one hand, need not be minified on the other.

The assertion shall not, then, be qualified that the Christian Church, denominationally understood, cannot boast a more self-sacrificing ministry, men truer to principle, and a high sense of ecclesiastical honor, than this heroic ministry of loyalty and love. Laboring in many places, amid local weakness, to uphold the distinguishing name, until "our mission" shall be accomplished in its completeness, the symbol of the toil-worn brethren might be Issachar: an ass between two burdens. Despised for paucity of numbers, when compared with the parent bodies; the wonder of those who do not understand; compelled to carry the Church because not strong enough, compensatively, to carry her ministry, — bating other reasons not so creditable to portions of her laity, the defence of whose rights, be it forgotten never, is the sole ground of its separate existence as a struggling organization, — the Methodist Protestant ministry is conspicuous for Moral Heroism, and yet to be crowned by the annalist as worthy of mention on the same page with those who have given an impulse to the progress of liberal Christian ideas, and died in daring to carry their Excelsior to the topmost peak.

CHAPTER XXXII

Reconstruction of the Book Concern in Baltimore; Sunday-school department opened in it — Twelfth General Conference of the Methodist Church at Princeton, Ill., May, 1875; roster of members; fraternal messengers from the East and South; from other Methodisms; synopsis of its doings; nine commissioners appointed to the Methodist Protestant Church to meet its nine previously appointed; a plan of Union agreed to in October, 1875 — The M. E. Church General Conference; homily by the writer on their ecclesiastical system; glorification of the machine by its admirers; its true genius; union with any other system incompatible with it; the three F's the only modus — Obituaries; Peebles, Ragan, Springer — Union convention called for Baltimore, May, 1877; local church papers — Clerical speculators and Book Concerns.

THE Book Concern and periodical in Baltimore underwent the radical changes proposed by the General Conference in Convention. The ex-committee of editors, still resident in the city, expressed a desire to be relieved as soon as possible, and the ex-agent, after a few weeks, also retired, having been paid salary up to October 1, 1874, or for five months. The new editor, though at the time and for several months thereafter the pastor of a station in an adjoining city, found it necessary to assume immediate control. The arrangement contemplated was made with Wm. J. C. Dulany; the Concern was removed from its dilapidated quarters to his book establishment on Baltimore Street, with proper sign designation, controlling only the copyright and book business of the Concern, while the editor found himself not such only, but publisher, bookkeeper, and factotum of the new arrangement. He was allowed a salary of \$1500 for the combined service, a less sum than that received at the time by the city pastors of the Church. With the full coöperation of the new Directory, the paper was at once changed at the end of the volume, July 4, 1874, from a four-page folio to an eight-page, somewhat reduced in size, being the same form and measurement as the *Methodist Recorder*, without increase of price. The contracting printer, Jesse F. Chesney, furnished a clean typographical dress; the then new mailing system of Dick's, expeditious and accurate, was introduced, and a set of new books opened by double entry.

Within a year the subscription list had risen nearly one thousand; the Church writers came to its support, and the preachers generally pressed its circulation among the people under the new auspices. More than this it would not be seemly in the writer to record. A Sunday-school column was opened, and Dr. Webster for a period furnished Notes on the International Lessons.

This year Rev. Jos. P. Wilson, pastor of the Broadway church, led a disaffection and united with the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The writer secured a private interview with the presiding Bishop, J. T. Peck, whom he had known in San Francisco, Cal., in 1863-66, anent this affair, and the lesson taught them in the Cumberland church case made them chary of haste as to the property, which by reason of its involvement in debt was lost for several years, but finally recovered by amicable repurchase from the ex-Lutheran brethren in possession, and has ever since been the property of the Maryland Missionary Society under the Conference authority. It was the last effort in the East to steal a church by disaffected pastors. And the moral of these cases is that the Church law as to property, while it gives proper liberty to local trustees and congregations, does not give license, and the common civil law defends the rights of those who build for denominational use, even though reduced to a minority of one loyal adherent. Rev. John Clark departed this life December 24, 1874, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. He was an early Reformer of the Pittsburgh, and afterward was prominent in the organization of the West Virginia Conference, laborious and true.

"Journal of the Twelfth General Conference of the Methodist (Protestant) Church, held at Princeton, Ill., May 19-31, 1875." This is the official title-page of the minutes, twelvemo, 117 pages. Rev. A. H. Bassett was made temporary President and G. B. McElroy and S. M. Lowden, Secretaries. The following is the roster of members:—

NEW YORK	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. J. Smith	C. Tomkins ¹
S. Homan	J. Savage
J. H. Robinson	A. H. Holgate ¹
NEW JERSEY	
F. Stringer	J. F. Asay
L. D. Stults ¹	J. D. Stults

¹ Absent.

ONONDAGA	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
H. L. Bowen	P. Weaver
M. Prindle	C. D. Graham
GENESEE	
E. A. Wheat	H. Justice
PITTSBURGH	
J. Scott	J. J. Gillespie
G. G. Westfall	F. H. Pierpont ¹
J. L. Simpson	T. F. Scott
T. H. Colhouer	H. T. Reeves
H. Palmer	G. W. Pogue
J. Cowl	W. Tate, Jr.
A. Clark	W. E. Miller
MUSKINGUM	
J. Burns	L. Browning
G. W. Hissey	R. H. Halstead
J. M. Woodward	J. H. Carr
D. Trueman	H. E. H. Hartsock ¹
J. C. Ogle ¹	J. Keller ¹
W. L. Baldwin	G. Porter ¹
F. A. Brown	S. Moore
W. Hastings	T. Chambers
C. Springer	J. B. Hamilton ¹
OHIO	
J. M. Flood	T. Douglas
A. H. Bassett	T. J. Finch
R. Rose	J. M. Johnson
T. B. Graham	G. B. Hamilton ¹
W. R. Parsons	N. M. McConkey
C. S. Evans	G. W. Kent
MICHIGAN	
G. B. McElroy	D. F. Osborne
J. Warner	A. Babcock
WEST MICHIGAN	
J. Kost	J. Sanders
W. Bakewell	C. S. Underwood
INDIANA	
S. M. Lowden	D. V. Buskirk ¹
S. H. Flood	N. H. Jones
H. Stackhouse	O. P. Wellman

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	NORTH INDIANA	<i>Laymen</i>
T. E. Lancaster		J. Wright
J. H. Luse		C. W. Gift ¹
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
P. J. Strong		P. F. Remsburg
R. Burns		W. P. Lewis
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
D. B. Turney		G. Stout
S. M. Gentry		T. Keen ¹
	IOWA	
W. Huddleston		F. W. Johnson
W. Remsburg		J. W. Murphy
E. S. Brown		D. Patterson ¹
	NORTH IOWA	
J. Selby		O. M. Culver
	MINNESOTA	
S. Jones		W. Waldron
	NEBRASKA	
W. S. Horn		R. Pearson
	KANSAS	
R. Baker		T. N. Newton
	MISSOURI	
J. Jones ¹		J. W. Bush
	NORTH MISSOURI	
L. C. Pace		H. Giffin
	KENTUCKY	
J. Locey ¹		E. L. Woody ¹
	EAST NORTH CAROLINA	
S. A. Cecil		J. B. Cecil
	WEST NORTH CAROLINA	
W. M. Kerr		J. W. Davis ¹
	OREGON AND WASHINGTON	
B. N. Longworth		W. F. West ¹
	TENNESSEE AND NORTH GEORGIA	
	No representation	
	¹ Absent.	

The *Daily Recorder* was issued by Rev. A. H. Widney and made the official record of the Conference. For permanent officers John Burns was elected President, and G. B. McElroy and A. H. Bassett, Secretaries. Seventeen standing committees were appointed. Many communications were received and amendments proposed to the Discipline. A communication from Dr. L. W. Bates, one of the commissioners of the Methodist Protestant Church, was received, and also letters from Rev. George Nestor and Rev. A. C. Harris, fraternal messengers from its General Conference, which were referred. Several proposals were made for the union of the Methodist and the Methodist Protestant Church by members of the Conference. Referred to committee on Methodist Union. Hon. C. W. Button arrived, delegated as a fraternal messenger by the President of the Methodist Protestant General Conference, who was most cordially received and made a winning address, hoping that the divided stream of the Church would soon be united, etc. Responses were made by Revs. W. R. Parsons, T. H. Colhouer, and John Scott, advocating the organic union of the two Churches. It was found that the Annual Conferences had not conferred conventional powers upon the Conference. Bishop Janes of the Methodist Episcopal Church was introduced and addressed the Conference on fraternity and union. Also Rev. Dr. Hunter in the same vein, to which a response was made by A. H. Bassett, reviewing past history, congratulating the brethren on the advances made toward the new polity, and kindly suggesting that the mission of the Reform Church was not yet accomplished. John Cowl also addressed fraternal words to these brethren. Messengers were appointed to their ensuing General Conference.

The report of the Committee on Methodist Union was read and adopted, the first and pregnant paragraph being as follows: "Inasmuch as the cause for suspension of official relations by the Conferences of the North now represented in this General Conference is now entirely removed by the providence of God, and the suspension having from the first been declared to be only contingent upon the continuance of the cause complained of. And whereas, furthermore, the General Conference of the South, assembled at Lynchburg, Va., May, 1874, did in accordance with mutual and reciprocal advances for reunion elect nine commissioners, to meet nine coördinate commissioners expected to be appointed by this General Conference now in session, to deliber-

ate together and devise plans for reunion alike honorable and desirable to each; therefore this committee unanimously recommend the election of nine persons as commissioners for said purpose." The report also declares against "the policy of absorption in the Methodist Episcopal Church," etc. Nine commissioners were at once elected by ballot to carry out the purpose expressed: John Burns, J. J. Smith, T. J. Finch, F. H. Pierpont, J. J. Gillespie, E. A. Wheat, P. F. Remsburg, A. Clark, G. B. McElroy. The Methodist Board of Publication reported totals as follows: Receipts from all sources for the quadrennium, including loans of \$7735.48, the Springfield property, rents, etc., \$105,470.06. Expenditures, including book-room property, \$7000; improvements on same, \$2583.27; loans, etc., \$105,470.06, minus \$675.16, cash in hand. Assets over liabilities, \$17,985.04. The subscription list of the *Methodist Recorder* had grown to 6456 through the popularity of the editor. The Sunday-school paper some time before had been changed to *Our Morning Guide*, and under Alexander Clark's tasteful management was a beautiful monthly, which rose in circulation to eighty thousand. The Board of Trustees of the First church, Pittsburgh, had tendered the Concern their parsonage property in fee for \$15,000, appraised at \$25,000, \$7000 in cash and the remainder at 6 per cent interest for twenty-five years. It placed the Concern in eligible quarters, and with the management of J. J. Gillespie in making advances during the panic of 1873, settled the business house upon a secure foundation. Through him a new charter had been secured from the legislature of Pennsylvania, and the affairs of the Concern were on a tide of prosperity. Alexander Clark was reëlected editor, and James Robison, Agent.

A. H. Bassett was requested to prepare a Church History. A motion of S. H. Flood was adopted to the effect that the Commissioners on Union be restricted in their authority to a reference of their action to the ensuing General Conference of the Methodist Church for ratification. The place of the next General Conference was left to the editor and the agent of the Church paper. Dr. John Scott offered resolutions, which were adopted, redeclaring, as at former General Conventions and Conferences, in substance that the Methodist Church was not a new Church, but "that it is substantially the Methodist Protestant Church," etc. The report of the Board of Missions, C. H. Williams, Corresponding Secretary, showed that during the quadrennium \$5041.23 had been collected, and \$4239.77 expended; in hand,

\$801.46. The Treasurer of the Board, J. C. Claney, had received in the same period \$1812.03. Of the whole sum, \$1940 had been expended in missions, the remainder in salary and travelling expenses. This interest had received a backset through untoward causes. Williams was reelected. The Board of Church Extension reported, and a new Board was elected, located at Princeton, Ill.; A. H. Widney, Corresponding Secretary. The report of the Committee on Fraternal Relations appointed messengers to nearly all the American Methodisms and those of England. The reports of the Adrian College agents, J. S. Thrap for two years and N. R. Swift for two, are very encouraging, and submit figures which, in the aggregates, run up net assets to \$239,358, putting the grounds and buildings, etc., at \$150,000. The report of the Board of Ministerial Education, J. B. Walker, Corresponding Secretary, showed for the quadrennium, \$16,547.47 collected, of which \$11,418.18 went to beneficiaries,—students for the ministry. Walker was reelected on this excellent showing. (See Appendix E in first volume.) A detailed Plan for Centennial Offerings synchronizing 1776 and 1876, was matured, but did not materialize. A number of changes were made in the Articles of Religion. The statistics showed: itinerants, 775; unstationed ministers and preachers, 507; membership, 53,400; church edifices, 667; parsonages, 171; value of church property, \$1,767,140. Among the last resolves of the Conference was a respectful declination of the overtures from the Methodist Episcopal Church: "We deem it our bounden duty to adhere to our distinctive organization," etc. The Conference adjourned, being memorable for the fact that it was the last General Conference ever held by the brethren West and North.

The appointment of nine commissioners by the General Conference of the Methodist Church, in response to the action of the Methodist Protestant General Conference in appointing nine commissioners to confer with a "like number from any Methodist church" desiring Union, at once opened the way to negotiations. An early meeting was suggested, and after private correspondence, it was agreed between them to call an initial meeting at the First Church, Pittsburgh, Pa., October 22, 1875. In pursuance, notice was sent the Commissioners to assemble at the place and time mentioned. They were: Methodist Church: John Burns, F. H. Pierpont, J. J. Smith, P. F. Remsburg, E. A. Wheat, J. J. Gillespie, G. B. McElroy, T. J. Finch, and Alexander Clark; Methodist Protestant Church: L. W. Bates, O. Hammond, S. B.

Southerland, W. V. Chidester, B. F. Duggan, M. T. Peebles, R. H. Wills, S. Simpson, and E. F. Westfall. Those who actually attended, some as alternates and by proxy, were: Methodist Protestant: L. W. Bates, S. B. Southerland, B. F. Duggan, R. H. Wills, W. M. Betts, O. Hammond, William Vandervort; Methodist: John Burns, J. J. Smith, E. A. Wheat, Alexander Clark, G. B. McElroy, P. F. Remsburg, J. J. Gillespie, T. J. Finch, F. H. Pierpont. Interesting preliminary services were held. L. W. Bates elected Chairman, and G. B. McElroy, Secretary, and a committee on Basis of Union agreed upon as follows: S. B. Southerland, R. H. Wills, W. Vandervort, J. J. Smith, E. A. Wheat, P. F. Remsburg. After a day's deliberation, this sub-committee reported a Basis of Union, having received and considered numerous suggestions from the remaining commissioners, taken from the two Constitutions and Disciplines mutually. The full text of these changes may be found in the official paper of November 6, 1875. The salient points are: The Methodist Protestant Church to be the name of the reunited Church, the sections containing the word "white" in the old book to be stricken out, the Restrictive Rule as to itinerants to be restored under a four-year limit, and the ratio of representation to be one of each class in every thousand members. The basis was agreed to without dissent except that R. H. Wills objected to striking out the word "white." It was "Resolved that a Convention of the Methodist Protestant and Methodist Churches be held in Baltimore the second Friday in May, 1877, to consummate the whole work." After sessions running through three days this good understanding was reached, and the Commissioners adjourned on the night of the 9th of May. The adjustment was generally hailed with approbation, the criticisms and protests coming from North Carolina through W. H. Wills, John Paris, and A. H. Harris, and from Alabama through L. L. Hill. Their objections were local and technical. The Commissioners had acted so wisely upon the whole that little room was left for controversy, and the churches settled down in anticipation of the coming General Convention. The Maryland Conference, at its ensuing session, March 14, 1876, led in the call, and before the time required it was officially announced in both the Church papers that the requisite two-thirds had united in the call, and preparations were made in Baltimore to receive the respective representatives.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met in Baltimore in May, 1879, at the Academy of Music, there

being no church with capacity to receive the overgrown body. About 350 delegates were in attendance, with Bishop Janes as senior presiding officer. The Methodist fraternal messengers were represented by Dr. Alexander Clark, who delivered before the Conference an able and irenic address, while Dr. S. B. South-erland and Hon. C. W. Button represented the Methodist Protes-tant Church, and were equally happy in their deliverances. Dr. Clark was on his way to England to attend fraternally the several Methodist Conferences meeting through the summer. He was everywhere most cordially received after making plain the puzzle of his Church's name to the brethren, fulfilled his mission, and returned in improved health. The Methodist Episcopal Church Conference had embarrassing questions before it: the "color line" in their Southern inchoate Conferences, the presiding elder ques-tion, and the enlargement of the lay-delegation from about one in three to something like a respectable recognition. Very little was done, however, lay-delegation being referred to a committee of five of each order to report at the next General Conference. The writer took considerable note of the proceedings and the animus of the delegates, and embodied his thoughts at the time on the "Great Iron Wheel," and they are herewith submitted as at once excusatory of these divinely authorized brethren in their views of prerogative and providence in their Church history, and animadverte of the ecclesiastical machine and its methods, as not only then but always exhibited in such legislative gatherings.

Confessedly it has no parallel except in that remarkable monastic order founded by Ignatius Loyola. The Jesuits, or Society of Jesus, had ulterior aims never dreamed of in the philosophy of Methodist Episcopacy; but as a militant system, designed for absolute supremacy over men's minds, and a sub-ordination of all outlying interests to a great central force, the likeness is most striking. The ideal of this system is in Ezekiel's vision of a "wheel within wheels and a fire infolding itself." To make men content under the yoke of a higher estate, they must be invested with authority over the lower. And this is the philosophy of Methodist Episcopacy. Is the itinerant subject to the elder? and the elder a creature of the bishop? So must the class leader and steward and trustee be subject to the itinerant. But is there no way of preferment for the voiceless people? Oh, yes! unquestioning obedience is the way, and so the circle is com-pleted. Recently this new estate has been recognized in the old Methodisms. But it must be conceded an anomaly. It is not in

gear with a system to which it is not native. And those who were honest enough to resist its introduction on this ground were consistent. As it is, lay-delegation must go farther, and with its advance the machinery must be modified to suit the new genius of things, or it will be finally cast out as an abnormal element. A spectator at the late General Conference must have been impressed in all the proceedings with the very general and no doubt sincere disposition of the actors and speakers to glorify the machine. Has Methodism been a numerical success? The machine did it. Can the Bishop stand in the centre and touch the circumference? It is the perfection of the machine. Is heaven peopled with the redeemed of Wesley's name? All honor to the machine. Does some independent mind point out the danger of irresponsible power? The cry is, disloyalty to the machine. Does some devout heart sing, "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes"? The discord is hushed amid cries of, "Long live the machine." No one impartially examining it can fail to accord to it very great efficiency. It is a marvel of success, and, adds the admirer, "ergo, it is right and approved of God." Here issue is joined. The argument proves too much. For if success is an infallible sign of divine approval, what of the greater success of Romanism and Islamism, not to say of Mormonism? All these are typical systems, having a centralized power, and the cohesive force of a subordinating discipline. They point to British Methodism and American Non-Episcopal Methodism, and the argument made to demonstrate the inferiority of a Presbyterial form of government on the same score of success or non-success. But this will not do. The fallacy was crushed to atoms by the representative of British Methodism, Rev. Dr. Pope, before this very General Conference, when he reminded the bishops and brethren, on this very point, that American Methodism had no State religion to contend with, and no preoccupied country, as had British Methodism with a Presbyterial system. And for the Reform Church reply may be made, other things being equal, compare its success with that of the mother Church for the first twenty or forty years of its history, and the showing of success makes no argument for Episcopal Methodism.

As a militant system it must be cheerfully accorded the palm, in which the individual is nothing, and the company and the regiment and the division and the army corps, with its single-headed chief, are everything. Nor is it surprising that with the education received the itinerant juniors echo the sentiments of

their seniors, albeit not a little restless in latter days as they chafe under the self-imposed yoke. This is the inevitable result of the system. Individuality is lost in the machine; and the prizes of ambition, however laudable, are quickest won by him who soonest sinks his personality in the "Methodist Episcopal Church." Bright lights beacon her century history despite these facts, but all of them self-asserting men, who were hindered and not helped by the system. It is its genius to make men, but they must subordinate all positiveness of character and suffer themselves to be machine made. And it is confessed that great and good men have been created by it; and so of Romanism, but at what loss of a certain nobility of independent thinking you need but turn to this whilom General Conference for examples. Nothing was more patent than the policy of silence or subjection. Not that there was any special want of free thinking and bold speaking, but it was a study to mark the result upon the college of bishops, and those ambitious to be nearest the throne, and to note the occasional interruptions from the fawning creatures of the body with flings of disloyalty at the men of brave utterance upon such questions as an elective eldership and lay-delegation. Speakers felt the necessity of an apologetic style, and delivered their opinions with an ill-concealed consciousness that they faced an invisible presence of power, to be propitiated rather than provoked. There need be no denying that this fear has some wholesome uses; forsooth, it is the balance-wheel of the great machine. This is a simple limning of its salient features, and a challenge of its right to fulsome worship, and a denial that the machine is in any sense an essential of Methodism, as its admirers contend. There are not wanting those who have bent their necks to the yoke who speak patronizingly of other Methodisms,—English, Irish, American,—as out of the succession; as in some way to be pitied for having missed being a "child of providence," to use a pet phrase of the machine worshippers. Pray, was there no providence in the other Methodisms? The exclusive claim is an absurdity, and the divine element of this unexampled soul-saving organization is overslaughed and minified by the habit of super-exaltation of what is merely incidental—the accident of a human mould.¹

¹ The allegations in this paragraph are so broad that the writer believes it well to fortify them by an unimpeachable witness. In 1876 Dr. G. R. Crooks of the M. E. Church issued a biography of his lifelong friend in the same ministry, Dr. John M'Clintock, than whom few brighter lights or nobler men have appeared

The future of this machine will continue to be marked with success, numerical and material; it is networking the globe; its missionary ventures are everywhere. And the greatest danger of the ecclesiasticism is in this direction. The overweening confidence of numbers, wealth, and influence can be neutralized only by a modification of the machine. It is now working from within as well as from without. The framework of the original model is creaking. It is being seen that a "General Superintendency" is no longer practicable, and the districting of the college of bishops is called for by an imperious necessity, and with this accomplished the presiding eldership will be modified as an increasing excrescence, and a lay-delegation will win its way so as to push it aside altogether. The Church is to be congratulated, and the modifying force in the working of a liberal system in the Methodist Protestant Church can afford to be denied recognition as such a force, and bide the time of its full vindication, not of its fathers only, but of the system itself they inaugurated. The genius of the hierarchic model, however, can never be changed in its entirety, and it is not needful for practical purposes of a working Church that it should be, and liberal Methodism will ever remain so far diverse as to make successful combination impossible. So that what the Methodisms of broad America need — bating the

in its history. While yet a young man in that Church, he kept a journal, from which, under date of January 17, 1839, he made record: "There is too much *prescription* in the Methodist Church, and there is too much *proscription* for individual opinions. A man can hardly be independent with any hope of rising in the church. This state of things causes a mean, truckling spirit to grow up among the young men, which in a great degree renders them intellectual slaves to a few not very intellectual masters. . . . 'The spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind' is incompatible with this sort of mental bondage, and sooner or later the Methodist Episcopal Church will pay the penalty of this encroachment upon the absolute freedom of the individual mind, by storms and contentions, if not by her entire disorganization and dissolution unless a wiser policy be struck out." He also speaks of having raked, from the bookshelves of his father, the *Wesleyan Repository* of 1821-24, and says: "I suppose, though I am not sure of it, that the publication was very unpopular with the Methodist preachers of that time. It was too bold entirely — attributed too little infallibility to our system. The same spirit exists to this day to a considerable extent." His vaticination as to the ultimate of it in the M. E. Church, after fifty years, at this writing has not come to pass, therefore, says an advocate of the system, he was wrong in all his premises. Not so. He simply did not properly estimate the force of entrenched and entailed power — the habit of obedience to existing things. From like premises for a century, men have predicted the downfall of Romanism as a logical sequence, but instead it grows stronger all the time. Either system has thousands of admirers and adherents; and even those who are galled by the shackles cannot break away from them, so powerful are the influences it can command over men, so that himself and his biographer, despite their convictions, remained in its ministry, hoping to reform what is irreformable.

Union in Canada, a mere province in space and numbers on a liberal anti-hierarchic basis—is not Union, meaning thereby absorption of the weaker by the stronger, but, as Bishop Fitzgerald of the Church South has so aptly put it, it needs the three F's, which he interpreted as Federation, Fraternity, and Forgiveness. For this his Church is ready, and it will never probably be ready for anything else. For this the Methodist Protestant Church is ready, and it should never be ready for anything else. And dreamers who may suppose otherwise, if not warned by the failures of the past recorded in this History, and the damage wrought the Church by the tentation, will be warned, if ever officialism in it enters upon another illusive scheme of "Union," and should even succeed in arranging preliminaries, by the churches assuming their autonomy as never before, and declining to be ecclesiastically extinguished. It is an unwritten fact of the futile attempt of 1866 to unite with the Church South, that those who moved among the people in their congregational capacity could not fail to hear the undertone of protest, "If selling out is on the tapis, we propose to be at the sale." The only thing that dreamers of corporate Union with the Methodist Episcopal Church, North or South, can hope to accomplish in its last analysis will be the disintegration of the Methodist Protestant Church. It is a siren voice and should never again be heeded.

But is the plan of the three F's practicable? The writer confesses that even for it he is not hopeful. Federation would mean a mutual Council, whose object and authority should be to oversee all missionary work of the respective Methodisms at home and abroad; coöperation in the foreign field, that there may be no waste of men and means. It would mean respect for each other's autonomy, so that rival churches should no longer be erected in the same towns and villages. It would mean that the stronger organizations should help the weaker, if anything, so that Fraternity should be a reality and not a sham, a Christ-love above a church-love; and out of Federation and Fraternity would grow Forgiveness. This would demand the absolute abandonment of historical misstatements about each other. It would seem strange to some readers that Bishop Fitzgerald should have made this third F forgiveness, but any one impartially reviewing the wrongs suffered at the hands of officialism by them in 1844-50, and again in 1865-70, cannot wonder that surcease forever of all such methods of Church aggression and aggrandizement was desired.

Who that heard it—and the writer was one—the tearful, and pathetic, and honest appeal of Bishop Foster for organic Union, his remarks being intended specially for the representatives of the Church South, in the Second Ecumenical Council of Methodists in Washington, D. C., in 1891—can forget the answer, massed in a single sentence, by Dr. Hoss, editor of the *Nashville Christian Advocate* at the time, as intimating the self-imposed bar to such a Union: “Cease your manœuvring!” What did he mean? It needed no explanation to the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for it meant that the official efforts to undermine, not by direction, perhaps, but by indirection, that Church’s existence wherever possible in the Southern states; the failure to recognize its work as sufficient in given localities for gospel evangelization, and a persistent effort to occupy territory not heretofore supposed to need their attention, were all manœuvres. The Methodist Protestant Church can employ the same language: Cease your manœuvring. Recognize what the Church claims to be, and then Forgiveness will come for the misdeeds of 1827–30 and onward; and if in anything it can be made clear that forgiveness is needed to be asked, the writer at least will not be slow to do so. But the fact remains that the plan of the three F’s, in the very nature of the case, must be inaugurated by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Will it do so? Can it be importuned to do so? It is not probable; for they have nothing to gain by such a plan, and may have something to lose. An unchecked career of Church prosperity, abundant resources, and entire independence of kindred Methodisms, make it an indifferent question with them. In its whole history it has never been known to give support to any measure not purely denominational. Every interdenominational measure,—the latest the Christian Endeavor movement, though safeguarded in a principal feature of its pledge: to be loyal to the denomination of which the local society may form a part,—was by them eschewed. Not Rome itself holds more tenaciously to an exclusive fidelity to its own. It emblazons everywhere their slogan: The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America,—“In this sign conquer!”

There was so much fraternity at this General Conference that its Committee on Methodistic Union advanced a step, and the manifesto was now not so much “to receive” any proposals from other Methodisms—which of course estopped anything of the kind, though the General Conference of 1872 did not seem to be witty enough to see it. Now they expressed themselves willing

"to confer" with any such body, which made it reasonably possible; but nothing came of the advance; it was, in fact, now too late. The venerable Rev. Thomas McCormick, of the Baltimore Expelled preachers of 1827, discussing these issues in the official paper not many months before, while an ardent friend of Union under mutual concessions, clearly saw what is now more than ever manifest, that a proposition of the kind in any other form cannot be entertained, and therefore cogently said, "I think that while there is a Methodist Episcopal Church, there should also be a Methodist Protestant Church in this country." It is an interesting episode in this General Conference that this venerable minister was publicly introduced to it from the platform, by the presiding Bishop Janes, as a Methodist Protestant minister and the last surviving pall-bearer of Bishop Asbury's funeral; it was indeed a stretching of fraternal hands across a gap of nearly fifty years since his expulsion for Reform principles, and the Conference at once honored itself and Thomas McCormick.

The fathers were rapidly falling asleep, and as the years ran on they grew fewer in number. John Whetstone was born October 25, 1788, deceased August 10, 1874. He was an original Reformer of Cincinnati. He left bequests of \$11,000 to various Church interests. True as steel, and devoted as true, his memory must not perish. William Peebles, Esq., is on record June 3, 1875, aged eighty-eight years. He was an original Reformer of Tennessee and southwestern Virginia, always faithful, his last residence being some fifty miles from Abingdon, Va., yet it being the nearest new church, he deposited his membership there. He was the father of Dr. M. T. Peebles, still true to his father's Church and his own convictions. Rev. Zachariah Ragan departed this life November 27, 1875. He was born in Westmoreland County, Pa., November 27, 1804, being exactly seventy-one years of age. Converted at eighteen, he united with the old Church, and was licensed to preach in 1825, and joined the Pittsburgh Conference, having for fellow-members such staunch Reformers as Asa Shinn, George Brown, and H. B. Bascom. After serving three years, his health failed and he retired. In 1829 he united with the Ohio Conference of the new Church, and continued in the ranks until 1850, but from 1856 to 1861 was assigned to labor with J. S. Thrapp as an assistant, and others, in the Muskingum Conference. During this time he published a weekly periodical, the *True American*. He accepted the chaplaincy of the 25th Ohio Volunteers, and in 1863 was appointed Hospital

Chaplain in the regular army, and served to the close of the Civil War; and in 1868 accepted a chaplaincy in the regular army, was stationed at Fort Russell, and held the position until death. As a Reformer he was bold and fearless, and able as bold, both as speaker and writer. Physically he was of majestic bearing, tall and straight and well developed. He was a representative to General Conference and President of his Annual Conference. His death was peaceful; his last words, addressed to his wife: "It is all right, Martha, all right!"

Cornelius Springer finished his course in peace, August 17, 1875, in the eighty-fifth year of his age and the fifty-ninth of his ministry. He was born of Swedish parents, near Wilmington, Del., December 29, 1790. In 1798 he removed with his parents to Virginia, near where Wheeling now stands. Converted in 1808, he united with the old Church. He served in the War of 1812, as a lieutenant, and at its close resumed his profession of teacher, but in 1816 entered the Ohio Conference and labored for about fourteen years. He was one of the first men in the West to advocate Methodist Reform, and in 1822 became a contributor to the *Wesleyan Repository*, writing under the signature of "Cincinnatus," through the years 1822-24. The expulsion of Dennis B. Dorsey settled his convictions that a new Church was inevitable, and though reluctant to leave the old he felt himself bound in honor to stand by the expelled for opinions' sake. Therefore on the 7th of March, 1829, he withdrew from the old Church, and assisted in the organization of the Ohio Conference. He was active in forming new churches. In 1830, he was President of the Conference, and in 1831 stationed in Cincinnati, and became editor of the *Methodist Correspondent*, and conducted it as long as it was published, or for four years. In 1837 he was President of the Pittsburgh Conference, and in July, 1839, edited and published, under the patronage of the Pittsburgh and Ohio Conferences, the *Western Recorder*, which he conducted with marked ability for six years, supporting it largely out of his own funds. His eyesight failing, he relinquished the position and retired to Meadow Farm in private life. He was a member of the Convention of 1830, and of a number of the General Conferences, and for two years served in the legislature of Ohio. Physically he was of giant stature, and, like McCaine, stood above most men nearly a head and shoulders. As a preacher he was intellectually forcible, but it was as a writer and editor and supporter of the enterprises of the Church with abundant liberality that he is best known. He

was thrice married, his last wife being a daughter of Rev. Israel Thrapp. For eighteen years she watched over him with wifely care and assiduity, until he finished his course. Obsequies were by Drs. Scott and Cowl, and a memorial discourse before the Muskingum Conference by Alexander Clark. His widow, since married, Mrs. Elizabeth Springer Oliver, belongs to a family of preachers, her paternal grandfather and father and one brother, J. A. Thrapp, and an uncle, J. S. Thrap, being preachers in the Church. She has demonstrated her right to preach the gospel by fine abilities and successful work, and continues to this day in her favorite employment, a worthy successor of Mrs. Hannah Reeves as a woman preacher.

About 1875 the *Methodist Protestant Magazine* was inaugurated by President D. S. Stephens of Adrian College, a monthly of fair form and appearance, and it was continued for a series of years with J. F. Cowan as associate. The editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, after his return from fraternal visitations to the British Conferences, devoted himself with that unstinting energy characteristic of him to the publications of the brethren West, *Our Morning Guide* receiving great attention. For the International Lessons they had unofficially adopted the Berean system of the old Church, and some eleven thousand copies were circulated. A department in the *Methodist Protestant* had from 1874 been given to the lessons, with original comments furnished by Dr. Webster, Rev. H. C. Cushing, and others, and a need of this kind grew up, which was subsequently met. In May, 1876, the Commissioners, as authorized, issued the call for the Conventions of the two Churches for Baltimore, in May, 1877, and as the Conferences assembled the action was approved or disapproved and representatives elected. Mrs. Letitia, widow of John Coates, departed this life in Baltimore, August 25, 1876, and at her death his will bequeathed \$3000 to West Baltimore station, and \$3000 to its Sabbath-school to replenish the library perpetually, and \$4000 to the Superannuated Society of the Maryland Conference. The *Methodist Missionary* was published for some time at Allegheny, Pa., by T. H. Colhouer. The *Protestant* was issued from Greenville, Tenn., in the interest of the Virginia Conference, by Rev. J. G. Johnson. These were monthlies with a life of a few years each. The Publishing House of the Church South, at Nashville, Tenn., in 1876, was discovered to be in a perilous financial condition. Investigation showed that the Agent had managed its affairs loosely and speculated with its means in hope of personal advan-

tage. Appeal was made to the Church, and a considerable sum contributed to save it from menacing disaster. The clerical speculator was removed, but action against him was suppressed. Pity took the place of justice, and, as in the case of the misapplications of large sums by the Agent of the New York Book Concern of the Methodist Episcopal Church, efforts were made to condone the malfeasance and conceal the true condition of affairs. Since both occurrences the lay-element has been partially introduced as guards to better business management.¹ Nothing is more anomalous in either Church than the liberal sums contributed by the laity, running up into millions, with the jealous control of it always claimed by the ministry.

¹ The Book Committee of the M. E. Church now, and for some years past, consists of twelve members, — six ministers and six laymen, — located in different sections of the Church territorially, but meeting as a committee once a year in New York. It is one of the concessions wrung from the ministry by disaster and wisdom.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Obituaries of Reformers; Rev. A. G. Brewer and others — Preparation for the General Convention of the two Churches in Baltimore as it was now assured — Assembly of the Methodist and the Methodist Protestant Conventions May 11, 1877; roster of members in each and preliminary business; L. W. Bates, President of the latter, and J. J. Smith of the former; a committee of seven from each body jointly to formulate a basis of Union; its numerous sessions; the basis as finally presented and accepted by the two Conventions by a nearly unanimous vote in either — First day's proceedings of the united body; officers and committees; a new Constitution and Discipline agreed to; Book Concerns and Church papers left undisturbed until the ensuing General Conference, called for May, 1880, at Pittsburgh, Pa.; unwritten history of the hymn-book question in detail; Pastoral Address; representatives to the Ecumenical Conference of Methodists in London, 1881, appointed; day of thanksgiving; photograph of the entire body; statistics of the reunited Church.

REV. AMON RICHARDS, a local minister of Maryland, and an early Reformer, deceased July 13, 1876. He had been made an honorary member of the Annual Conference in recognition of his services and fidelity to Reform. He was in his eighty-ninth year. Rev. David Crall, deceased September 12, 1876, born February 5, 1798. He was an original Reformer and united with the Maryland Conference at its first session, in April, 1829. He afterward removed to Ohio, where he served the Church, and departed this life. John Long of Pleasant Valley, Carroll County, O., deceased October 17, 1876, in his eighty-first year. He was an original Reformer and worthy of this mention. Peter M. Pierson of Washington, D. C., an original Reformer and exemplary Christian, departed this life April 23, 1877, in his eighty-second year. Rev. D. E. Reese, the last of the four Reese brothers of the Maryland Conference, deceased April 23, 1877, aged sixty-six years. He was identified with it from the beginning and honored as its President, as well as of General Conferences and Conventions of the Church as a member. (See Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 108-113.) Rev. A. G. Brewer, April 23, 1877. He was born in Monmouth County, N. J., December 5, 1795, of Quaker parents. He was converted in his twenty-first year, and was remarkably successful in winning his quondam Friends to an

experiential knowledge of Christ. He joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, and, in connection with the wonderful revivalist, Charles Pitman, had an evangelistic bout with an infidel military company, who fired their cannon and discharged fusillades of musketry while these brethren held divine service; but the grace of God conquered. He was of an inquiring mind and independent views, so that the arbitrary proceedings of the bishops in 1820 so disgusted him that he withdrew and, in 1821, united with the Stillwell "Methodist Society" of New York. His history has already been anticipated down to his active participation in Reform in Georgia from 1827. He was a member of the Convention of 1830, organized the church in Charleston, S. C., and the South Carolina Conference, in December, 1839. He taught school for his support when other resources failed, and about this time he was offered a salary of \$2000 if he would continue Principal of the Academy at Mechanicsville, S. C.; but having relieved himself of debt, with the heroism of so many of the early Reform ministers, he declined the tempting offer and took to the ill-compensated labors of an itinerant missionary in Georgia. With Elisha Lott, he was the Apostle of Non-Episcopal Methodism in the South, incessantly active, counting no sacrifice too great for the cause he loved. His connection with the *Southern Olive Tree*, for a number of years the local paper of Georgia and Alabama, as editor and publisher, gained him his financial ruin. He served as chaplain in the Confederate army, and, at the close of the war, in his seventieth year, he found himself broken in health. He departed this life at the residence of his son, Rev. G. E. Brewer, in Alabama, peacefully. All honor to his memory.

December 20, 1876, official announcement was made, through the *Methodist Protestant*, Baltimore, that twenty Annual Conferences of the Methodist Protestant Church had voted affirmatively in calling a Convention, and four in the negative, to wit: North Carolina, by a vote of twenty-nine to twenty-six, Colorado (Texas), Mississippi, and North Mississippi. All of them, however, elected representatives. In North Carolina the situation was complicated by the presence among them of a mongrel Western and Eastern Conference of the "Methodist" Church, both small in numbers and smaller in local influence. The North Carolina Conference refused to go into the Union unless control of these factious bodies was given to them as to which of their number should be recognized by them, while these "Conferences" demanded equal terms and privileges. The disposition of the

matter has already been recited earlier in this History — it does not deserve further mention. There were, also, other causes of opposition in North Carolina to the proposed Union. About the same time it had been announced, through the *Methodist Recorder* of Pittsburgh, that all the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church, twenty-one in number, had agreed to the call, — several of their Conferences having been merged, and twenty-two of them having elected representatives on the basis of union. Arrangements were matured for the entertainment of the two Conventions in Baltimore, and, as the numbers aggregated several hundred, a considerable sum of money was raised for boarding facilities, when private hospitality in the churches failed to provide for the representatives. It was satisfactorily accomplished, after great labor, by the Committee, the West Baltimore church, Greene and Lombard streets, being assigned the Methodist Convention, and the brethren, as far as possible, massed in that end of the city; and the East Baltimore church, corner of Fayette and Aisquith streets, being assigned the Methodist Protestant Convention, and the brethren, as far as possible, massed in that end of the city. Expectation was high, and forebodings, if any, were kept in abeyance.

Pursuant to the call already noticed, the General Convention of the Methodist Church met in the West Baltimore church, Friday, May 11, 1877, at 10 A.M. It was called to order by Rev. John Burns, Chairman of the Union Commissioners, and he was chosen President *pro tem.*, after religious services by Rev. Dr. J. J. Smith, and G. B. McElroy, Secretary. The following representatives were declared elected:—

OREGON MISSION	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
W. F. West ¹	
MINNESOTA	
L. A. Bliss ¹	W. G. Reed ¹
WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA	
W. M. Kerr ¹	W. H. Bradley ¹
EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA	
Ike J. York ¹	A. E. Holton ¹
NEBRASKA	
E. T. Hudson	Wm. McKenney ¹
¹ Absent.	

<i>Ministers</i>	GENESEE	<i>Laymen</i>
E. A. Wheat		Martin Webster ¹
	NORTH MISSOURI	
G. Williams		J. W. Antrim ¹
	NEW YORK	
J. J. Smith		Calvin Tompkins ¹
Mark Staples		B. F. Swingle
	KANSAS	
D. Young ¹		J. Rinehart ¹
S. Clark ¹		J. S. Mitchell ¹
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
Richard Wright ¹		John Puleston
A. L. Reynolds		C. Link
	MISSOURI	
T. J. Sheppard		J. W. Bush ¹
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
P. J. Strong		P. F. Remsburg
J. M. Mayall		A. Borton ¹
	MICHIGAN	
G. B. McElroy		H. O. Sternberg ¹
J. F. Kellogg		L. Morrell ¹
	ONONDAGA	
N. R. Swift		P. Weaver
J. H. Hogan		B. G. Swift
	NEW JERSEY	
T. B. Appleget		R. H. Turner
E. B. Stultz		J. A. Scheible
	WEST MICHIGAN	
J. Kost		T. Gilkes
F. H. Chase ¹		E. Williams
	IOWA	
E. S. Brown		W. Workman ¹
J. Selby		J. N. Shedenhelm
W. Remsburg		T. Weidman
W. Huddleston		S. Russell ¹

¹ Absent.

OHIO

Ministers

R. Rose
A. H. Bassett
C. S. Evans
W. R. Parsons
J. J. White

Laymen

G. W. Kent
T. J. Finch
G. B. Hamilton
T. Douglass
D. Dunbar

INDIANA

H. Stackhouse
T. E. Lancaster
J. H. Luse
S. H. Flood
S. M. Lowden

J. J. Amos¹
P. W. Patterson¹
D. V. Buskirk¹
N. H. Jones¹
A. D. Whitford

PITTSBURGH

H. Palmer
John Scott
Wm. Collier
A. Clark
T. H. Colhouer
G. G. Westfall
P. T. Laishley

F. H. Pierpont
W. J. Troth
J. I. Robinson
F. H. Collier¹
S. J. Fox
A. Harper
G. W. Pogue

MUSKINGUM

John Burns
D. Trueman
J. A. Thrapp
W. Hastings
O. V. W. Chandler
Joel S. Thrapp
G. W. Hissey
J. H. Hamilton
F. A. Brown

H. E. H. Hartsock
William Gray
J. H. Carr
V. J. Powelson
W. R. Peters¹
John W. Scott
James Brown
William Porter
Ragan Scott

KENTUCKY

John Riggs¹
F. G. Tyree¹

E. H. Cox¹
L. F. Tyree¹

Thirty-three were absent out of one hundred and eleven, showing seventy-eight present.

A committee of one from each Annual Conference was appointed to nominate permanent officers. Also a committee on the action of the several Annual Conferences as to the call for this Convention. A number of brethren were invited to honorary seats. Afternoon session held at 3 o'clock. The committee to nominate permanent officers reported: J. J. Smith for President,

¹ Absent.

G. B. McElroy, Secretary, and W. H. Jordan and C. S. Evans, assistants. It was adopted. The committee on action of the Annual Conferences reported, rehearsing the steps preliminary to the Convention, and that it was "invested with full conventional powers for the purpose of effecting the Union of the Methodist and the Methodist Protestant Churches, on the Basis as published, and to complete the same." It was agreed that the order for the next day should be to consider the Basis of Union. Adjourned.

Pursuant to the call already noticed, the General Convention of the Methodist Protestant Church convened at East Baltimore station on Friday, May 11, 1877, at 10 A.M., and was organized by calling Hon. B. S. Bibb to the chair, and appointing M. L. Barnett and R. H. Wills, Secretaries. The following representatives were declared elected:—

PENNSYLVANIA

Ministers
J. K. Helmbold

Laymen
John Fern¹

MARYLAND

L. W. Bates
J. K. Nichols
J. J. Murray
S. B. Southerland
David Wilson
T. D. Valliant
R. S. Norris
J. T. Murray
D. W. Bates
W. S. Hammond
E. J. Drinkhouse
B. F. Benson

J. W. Hering
C. W. Button
O. Hammond
J. W. Thompson
J. G. Clark
H. F. Zollickoffer
W. B. Usilton
R. S. Griffith
Gaven Spence
S. S. Ewell
John Smith
E. B. Bates

VIRGINIA

G. R. Barr
M. J. Langhorne¹
J. G. Johnson¹

W. E. Jones
R. S. Lane¹
M. T. Peebles¹

WEST VIRGINIA

George Nestor
W. M. Betts
O. Lowther
H. P. F. King
J. J. Mason

J. Morris
J. H. Curry
P. Donly
W. Vandervort
W. Mearns

¹ Absent.

WEST VIRGINIA (*continued*)

Ministers

M. L. Barnett
G. W. Barrett
E. J. Wilson
B. Stout

Laymen

C. P. Hudson
W. J. Lowther¹
D. Bassel
R. Maxwell¹

NORTH CAROLINA

W. H. Wills
John Paris
J. G. Whitfield
T. H. Pegram
J. H. Gilbreath
A. W. Lineberry
J. L. Michaux
R. H. Wills
G. E. Hunt

L. W. Batchelor
J. M. Hadley
J. F. Harris
S. V. Pickens
J. C. Roberts
J. E. Hunter
F. H. Whitaker
J. A. Gray¹
S. S. Norman¹

SOUTH CAROLINA

C. McSmith¹

L. Yarborough¹

GEORGIA

F. H. M. Henderson
E. Morris¹

W. D. Mitchell
C. L. Bowie¹

ALABAMA

L. L. Hill¹
A. G. Grove¹

B. S. Bibb
W. G. Little¹

MISSISSIPPI

E. Red¹

Wesley B. Hance¹

NORTH MISSISSIPPI

L. J. Hubbard¹

TENNESSEE

B. F. Duggan

Wm. Collins

WEST TENNESSEE

J. J. Smith¹

S. O. Hooper

NORTH ARKANSAS

T. Leach¹

W. Irvin¹

ARKANSAS AND LOUISIANA

J. M. P. Hickerson
J. W. Harper¹

G. M. Adamson
W. F. Wallace¹

¹ Absent.

TEXAS	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. S. York	James Morris ¹
COLORADO (Texas)	
E. M. Owen ¹	J. J. Mabry ¹
MCCAINE (Texas)	
G. P. Miller ¹	N. G. Ferguson ¹
ILLINOIS AND DES MOINES	
J. E. Darby	N. Davis ¹
SOUTH ILLINOIS	
E. C. G. Nickens ¹	Samuel Dowdy ¹
INDIANA	
G. W. Boxell	W. A. Quick

Thirty-two were absent out of one hundred and three, showing seventy-one present.

The Convention proceeded to elect permanent officers, resulting in L. W. Bates, President, and M. L. Barnett and R. H. Wills, Secretaries. After routine business and notification to the Methodist Convention of its hours of meeting, the Convention adjourned.

Methodist Convention, second day, May 12. The order of the day postponed, and a committee of conference ordered to confer with a like committee of the Methodist Protestant Convention on the Basis of Union; four ministers and three laymen. The following were elected: S. M. Lowden, J. Burns, G. G. Westfall, E. A. Wheat, T. J. Finch, P. F. Remsburg, and A. Harper. Notice was given to the other Convention with a request that a similar committee be appointed. The venerable Rev. Thomas McCormick and Rev. Dr. Augustus Webster were introduced, and, after historical allusions by A. H. Bassett, they addressed the Convention in interesting and feeling remarks. At the afternoon session W. R. Parsons presided, in the absence of the President. A communication from the Methodist Protestant Convention announced that a committee of seven for conference had been appointed by it. The Convention adjourned. In the Methodist Protestant Convention, second day, May 12, S. B. Southerland, of the Joint Commission on Basis of Union, reported its action,

¹ Absent.

and the call of this Convention to consummate the Union. A committee of conference was appointed, consisting of J. K. Nichols, H. F. Zollickoffer, B. S. Bibb, W. H. Wills, J. M. P. Hickerson, G. R. Barr, and W. Mearns. The Convention adjourned.

Methodist Convention, third day, May 14. A verbal report of the Committee of Conference was made by J. H. Hamilton. Afternoon session, a communication from the General Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in relation to an Ecumenical Conference of Methodists, was received and referred to a committee. Resolutions of thanks were passed for the welcome and hospitality received in Baltimore. The Convention adjourned. Methodist Protestant Convention, third day, May 14, the report of the Commissioners on Union was referred to the Committee of Conference, and a paper by J. T. Murray defined that the Convention had power over the Constitution upon the Basis of Union. Afternoon session, official announcement of the Convention of 1877 was made by E. J. Drinkhouse, showing that twenty Conferences had voted for, and four against, a Convention; but all had elected representatives. The Convention adjourned.

The Methodist Convention, fourth day, May 15, resolutions were passed commending Bassett's "History of the Church," and requesting its publication. Afternoon session, the proposal of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for an Ecumenical Conference of Methodists was approved, and a committee appointed to carry out the purpose. Afternoon session, the Committee of Conference, consisting of seven members from each Convention, made their report as follows:—

To the General Convention of the Methodist Church, in the City of Baltimore assembled:—

We, the Joint Committee of Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church and of the Methodist Church, would most respectfully submit the following report as the result of our deliberations:—

Resolved 1. That the Basis of Union agreed upon by the Joint Commission of the Methodist Protestant and Methodist Churches, at Pittsburgh, Pa., be adopted, and that we interpret that Basis of Union on the condition of receiving members into the Church to be substantially the same as is now in the *New Edition* of the Methodist Book of Discipline—the third item, relative to children, having been inadvertently omitted in the published Basis of Union.

Resolved 2. That the matter of suffrage and eligibility to office be left to the Annual Conferences respectively, — *Provided.* That each Annual Confer-

ence shall be entitled to representation on the same ratio, in the General Conference: *And provided*, That no rule shall be passed which shall infringe the right of suffrage or eligibility to office.

Resolved 3. That this Joint Committee of Conference recommend to the General Convention of the Methodist Protestant Church, and to the General Convention of the Methodist Church, now in session, the immediate Organic Union of the Methodist Protestant and Methodist Churches — upon the Basis of Union set forth in this report.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN BURNS, *Chairman*.

J. M. P. HICKERSON, *Secretary*.

W. H. WILLS,	G. R. BARR,
B. S. BIBB,	T. J. FINCH,
E. A. WHEAT,	J. K. NICHOLS,
P. F. REMSBURG,	G. G. WESTFALL,
W. MEARNS,	A. HARPER,
H. F. ZOLLIKOFFER,	S. M. LOWDEN.

BALTIMORE, MD., May 15, 1877.

It was signed by all the members of the Joint Committee, but S. M. Lowden dissented to the item on suffrage, and W. H. Wills reserved for North Carolina the right to change position if the Joint Convention made no provision for the protection of its Conference against the brethren claiming to be organized as "Methodist" Conferences within the territory. The report was adopted with unanimity, and G. G. Westfall was designated to inform the Methodist Protestant Convention of their action. The Methodist Protestant Convention, fourth day, May 15, E. J. Drinkhouse presented a communication from the Methodist Episcopal Church, proposing an Ecumenical Conference of Methodists. It was referred to a special committee, to be hereafter appointed. Afternoon session, J. K. Nichols presented the report of the Committee of Conference, which was read and adopted by items, pending which the messenger from the Methodist Convention arrived and announced that they had agreed to the report of the Joint Committee. The Convention adjourned with the doxology, and the benediction by G. G. Westfall.

The Methodist Convention, fifth day, May 16, T. B. Appleget offered a resolution that the Convention is ready to meet our brethren of the Methodist Protestant Church in General Convention on the basis and plan agreed to, etc. It was deferred until the action of the Methodist Protestant Convention could be ascertained. Afternoon session, the following paper was adopted, as offered by J. S. Thrap: "That in the consummation of the union of the Methodist and Methodist Protestant Churches, the bodies,

which are parties thereto, take with them all of the boards, institutions, and property belonging to the General Conferences represented in the two Conventions now assembled, or in the Joint Convention. That this Convention appoint a committee of three persons to inquire into, and make provision for, any alteration that may be deemed necessary or important to make conformity and uniformity in all of the titles of property and boards to the new conditions and relations thus assumed." A paper, offered by John Scott and signed by S. M. Lowden, A. Clark, E. A. Wheat, and A. H. Bassett, "was adopted by an *informal* vote," defining their understanding of the meaning of the article on suffrage as adopted from the Committee of Conference. H. F. Zollickoffer, messenger from the Methodist Protestant Convention, announced that the Convention had agreed to the report of the Committee of Conference. The report of the Joint Committee on programme of Formal Union was read, and T. B. Appleget named as Marshal. The Convention adjourned *sine die*.

The Methodist Protestant Convention, fifth day, May 16, the report of the Committee of Conference was further considered, and adopted by a yea and nay vote, sixty yeas and five nays, the latter all from North Carolina delegation. It was resolved that when the Convention adjourns it shall be to meet at Starr church, in accordance with the programme of the Joint Committee of arrangements. Afternoon session was convened in Starr church, and the programme of arrangements was read and approved. J. T. Murray was appointed Marshal. It should be read between the lines of these five days of deliberation of either Convention, as recorded so pacific and irenic, that the contention was earnest and serious over the matter of suffrage in the reorganized Church. The Committee of Conference held numerous futile meetings, and at one period agreement seemed impossible. An incident will illustrate. The writer had for guests John Burns, Alexander Clark, S. H. Flood of the West, and J. L. Michaux, of the South. Those from the West, returning to luncheon at noon of the fourth day, gravely announced that the Committee of Conference could not agree, and a failure seemed to impend. The writer said to the brethren: "Well, if that be the fact, there seems nothing for the brethren of the Methodist Church but to return home; but our Convention will remain in session. It will strike out the word "white" and so readjust our Constitution and Discipline as to leave you logically without excuse for a separate existence."

Happily, when the brethren returned in the evening, it was to announce, joyfully, that the Committee had agreed and Union was assured.

The Methodist Protestant Convention about 4.30 p.m. of the fifth day marched to the corner of Lombard and Fremont streets, about half-way to the Methodist Convention at Green and Lombard streets, who marched to the same junction. Then two by two, under the direction of the marshals, they joined, one from either Convention, and so proceeded to the Starr church, a united body. The spectacle attracted much attention from the citizens, as well it might. The two Conventions had been noticed in all the secular papers of the country, even the large New York dailies giving up space to them, while the family of *Christian Advocates*, North and South, not wont to advertise anything Methodist Protestant, sent felicitations, so that the Church came into notice as never before in its history, and to its manifest advantage. It was the first formal reunion of dissevered ecclesiasticisms since the Civil War, and once more the country recognized a Continental Methodism, knowing no North, no South, no East, no West, sectionally.

GENERAL CONVENTION

The first day's proceedings cannot be better expressed than in the official minutes prepared by the secretaries at the time. "In accordance with the Plan of Union agreed to by the Conventions of the Methodist Protestant and Methodist Churches, at Baltimore, Md., May 15 and 16, 1877, the representatives of the two Churches assembled in Joint Convention at Starr Methodist Protestant church, Baltimore, Md., May 16, 1877, at 4.45 p.m., for the purpose of consummating the Union of the Churches represented.

"The Joint Convention was called to order by Rev. L. W. Bates, D.D., President of the Methodist Protestant Convention.

"Rev. J. J. Smith, D.D., President of the Methodist Convention, then addressed the assembly. He said:—

"Brethren, I rejoice to see this day. For years I have longed for it, and yet often felt it was but hoping against hope. I recognize in it the result of the many earnest prayers that have gone up from every quarter of the land. Many thousands of hearts shall rejoice when the tidings come of this great consummation. The scene reminds me of that which transpired in the upper chamber at Jerusalem when all the disciples were with one accord, in one place, and the Holy Ghost fell on them all. It is the work of the Gospel to

unify, to break down barriers of separation, and bind the good in brotherhood. From this time onward our influence shall be wider and deeper. The time is not far distant when all the denominations shall see more nearly eye to eye, and become one army to face successfully every form of opposition and march on to the conquest of the world for Christ. Let us determine that our resolution to work for Christ and humanity shall now be intensified. We may have diversities of opinion, and yet, as in the natural world, with diversity there may still be unity—unity of heart and unity of work. This day's work will swell the great wave of unification that rolls on to conquer the world."

"Dr. L. W. Bates then addressed the Convention. He said:—

"Twenty-three years have passed since the Churches here represented have been represented in the same body. The universal Church and world will recognize our action as the accomplishment of a great, noble, and glorious purpose. We have done what it is exceedingly difficult for men, or any form of organization, to do. But it was not difficult for us, because in our separation there was less crimination and bitterness of feeling than ever attended a like severance of relations. Still retaining the old respect, and confidence, and love toward each other, we found it easy to blend. It was also easy for us, because we represent the sentiment of the people who compose our Churches. They speak to-day. We are the echo of the voice of the united Church we represent. Our separation has proven this fact—divided we were too strong to fall, and now united we must do more than stand. The basis of union is not entirely acceptable to any of us. No measure of compromise ever was. We had to reach the point by mutual concessions. So long as we maintain that disposition and follow that policy we have nothing to fear; nothing can break our harmony. We should now be a stronger, and holier, and more successful Church. As it was our mission to take the initiative in establishing the doctrine of lay-representation among Methodists, so to-day in reuniting our several members, we take the initiative in the glorious work of unification among such Churches of the land. They have followed us in that, may they also imitate us in this. I now pronounce this the General Convention of the Methodist Protestant Church. I call upon you to arise and sing, 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow.'

"The scene that ensued beggars description. As the great assembly arose, and the triumphant measures of the old doxology rolled through the sanctuary, every eye was dim with tears, and every form trembled with unutterable emotion. 'The place where they were was shaken, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost.' Business was suspended, and speeches, brief, earnest, joyful, impressively eloquent, filled up more than an hour. Alexander Clark of Pittsburgh; Dr. Southerland of Maryland; Dr. Batchelor of North Carolina; Walker of Michigan; the venerable Father Williams of Missouri; Duggan of Tennessee; Colhouer of Pittsburgh; Hickerson of Louisiana; Hon. C. W.

Button of Virginia; Flood of Indiana; John Smith of Maryland; ex-Governor Pierpont of West Virginia, and others, spoke, while fervent responses and joyful exclamations broke out on every side. The climax was reached when William H. Wills, D.D., of North Carolina said 'that he had been opposed to the union; but now the union is consummated he pledged himself before God and his brethren to do nothing that shall mar the peace and prosperity of the union.' He turned to the Convention, and said, 'Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee, for whither thou goest I will go, and where thou lodgest I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God; where thou diest will I die, and there shall I be buried.'

"At this moment, Dr. Scott of Pittsburgh, the extremist of the other side, crossed the chancel, and, suddenly, the two men were folded in each other's arms. The example was contagious; Whitfield of North Carolina shook hands with Smith of New York across the altar rail; on all sides hands were grasped, and men were in each other's embrace. And the sound of song was not hushed, nor the holy communion of brethren broken up, till the shadows of evening fell upon the earth. So closed this most memorable day in the history of the Methodist Protestant Church."

The doxology was sung by two hundred voices, as never before by these brethren; and the General Convention adjourned, with the benediction by J. J. Smith.

On the second day permanent officers were elected by ballot, resulting in the selection of L. W. Bates for President, J. J. Smith, Vice-President, and G. B. McElroy and R. H. Wills, Secretaries. In the afternoon session, and subsequently, the President announced the Standing Committees:

Revision: John Burns, S. B. Southerland, H. Stackhouse, E. J. Drinkhouse, F. H. Pierpont, G. W. Kent, B. S. Bibb, and W. Vandervort; Boundaries: G. R. Barr, W. H. Wills, S. H. Flood, G. W. Boxell, F. H. Pierpont, J. Curry, S. V. Pickens, and E. D. Stultz; Periodicals: J. Scott, A. H. Bassett, and J. F. Harris; Colleges: J. S. Thrap, N. R. Swift, and P. Donly; Missions: R. Rose, B. F. Benson, and T. J. Finch; Ritual: J. T. Murray, C. S. Evans, and J. W. Scott; Hymn Book: A. Clark, D. W. Bates, and P. Remsburg; Means of Grace: J. H. Hamilton, T. D. Valiant, and O. Hammond; Sunday-Schools: R. S. Norris, E. S. Brown, and L. W. Batchelor; Ministerial Education: D. Wilson, A. Harper, and W. R. Parsons; Greet-

ings to his Excellency the President of the United States: A. Clark, William Gray, J. M. P. Hickerson, B. S. Bibb, and W. S. Hammond; Ecumenical Conference of Methodism: J. J. Murray, B. F. Duggan, J. W. Hering, John Scott, J. S. Thrap, J. F. Kellogg, T. Douglass, and O. Lowther; Church Extension: C. S. Evans, F. H. M. Henderson, E. Williams; Blank for Statistics: B. F. Duggan, G. G. Westfall, W. D. Mitchell; Historical Preface: P. J. Strong, J. G. Whitfield, A. H. Bassett, E. B. Bates, H. F. Zollickoffer; Pastoral Address: J. Kost, J. J. White, T. H. Colhouer, T. B. Appleget, J. K. Nichols, J. C. Roberts, J. W. Hering.

The President of the United States having indicated, by letter to a member of the Conference, that he would be pleased to receive a delegation from the body, the foregoing committee was appointed accordingly, who performed the duty and brought the body the congratulations of the President on the accomplished Union. The third day, and every day with frequency thereafter, the Committee on Revision reported sections of the new Constitution and Discipline. Their voluminous work need not be recorded in detail, as the revised Book shows what portions of the Methodist Protestant and what portions of the Methodist Book were incorporated. An investigation will evince that the Methodist Protestant Book was substantially adopted, with the additions of the new and successful Boards of Ministerial Education, Foreign Missions, and Church Extension, which had been organized in the Methodist Church. There was much unanimity in the Revision Committee and on the part of the Convention in this important proceeding. The Committee on an Ecumenical Methodist Conference reported favorably, and advised the appointment of a Committee of Correspondence, and of four ministers and four laymen to represent the Church in it. The Fraternal Messenger from the Methodist Episcopal Church, Rev. Dr. Alexander Gibson, was introduced, and addressed the body, with a response from the President. The Committee on Periodicals reported that it would be "injudicious to interfere with the existing arrangements for the publication of our Church papers; and that the present editors and publishers be retained and the matter of readjustment referred to the ensuing General Conference." The Committee on Colleges reported giving in detail the facts as to Yadkin in North Carolina, Adrian in Michigan, and Western Maryland in Maryland. The Catechisms of the Methodist Protestant Church were adopted. The Committee on Hymn

Book reported that the existing books be used until another shall be authorized by the Church, and that the Committee be empowered to correspond with other committees of the Methodist family to secure uniformity in the service of praise, and report to the next General Conference.

It is a part of the unwritten history of this action, that the Chairman, Alexander Clark, in the writer's presence and after consultation with him, wrote to Bishop Simpson of the Methodist Episcopal Church, while the Convention was yet in session, inquiring if their new book could not be made to recognize the Church by the introduction of a few original hymns, in view of the adoption by the Churches of a general hymnal. He answered courteously, that the committee on revision of their new book had finally adjourned, but he would be pleased to further the common use of their book in any way possible. Dr. Clark and the writer both construed this answer to mean that no recognition could be given the Church by the insertion of any of the original hymns found in its two books; and the matter was dropped. Dr. Clark did not live to the ensuing General Conference, and hence no report of these facts was made by him. The proposition to adopt their book was, however, pressed by another member of the committee, A. H. Bassett, and as earnestly opposed by the writer, who furnished the Conference these facts, with the result that a large and able committee was appointed to compile or adopt a new hymn book for the Church. Investigation showed how stupendous was the undertaking. After much futile labor, they adopted the hymn book of Dr. Eben Tourgée, which had been prepared by him for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was so popular and largely introduced that their ensuing General Conference was prompted to make preparations for their present book, and thus Tourgée's was gradually superseded. It was revised by the Committee, and a number of original hymns introduced, making it, substantially, what was needed. It has been used for the past twenty years, with the usual result of sporadic dissatisfaction; as in the matter of church hymn books the destructive critics are much more numerous than the constructive ones. It was pointed out by the brethren of the East and South that their sectional prejudice was against the adoption of a Northern book.

The writer has recently, under a revival of the agitation that something was lost by the rejection of the new Methodist Episcopal Church book, made a critical examination of this hymnal.

It consists of 1117 hymns, with or without music, and in various convenient forms. It must be admitted that, as an anthology of sacred song, it is unequalled by any collection in existence. It cost the competent committee the labor of four years, and its whole expense, from beginning to end, is reputed at \$25,000. It is evident that the committee had before them, for reference and selection, all the collections of every denomination, from the Sarum breviary downward, and for nearly all there is some recognition. But you look in vain for any Methodist Protestant hymn, as such. Either the committee strangely overlooked the two books then in use, or, if before them, found nothing to approve in the splendid lyrics of Stockton, the admirable hymns of Clark, Scott, Cox, Varden, and others. Almost everything ever written before and since the Luther reformation is here, but the exception named. Charity says it may have been purely accidental, but the fact remains. Two-thirds of these hymns are never sung, either in their public congregations or social meetings; and it has come in for a larger share of criticism than Dr. Tourgée's book, as adopted, and with more cogent reasons. As an anthology it is crowned a success; as a singable, every-day hymnal, it is declared, by not a few of their critical people, a failure; and already the destructive critics, who never have constructive ability themselves, are clamoring for a new book. It is noteworthy, also, that at the Ecumenical Conference of 1881, in London, and that of 1891, in Washington, earnest efforts were made to secure a concentrated movement for a universal Methodist hymn book, as the first and only practical step toward unification; but nothing came of it. The Methodist Episcopal Church, with its overshadowing wealth and numbers, made no sign, though it was plain that initial action had to come from them. And yet their reticence spoke, and it said: Here is our book; adopt it. There might have been an immense pecuniary saving to all the Methodisms, if either of these Conferences had appointed and empowered a committee, the Methodist Episcopal Church leading in a generous concession, to compile a book, which should bear the imprint of all the followers of Wesley the world over. It was not done, and it is easy to place the responsibility. It remains, at this writing, to see what the ensuing General Conference will do with the hymn-book question. It is to be hoped, at least, that the destructives will not have their way in a blind foray.

The Committee on Pastoral Address made their report, which

was adopted (pp. 45, 46, of the Minutes). The Committee on Nomination of Delegates to the Ecumenical Conference, etc., reported: Committee of Correspondence, E. J. Drinkhouse, Alexander Clark, W. J. C. Dulany, and J. J. Gillespie; Representatives: G. B. McElroy, S. B. Southerland, J. M. P. Hickerson, J. Burns, B. S. Bibb, P. F. Remsburg, C. W. Button, T. J. Finch. The Committee of Correspondence was added to the number. E. J. Drinkhouse, on behalf of the Baltimore Directory, suggested that the Convention of Conferences on its publishing interests by the church law should meet at the General Conference, which had been superseded by this Convention. The Directory was ready to report to such Convention of Conferences, if a call was made. No demand being made, it was referred to the ensuing General Conference. Fraternal messengers were appointed to the English Methodists, the Methodist Episcopal, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The next General Conference was set for Pittsburgh. A. H. Bassett and E. J. Drinkhouse were made a Committee on Statistics, to report their work in the printed Minutes. A proper celebration by the Annual Conferences of the semi-centennial of the Church, in 1878, was recommended. A new Constitution for the Board of Foreign Missions was submitted and approved. (See Appendix H, in first volume.) Ministerial Education through the Theological Schools at Adrian and Westminster was approved. A new Constitution for the Board of Church Extension was submitted and approved. A day of thanksgiving was ordered for the "providential guidance which has resulted in the now happily consummated Union," etc. The General Conference adjourned, at 11.40 p.m. of the seventh day, May 23, 1877, by singing the doxology, and the benediction pronounced by G. B. McElroy.

The Committee of Statistics made the following report, very imperfect, and as to Sabbath-schools omitted entirely in the Methodist minutes, and very defective in the Methodist Protestant, chiefly for the reason that the system of "Union" schools prevailed over the South, and these are not denominationally reported. The tables are added.¹

¹ Some dissatisfaction was expressed with the brevity of the Minutes of the Conventions as printed. Those who wish to consult the proceedings in full will find them in the *Methodist Protestant* of even dates. The debates and addresses are given with detailed accuracy and fulness as furnished from the original Minutes of the secretaries and the editor's notes.

An incident of the General Convention was the photograph group of all the members, to the number of 146, which was secured through the enterprise of the pastor of West Baltimore station, Rev. J. M. Holmes. A framed copy now hangs on the study wall of the writer, and as he looks into these faces he is struck with the heavy percentage of those who no longer respond to the greetings of their earthly friends. Soon the entire body will be a memory to the Church.

The returned brethren everywhere sounded a key-note, and the reunited Church, for the next score of years, entered upon a tide of prosperity unexcelled in the history of denominations.

STATISTICS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH—MAY, 1877.

ANNUAL CONFERENCES	Itinerant Minist'rs and Preachers	Unstationed Minist'rs and Preachers	Members	Probationers	Churches	Parsonages	Value of Church Property
New York	28	9	2,711	149	31	8	\$169,000
New Jersey	21	35	1,841	280	30	6	93,850
Onondaga	54	37	1,984	132	23	16	71,150
Genesee	17	1	765	....	7	6	26,900
Pittsburgh	51	51	7,088	....	88	21	371,000
Muskingum	64	57	9,506	73	130	8	161,157
Ohio	47	55	5,604	285	93	21	166,275
Michigan	51	42	2,212	217	18	22	53,340
West Michigan	53	20	1,842	81	15	9	29,150
Indiana	47	45	4,835	268	63	7	66,200
N. Illinois and Wisconsin	44	46	3,140	....	60	16	152,000
South Illinois	24	5	1,889	159	31	4	25,000
Iowa	57	67	3,607	280	34	18	69,500
Minnesota	21	3	300	....	1	....	15,000
Nebraska	8	8	339	39	1	1	500
Kansas	37	32	1,542	....	1	1	1,440
Oregon	7	4	100	....	2	1	5,000
Missouri	35	45	1,855	24	12	3	6,570
North Missouri	35	25	1,309	42	8	1	7,000
Tennessee	6	....	230	....	1	....	300
Kentucky	18	3	1,795	....	....	....	.....
E. North Carolina	15	5	519	15	11	....	1,800
W. North Carolina	18	7	987	28	14	....	2,215
Totals	758	605	56,000	2,072	674	169	\$1,494,347

A. H. BASSETT, } Committee
E. J. DRINKHOUSE, } on Statistics.

STATISTICS OF THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH— MAY, 1877.

ANNUAL CONFERENCES	Itinerant Minist'rs and Preachers	Unstated Minist'rs and Preachers	Members	Probationers	Churches	Parsonages	Sunday School Scholars	Value of Church Property
Maryland	110	53	12,383	1,019	204	44	12,447	\$785,265
Virginia	28	18	3,300	....	33	..	600	27,000
West Virginia . . .	43	16	9,480	....	93	13	4,220	69,550
North Carolina . . .	45	59	9,300	....	85	13	3,567	74,750
Georgia	30	6	2,462	....	42	..	1,152	15,899
Ark. and Louisiana	32	21	2,645	....	20	..	....	22,900
Texas	35	15	1,700	....	15	..	....	2,500
North Mississippi . .	18	10	1,300	....	15	..	....	3,000
North Arkansas . . .	31	18	1,800	....	20	..	....	5,000
Alabama	35	15	2,900	....	30	6	....	60,000
Pennsylvania	15	14	671	36	12	3	930	26,800
Tennessee	18	4	1,209	....	19	..	1,996	9,200
West Tennessee . . .	17	6	1,140	....	10	..	....	3,500
Illinois & Des Moines	6	6	500	10	10	..	300	11,000
Indiana	30	21	2,110	....	25	2	1,300	29,500
South Carolina . . .	9	11	1,075	....	8	..	....	9,775
McCaine	11	7	1,100	....	10	..	....	3,000
Colorado	19	8	800	....	8	..	....	2,000
South Illinois	11	6	800	....	10	..	700	4,000
Mississippi	8	4	580	....	5	..	....	2,750
S. E. Missouri	5	2	150	....	3	..	....	1,000
	556	320	57,405		677			\$1,168,389
METHODIST CHURCH	758	605	56,000	2,072	674	169		1,494,347
Totals	1,314	925	113,405		1,351			\$2,662,736

The blank spaces mean that no report could be secured, hence such columns are not summed up.

A. H. BASSETT, } Committee
E. J. DRINKHOUSE, } on Statistics.

CHAPTER XXXIV

The Annual Council; history of it—New Church life inspired by the Union of 1877—The W. F. M. S. of Baltimore city, and what it did—Obituaries of Reformers—Editors of the official papers travel together through the Southwest, visiting conferences—The Bible School Series inaugurated by the editor of the Baltimore paper, and successfully carried forward for a series of years—J. B. Walker's agency for the Western Maryland College—Obituaries; Rev. Dr. J. G. Whitfield and others—Decease of Alexander Clark—Evidence of the great success of the reunited Church statistically proven—The General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1880; lay-delegation and laymen in the Book Concern—The Ecumenical Conference of 1881 called.

THE General Conference of the Methodist Church, in 1875, authorized an annual meeting of the President of the General Conference, the president of the college, the editor and publisher, and the corresponding secretaries of the different Boards. It met at Adrian, Mich., July, 1875, and adopted the title: The Annual Council. The second meeting was held at Springfield, O., July 12-13, 1876, and published in pamphlet form its first report, octavo, thirty-two pages. "Its powers are simply advisory, and its jurisdiction limited to the consideration of the general interests of the Church." It supplied in part that executive branch of our governmental system, which the "fathers" left lacking through a belief that the Annual Conference presidents would supply it by a uniform adherence to the forms of law, and the original limits of the Church did not to them seem to call for a more decisive executive branch, and a general prejudice against even the seeming of a central authority. The Annual Council, restricted as it was, answered a good purpose; it was overlooked by the Committee on Revision in 1877, but it was continued until the General Conference of 1880. By an effort of the writer in the General Union Convention, this serious executive defect, as the Church enlarged and had interdenominational business, was partially remedied by the following provision: "The President of the General Convention or Conference. He shall be recognized as the connectional officer of this body until the succeeding General Convention or Conference. He shall be invested

with no powers or prerogatives, except the purely ministerial one of receiving and answering such correspondence as may be addressed to him in the interval of the quadrennial sessions of our legislative assembly. The Secretary of the General Convention or Conference shall also hold his office until the succeeding General Convention or Conference, and, if present, shall call the body to order." It was so carefully guarded that it was passed despite the anecdotal opposition of a respected member of the body, who warned the Convention that it was a gosling which after awhile would become a bishop gander. The writer also succeeded at the General Conference of 1892 in investing the President with power to change the place of the General Conference, with the coöperation of the Board of Publication, no provision having been made for such an exigency otherwise. "The Annual Council" was reenacted by the General Conference of 1880 (see pp. 83-84 of Discipline), on the same basis as before. It held regular meetings during the quadrennium, but found itself so hampered by severe limitations of authority, that even some of its friends reached the conclusion that, unless strengthened, it did not answer the purpose intended. Meanwhile a few writers in the official papers raised the old alarm of a centralized authority, though there was not a vestige of it, and the expense was also declaimed against, though every Board had its annual meeting anyhow; so on the motion of a member, in 1892, without debate, the Annual Council was wiped out, as no one had a plan for its better constitution. But the demand for an executive authority in the interval of the General Conference continued to grow with the growth of the Church, until now there is a decided reaction, and it is hoped that the ensuing General Conference will make proper provision for the unification of Annual Conference business, the enforcement of forms of law, and the efficiency of the General Boards.

After an inauguration of fraternity by the Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Commissioners were mutually appointed, who met at Cape May, N. J., August 17-23, 1876, and agreed to federation between the severed brethren, which included an amicable settlement of Church property and the recognition of each as legitimate Methodist Episcopal Churches. In part it led to the first Ecumenical Methodist Conference.

The official papers for the year 1877-78 exhibit the new ecclesiastical life inspired by the reunion, the Annual Conference

meetings reported increase of membership and general prosperity, while the home and foreign mission operations of the Church received a new impulse. It is worthy of note that the movement of the women for foreign missions in the Maryland Conference took so broad a Christian form that the Conference of 1876 authorized the woman's society of Baltimore city, in lieu of established work in foreign lands, to coöperate with the W. F. M. S. of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the collections to be lifted paid to the editor of the official paper, and by him to be transferred to the treasurer of said society. It was done for that year, and then its funds were transferred to the Foreign Board, as it was meantime making initial preparations for work of its own.

Anderson Landers was born July 3, 1807, and deceased April 8, 1876. He was an original Tennessee Reformer from the year 1828, being a member of the "Reformed Methodist Society," afterward merged into the "Associated Methodist Churches." He was often a delegate to the Annual Conference, and was true to his convictions to the end. George Percival of Lynchburg, Va., deceased June 8, 1877, in his eighty-sixth year, the last of the eleven brethren expelled in that city for Reform principles. Joseph Wilson deceased June 30, 1877, aged ninety-five. He was the father of Revs. Thomas M. and David Wilson of the Maryland Conference, and spent his life on its Pennsylvania border. He was a Revolutionary soldier, an original Reformer, and steadfast to the Church and Christ to the close of his long life. This church History should make record of the departure out of this life of Rev. T. B. Balch of the Presbyterian Church. Like his father, hitherto mentioned, Rev. Dr. Stephen Balch, he was a true friend of the new organization from the beginning. The son, a literary recluse for many years, was a voluminous contributor to the Baltimore paper through his life, and made it a rule to attend the Maryland Conference whenever its proximity to his Virginia home made it practicable. The elders will not forget his thin, gaunt figure, eccentric habits, and brilliant intellect. He died February 14, 1878.

In the autumn of 1877 the editor of the Baltimore paper, worn down by a combination of labors, at the suggestion of Alexander Clark, editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, resolved in the interest of reunion fraternity to make with him an extended itinerary among the West and Southwest Conferences. They travelled through the Mississippi valley, the Indian Territory, and Texas,

as far as Galveston, striking Conferences whenever it was possible, if but a single day could be spent with the brethren. The intent of the journey was appreciated, and a large number of new subscribers were added to both the official papers. Much enthusiasm was awakened by this personal contact, while the editorial correspondence excited a lively interest all over the Church. The writer closed a seven weeks' absence by attending the Alabama Conference, making a travel of some five thousand miles. The Annual Council having been announced to meet July, 1877, at Springfield, O., did so, and published its reports by a mutual arrangement in the form of a four-page supplement to the official papers of September 22. J. B. Walker, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Education, announced that Calvin Tomkins of Tomkins' Cove, N. Y., had made a mortuary gift of \$10,000 to the Endowment Fund of Adrian College.

May 4, 1878, the editor of the Baltimore paper, impressed that the Church should not be dependent upon other denominations for its international Sabbath-school lessons, and a suggestion to add such a publication to the Pittsburgh *Morning Guide* having been declined, the Baltimore Directory authorized its issuance at the individual expense and responsibility of the editor. The first number of the *Bible School* was issued July 1, 1878, a four-page large quarto monthly paper at 50 cents a year, the inside devoted to the lessons and the outside to illustrations and reading matter. For two years and a half the lessons were furnished by Dr. Webster and Rev. T. H. Lewis, the latter having given suggestions from the first. From January, 1881, the lessons were by Dr. Webster and Rev. J. D. Kinzer, and from July, 1884, to January, 1885, by Dr. Webster and Rev. J. F. Cowan, when it was discontinued. It was very popular from the beginning, and rose in circulation to an average edition of twenty thousand, but confined almost entirely to the East and South. It paid current expenses, but allowed no compensation to those laboring upon it.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, met at Atlanta, Ga., May, 1878, and Dr. Alexander Clark and Dr. F. H. M. Henderson made addresses as fraternal messengers, which were well received, and responded to cordially by Bishop Pierce. In Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Fairmont, W. Va., and other places semi-centennial celebrations were held. That in Baltimore was in the old St. John's church, Liberty Street, where the original Conventions were held, the address

being by Rev. Dr. S. B. Southerland, a production of great force and beauty, which was published in the official paper and reproduced in other connections. Bishop Simpson's "Encyclopædia of Methodism" was issued in 1878, a large volume, illustrated, seven pages being given to a sketch of the Methodist Protestant Church furnished by the writer, as also fifty-five portraits and sketches of prominent ministers and laymen, those of the East and South prepared by the writer, and those of the North and West by Alexander Clark mainly. Though the sketch of the Church is impaired a little by the Bishop's editing, it is the fairest presentation ever made in a Methodist Episcopal publication. Also, in the summer of 1878, Jackson Grove Camp, on the B. & P. Railroad, midway from Baltimore to Washington, was established as a permanent ground commemorative of the Church's semi-centennial. After a number of years' successful operation, it was arrested by untoward circumstances and ceased to be. Other permanent camps were established, near Pittsburgh and in Ohio, and other places, which have been fruitful of good.

The forty-ninth volume of the *Methodist Protestant* was issued June 29, 1878, in a dress of new type, and with a fresh array of contributors, while it grew in circulation, along with the *Bible School*. The *Methodist Recorder* and the *Morning Guide* were kept abreast with the best literature of the day by the indefatigable and popular editor, Alexander Clark, whose prolific pen poured out volume after volume in addition, supplemented with lectures and other engagements, which kept him in a whirl of exacting toil, the Sunday-school publications rising within a year from this date, three in number, to some sixty-three thousand copies. Rev. J. B. Walker, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Education, undertook the Agency of Western Maryland College as well, by the permission of the Board, and for some eighteen months travelled incessantly over the State of Maryland soliciting subscriptions to the oppressive debt of about \$25,000 under which the college was laboring. He pressed its claims with a zeal and fervor misunderstood by some, who tried to evade his importunity, until about \$21,000 of the amount was pledged, and enabled the trustees to cancel the heavy liabilities. It was a herculean labor, of which this mention is very inadequate. The North Carolina Conference was divided in the autumn of this year, which, with the Allegheny and the Deep River Conferences, recognized by the Methodist Church before the Union, gave four Conferences for the State, and which injuriously con-

tinued for a few years, until the last-named Conferences disintegrated, and the North Carolina Conference once more covered the country. During 1879, the women of the Church in the Pittsburgh Conference, like those in Baltimore earlier, interested themselves in the foreign missionary work, and expended their energies, through Miss Guthrie, in the employ of the New York Union Missionary Society, before referred to, and their initial work in foreign lands was the education of seventeen young Japanese girls at Yokohama under her care. For a detailed account of the women's work thereafter, see Appendix E to the first volume. The *Western Protestant*, with J. M. P. Hickerson as editor, and J. W. Harper as agent and manager, was issued at Haynesville, La., and Dallas, Tex., as the local organ of the trans-Mississippi Conferences. It was about one-third the size of the Baltimore paper, at one dollar a year. It was well conducted, but soon became financially embarrassed and was discontinued, the fate of many such predecessors. So great was the success of the *Bible School* that it was supplemented, June 15, 1879, with the *Bible School Journal*, a sixteen-page booklet, bound, and issued monthly, containing the lessons and cognate matter, as also the *Weekly Lesson Leaf*. It added to the accumulated labors of the editor, and the three publications were continued until the whole series, West and East, were placed under an independent management after the General Conference of 1884.

Robert B. Varden of Maryland deceased May 7, 1878, aged eighty-one years. He was an original Reformer, and occupied official positions in the Church through his long life. The same may be said of his brother, John Varden, of Washington, D. C., brothers of Rev. Josiah Varden. Rev. Parker Bowden deceased March 20, 1878, aged seventy-three years, an original Reformer, resident on Chincoteague Island, Va., but within the Maryland Conference lines. John Stauffer of Maryland deceased December 21, 1878, aged seventy-seven years, an original Reformer. William Whitney of Maryland deceased at Newark, N. J., July 10, 1878, an original Reformer, and one of the founders of the cause in Newark, and the father of Rev. Dr. Whitney of the Methodist Episcopal Church, one of her most popular educators. Henry W. Nichols deceased at Mexico, O., January 3, 1879, aged sixty-eight years; a native of Maryland and an original Reformer, and brother to Revs. J. K. and J. R. Nichols of that Conference. Solomon Robbins deceased May 19, 1879, an original Reformer, born January 14, 1791, in North Carolina, died in Alabama.

Rev. Dr. J. G. Whitfield deceased at Enfield, N. C., August 28, 1879, born September 1, 1810, in Virginia. Converted at a camp-meeting in Isle of Wight County, Va., in 1827, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, but soon became acquainted with early Reform literature, and, being an intelligent reader, with a good English education, he embraced its principles, and in March, 1829, at Smithfield, Va., he with a number of others were organized into an Associated Methodist Church. Licensed to preach, he at once began itinerating, receiving his first appointment September 1, 1829, in the newly organized Virginia Conference, and he continued in the work for nearly half a century, and filled every position of honor and responsibility his brethren could bestow upon him. He was a prominent member of all the General Conferences from 1842 to 1870, the last of which he was President; a member also of the Convention of 1867, and of 1877 when he was a representative from the North Carolina Conference. His end was triumphant, though for several weeks his bodily suffering was very great. An extended obituary was furnished the official paper by his lifelong friend, Dr. R. B. Thomson, of the Virginia Conference. He was apt as a debater, and often defended in public the principles of the Church; practical and strong as a preacher; socially engaging; an affectionate husband and father; conservative and cautious; a wise counsellor and steadfast friend.

Hon. George Vickers of Maryland, born November 19, 1801, deceased October 8, 1879, in Chestertown, where he spent his entire life. Well educated, he selected the law as a profession, and this training probably did much to give him, while yet under age, a fixed preference for the Reformers of 1827-30, so that when, in 1842, at a camp-meeting he openly professed faith in Christ, he at once united with the Church of his choice, and was honored by elections to its General Conferences. His professional career was successful, and he bore the credentials of college graduate, major-general, and United States senator with becoming dignity and unostentation. Through a protracted illness from angina pectoris he was calm and trustful. David Clark, born June 24, 1795, deceased September 14, 1879, at Clinton, O.; an original Reformer and devoted churchman. John Gephart deceased September 19, 1879, at Cumberland, Md., in the ninetyeth year of his age; an original Reformer, with a clean life record and a peaceful end.

Rev. William Corrie Lipscomb, born in Virginia, September

13, 1792; he departed this life peacefully in Washington, D. C., December 6, 1789. Early in life he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, being but fourteen years of age. He was rapidly advanced to the official positions of the Church, and as early as 1823 took intelligent ground in favor of a modification of the Church government, into whose character he was fully initiated. He was a member of the first Convention of Reformers in Baltimore, November, 1827; of 1828; and Secretary of that of 1830. It was, as these pages have already noted, on his return to his home in Georgetown, D. C., that the Official Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, sanctioned by the pastor as executive, deprived him of his official positions, for the avowed reason that he was an attendant on the 1828 Convention. The subsequent steps of his indignant retirement have also been narrated. He was a member of various General Conferences, and held a foremost position in the Church as advocate and intelligent contributor to its official paper, exhibiting a strong, logical intellect and uncompromising adherence to his convictions. Many times a member of the Maryland Conference, his commanding person was familiar to the brethren. As a preacher he was clear, forcible, and tender, though his close attention to secular pursuits made his ministrations in later life unfrequent. His obsequies were conducted in the Georgetown church, of which he was a founder, by the pastor, Rev. J. T. Murray, in an address, assisted by Rev. Thomas McCormick and W. S. Hammond. His remains repose in Oak Hill cemetery. Rev. George Jones of the Tennessee Conference deceased April 17, 1879, in his eighty-second year. One of the "Reformed Methodists," and a member of the "Union Society," and the last survivor of the fourteen expelled for Reform opinions, without the form of a trial, by Presiding Elder James Gwyne. J. J. Burroughs, of Norfolk, Va., deceased February 3, 1872, aged seventy-four years, but of whose demise the official paper made no note until 1879, an original Reformer, and Secretary to the Convention of 1828. Samuel Tucker deceased March 12, 1880, aged eighty-seven years, in Washington, D. C.; an original Reformer. Rev. William Bowden, born May 13, 1793, in England, but soon came to this country; an original Reformer and early member of the Maryland Conference, he removed to the West, and was a member of the Muskingum Conference; and still later in life removed to Fort Scott, Kan., where he peacefully departed, February 9, 1880.

Alexander Clark, editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, left his

home on the banks of the Ohio near Wellsville, May 26, 1879; passed through Baltimore; dined with the writer, who found him very weak from recent illness, the result of overwork; travelled to Yaddin College and delivered the Commencement Address, though compelled to rest midway of the effort; returned to Greensboro', N. C., fulfilling a lecture tour; reached Nashville, Tenn., ill and worn, with intestinal disease; thence to Atlanta, Ga., where he was compelled to tarry; carried from the hotel to the hospitable home of Governor Colquitt, where he received all the attention Christian devotion could render, and where, after several weeks' illness, he peacefully departed this life, July 6, 1879, Sabbath evening, at 7.35 o'clock. Only a few days before, his physicians held out hope of his recovery, but the recuperative force was used up in continuous and laborious pursuits and travel, closing a varied intellectual and moral career in the forty-fifth year of his age. His remains were brought to his late home by his son, who attended him in his last days, and buried in the cemetery overlooking the river he so much loved. Memorial services were held July 11, in the First church, Pittsburgh, in the presence of a large congregation, Dr. Scott, the writer, and ministers of other denominations delivering addresses. No death since that of the lamented E. Yeates Reese so shocked the general Church, and no loss was more heavy to the publishing interests. He left a family of twelve children and a devoted companion. Our space will permit only this inadequate sketch, though it would be strikingly interesting to trace the many points of parallel between his career in the Church and that of Eli Yeates Reese.

In evidence of the progress of the Church after the Union Convention, Rev. J. F. Cowan furnished the information from the official papers that from 1878 to 1879 forty new churches had been dedicated, fifteen were under construction, and sixteen thoroughly repaired, or more than one a week. New churches were built at Atlanta, Ga., Montgomery, Ala., and many other places, where the cause had been almost extinguished by the Civil War. Colored Conferences were also organized under the reconstructed Discipline in Maryland, Alabama, Georgia, Texas, and South Carolina. The colleges at Westminster, Adrian, and North Carolina were prospering, and young men entering the ministry. The outlook was most hopeful. Bassett's "Concise History" of the Church appeared late in 1877. It had been written from the point of view of the "Methodist Church," and

while adequate in this regard, it was greatly deficient as a history of the Methodist Protestant Church, and thought partial in some of its statements. The author, however, cordially accepted suggestions, and when the new and enlarged work appeared in 1882, it was more generally approved, and has answered an admirable purpose as a historical record since that period. The writer has endeavored to preserve in these pages all its valuable information. The *Protestant Recorder*, J. W. Harper, editor, a four-page folio, published at Magnolia, Ark., took the place of the *Western Protestant*, and had, like it, a short career. The Annual Council assembled for the last time prior to the General Conference at Springfield, and published its reports through the official papers. The *Methodist Protestant Missionary* was issued by C. H. Williams, at his own risk, in the interests of foreign missions, sixteen pages, quarto, the first number bearing date August 30, 1879. Rev. Dr. John Scott was elected in September to fill out the unexpired time of Alexander Clark, as editor of the Church paper and Sunday-school issues at Pittsburgh. He entered upon the task, and successfully coped with its many difficulties. The editor of the Baltimore paper continued his visitations to the Conferences, mostly in the West. The *Western Record*, a sixteen-page quarto, was issued at Indianapolis, Ind., in the interest of Western Conferences putatively. The reader cannot fail to have observed, as a coincidence, the extreme age of so many of the early Reformers. As an instance, there met in the Baltimore Book Room, in October, 1879, at the same time and not by concert, Rev. Thomas McCormick, then eighty-eight, Rev. W. C. Lipscomb, eighty-eight, and Abner Webb, an original member of St. John's church, aged ninety-six and seven months. An effort was made in the autumn Conferences to invest the ensuing General Conference with Conventional powers, but it was unsuccessful.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met in May, 1880, and a few things will be profitable for mention. The roll of members from 95 Conferences showed 247 clerical delegates and 141 lay-delegates. Of the clerics, 142 are presiding elders, 68 pastors, 17 educators, 11 editors, 7 are agents of societies, and 2 secretaries of church boards. This vast preponderance of presiding elders has ever been a feature and is one of the inevitable results of a hierarchic system, while the lay-delegation is seen to be in a minority of one-third. This General Conference through its committee suggested some improvement

on this plan. Dr. Haygood, the fraternal messenger from the Church South, gave the brethren great encouragement to do better, in that he lauded the operation of lay-delegation on its plan of equal numbers as a great success, as well as the conservative force of the laymen. The several Book Concern reports, when submitted, were referred to a committee for auditing, and the strange spectacle was exhibited that some of the agents were named to audit their own accounts. On this subject Rev. Dr. Smart uttered treasonable things: "I object to the principle of putting men on the committee to pass upon their own work. Now as to laymen being on the committee, I have this to say: This is business, secular business, and if there is any committee to which laymen are especially adapted, this is that committee [applause]. Indeed, I think laymen ought to do all our business in reference to the Book Concern [applause]. If I had my way, I would have one Book Concern with one head [applause], with three good laymen to manage it [applause]. I think we treat the laymen a little gingerly. They ought to have equal representation with us in this General Conference [applause]. It is an outrage that they have not." As the last sentence fell from his lips the Bourbon element was aroused, and "one brother called the speaker to order for wandering from the subject." It would have been well for the Methodist Episcopal Church if it had heeded these wise premonitory words, and thus saved it from the scandal of a few years later under clerical control of the New York Book Concern. The Committee of Correspondence on the Ecumenical Conference met by appointment in Cincinnati, O., May 10, 1880. Of the Church committee only the writer and W. J. C. Dulany were in attendance. Great harmony prevailed, with Bishop Simpson, Chairman, and it was agreed to hold such a Conference in London some time in August, 1881, to be composed of four hundred delegates, one-half to be from the Wesleyan Conference of England; the trans-Atlantic brethren exhibiting great fear that they might be overshadowed in numbers and influence, so they were protected in this way.

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CHAPTER XXXV

Thirteenth General Conference at Pittsburgh, Pa., May, 1880; roster of members; Rev. Dr. G. B. McElroy, President; Mrs. Clancy of the W. F. M. S. addressed the Conference; also subsequently Miss Brittain on Foreign Missions; fraternal messengers from all the Methodisms except the M. E. Church; its significance explained; note added to the Articles of Religion; a plan for the unification of the publishing interests presented from Baltimore, and adopted as "The Board of Publication"; conditions and terms of union in autonomy; reports from General Boards; Ecumenical Conference representatives elected; Book Concerns' exhibit; statistics—The *Methodist Protestant* closes its fiftieth year; Rev. Dr. A. A. Lipscomb as a contributor; the Bible School Series; declination of the Pittsburgh house to put the Sunday-school papers under a separate editor, etc.; obituaries of Reformers; hymn-book committee and its difficulties—Ecumenical Conference in London, 1881; incidents of it—Year Book of the Church; comparison of statistics in the Methodisms; School of Theology at Westminster organized by Rev. T. H. Lewis—Significant doing in the General Conference of the Church South—Annual Council of the Church—Obituaries of Reformers; semi-centennial of the Pittsburgh Conference; other incidents of Church work—A homily on Church fidelity in preachers and people; an argument—Obituaries of Reformers.

THE Thirteenth General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church assembled in First church, Pittsburgh, Pa., Friday, May 21, 1880, and was called to order by the Secretary of the last Conference. L. W. Bates took the chair under the new law, and, after preliminary business, the following were declared elected members of the Conference:—

MARYLAND

Ministers

L. W. Bates
J. J. Murray
S. B. Southerland
J. T. Murray
E. J. Drinkhouse
W. S. Hammond
J. D. Kinzer
David Wilson
T. D. Valiant
J. T. Ward

Laymen

C. W. Button
W. J. C. Dulany
J. W. Hering¹
O. Hammond¹
W. B. Usilton
J. W. Thompson
W. H. Wheatley
Gaven Spence
W. G. Baker¹
S. H. Green¹

¹ Absent.

Ministers

John Scott
S. F. Crowther
John Gregory
John Cowl
G. G. Westfall

PITTSBURGH

Laymen

J. J. Gillespie
H. T. Reeves
G. W. Pogue
F. H. Pierpont
W. P. Herbert

J. H. Hamilton
D. Trueman
S. A. Fisher
W. Hastings
E. S. Hoagland
J. M. Woodward
G. W. Hissey

MUSKINGUM

J. Wells
B. McCormick
J. Murphy
L. Browning
J. W. Scott
W. J. Hibbs
H. E. H. Hartsock

T. B. Graham
A. H. Bassett
W. R. Parsons
J. W. Spring

OHIO

J. M. Johnson
W. White
J. J. Ware
D. Dunbar¹

WEST MICHIGAN

I. W. McKeever

S. J. Badcock

G. B. McElroy
J. F. Kellogg

MICHIGAN

J. S. Duffy
A. A. Rust

H. Stackhouse
J. H. Luse
I. H. C. McKinney
S. H. Flood

INDIANA

J. Van Buskirk
A. D. Amos
T. S. Johnson
N. H. Jones

NORTH ILLINOIS

W. H. Jordan
V. H. Brown

Jas. Ross
A. V. Whitney

G. M. Scott
W. Sparks
E. S. Brown

IOWA

C. H. High
J. W. Murphy

J. J. Smith
J. H. Robinson

NEW YORK

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	WEST VIRGINIA	<i>Laymen</i>
S. Clawson ¹		W. A. Strickler
J. J. Poynter		J. W. Hull
George Nestor		W. Mearns
M. L. Barnett		A. Lantz
A. L. McKeever		John Linn
B. Stout		C. P. Hudson
A. T. Cralle		W. I. Lowther
	COLORADO (Texas)	
T. Aaron		J. J. Mabrey ¹
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
R. Wright		George Stout
S. A. Long		
	NORTH CAROLINA	
W. H. Wills		J. W. Hadley
J. H. Page		L. W. Batchelor
	McCAINE (Texas)	
J. E. Bounds		J. J. Hefflin
	ALABAMA	
J. A. Spence		C. E. Crenshaw
	OREGON	
D. Bagley		D. B. Ward ¹
	GEORGIA	
F. H. M. Henderson		W. C. Adamson
R. S. McGarity		W. D. Mitchell
	NEBRASKA	
E. T. Hudson		
	KANSAS	
W. M. Woodward		W. W. Shaw
	NEW JERSEY	
T. B. Appleget		E. S. V. Stultz
	VIRGINIA	
G. R. Barr ¹		I. P. Robinett ¹
J. G. Johnson		W. E. Jones
	TENNESSEE	
W. J. Finley		G. B. Moon

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	CENTRAL TEXAS	<i>Laymen</i>
G. P. Miller		
	DEEP RIVER	
Solomon Long ¹		E. L. McHargue
	WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA	
J. R. Ball		W. J. Ellis
C. F. Harris		
J. L. Michaux		
W. W. Amick		
C. A. Pickens		
	MISSOURI	
John Jones		
	NORTH MISSOURI	
		J. Morris
	MINNESOTA	
W. Priddy		
	MISSISSIPPI	
A. H. Widney		Joel D. Ross
	NORTH KANSAS	
D. L. Fordney		I. Rhinehart
	PENNSYLVANIA	
		G. P. Miller
	ONONDAGA	
M. Prindle		S. R. Swift
N. R. Swift		
	GENESEE	
E. A. Wheat		W. B. Williams ¹
	ARKANSAS AND LOUISIANA	
J. W. Harper		
	ALLEGHENY	
R. R. Brookshier ¹		

Baltimore Mission Conference (colored) was represented by Thomas Wells. Georgia, G. M. Barget,¹ James Smith.¹

One hundred and forty-five in all, the list as will be noticed, is imperfect in some Conferences. Thirteen were absent, not

¹ Absent.

counting the omitted names. It was, however, one of the most imposing bodies ever assembled in the name of the Methodist Protestant Church. Rev. Thomas Wells (colored), representative messenger from Baltimore, was the first of his race to sit in such a body of the Church; and he was recognized by all sections alike.

At the afternoon session Rev. G. B. McElroy was elected permanent President, and W. S. Hammond, Secretary, with W. H. Jordan and A. H. Widney, Assistants. The President announced the Standing Committees. For several days the time of the body was occupied in receiving business from Annual Conferences, and work preparatory to legislation. Mrs. J. H. Claney, of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, was granted leave to address the body in her official relation, the first instance of the kind in Methodist Protestant history. It was resolved, as the outcome of her address, that the Committee on Missions report "a provision for the discipline, officially recognizing this society as one of the permanent organizations of the Church," etc. (See Appendix F to first volume.) The action of the Committee of Correspondence on the Ecumenical Conference was approved, and steps taken to elect the three ministers and three laymen, to which the Church was entitled, to represent it in that Conference. The report of the Committee on Relation of Book Concerns, F. H. Pierpont, Chairman, rehearses the antecedent action of the Church creating the two Book Concerns, etc., a feature of which was, "Your committee is of opinion that all the property, real and personal, and franchises owned by the Methodist Church, is now owned by the Methodist Protestant Church; and is held by the same right, and for the same use," etc. The Committee on Fraternal Relations introduced the fraternal messengers from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Rev. Dr. Harrison and Hon. P. Hamil; and Rev. W. H. Black, of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. They addressed the Conference, with response from the President. The Committee on Judiciary reported "that two-thirds of the Annual Conferences entitled to representation have invested their representatives with full conventional powers." But on a division of the Conference it failed to adopt the report of the Committee by the close vote of fifty-eight yeas to fifty-nine nays. A special committee of ten, with the editors and publishers, was appointed on Publishing Interests. Miss Brittain, who had been selected by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society Board to succeed the lamented Miss Guthrie, who died in San

Francisco, *en route* to Japan as missionary, addressed the Conference on the subject. A committee of fifteen to prepare a new hymn book was appointed, with instructions as to its character, etc. The following, by J. T. Murray, was adopted as a note to be appended to "The Articles of Religion," to wit: "These articles of religion set forth the doctrinal teachings of the Methodist Protestant Church, and those who enter the ministry thereof, thereby avow their acceptance of the teachings thus formulated; and good faith toward the Church forbids any teaching, on their part, which is at variance with them." Fraternal messengers were authorized to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. It will be noticed that at this Conference no fraternal interchange occurred with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and it needs explanation historically. It having been found by that dominating Church that much of its General Conference time had been occupied in the reception of fraternal messengers during the era of such interchanges inaugurated by it; and having also discovered that organic Union, *i.e.* absorption of other Methodist bodies, did not materialize as the ulterior purpose of such fraternity, it was officially announced that, with certain exceptions named by it, such interchange in future would be, if desired, by correspondence only. As the Methodist Protestant Church was one of the American Methodisms omitted, self-respect made it impossible for it to accept the poor boon of a recognition by correspondence, with the result that there has been no personal fraternity between these Methodisms since; though Drs. J. J. Smith and David Wilson had been cordially received at their May, 1880, Conference, as well as Dr. Henderson and Dr. Barr by the Church South at its last Conference. The New Connexion Methodists of England had, at the General Conference, now in session, responded most cordially to the letters of fraternity sent them; and between these bodies, so analogous in structure, other civilities have since been exchanged.

The Committee on Publishing Interests reported a plan for the unification of the Book Concerns under a system which preserved their autonomy. The plan was outlined in the report of the Directors of the Baltimore Concern, and was suggested by the writer.¹ It provided for a change of the incorporation at each

¹ The "idea" was suggested by Dr. John Scott during a fraternal visit to the Maryland Conference in the spring of 1880, and was matured as a "plan" by the writer and indorsed by the Baltimore Directory.

location, so as to place both Concerns and papers under the General Conference; each to be responsible for its own debts; the title to be "The Board of Publication of the Methodist Protestant Church"; the two papers to be official organs; the general Board to have power to decide what works shall bear the imprint of the Church; a majority required as to this matter, and the prices of the respective issues; an annual meeting with reports from each Directory; special meetings; the expense of the joint annual meeting to be met at the place selected by alternation; the Directories to be elected quadrennially; the General Conference to decide what use shall be made of any surplus profits; the present Sunday-school publications to be placed under "The Board of Publication," with control thereof; the editors and publishers to be elected by the General Conference; the Sabbath-school publications to be made a separate department, and an editor employed to conduct them at the option of the general Board. The full text may be found in the minutes and in the Discipline. This arrangement was in the nature of a compromise between the former sections of the Church analogous to the 12th Article of the Constitution, the pivotal subject of compromise in the Union Convention; and, as such, ought no more to be disturbed in its essential features, except by mutual consent of the whole Church, than the 12th Article. The historical antecedents demand this observance of covenant faith. As the Book Directory of Baltimore the following were elected: J. T. Murray, J. D. Kinzer, H. F. Zollickoffer, Horace Burrough, and J. G. Clark. As the Pittsburgh Directory: J. J. Gillespie, J. Munden, T. W. Shaw, G. G. Westfall, and John Gregory. E. J. Drinkhouse was elected Editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, and Wm. J. C. Dulany, Publisher and Book Agent. John Scott was elected Editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, and James Robison, Publisher and Book Agent.

The Committee on Missions reported a new constitution for the Board, and made recognition of certain missionary fields as such. The Committee on Boundaries reported changes, which may be seen in full in the revised Discipline. The Western North Carolina Conference reported that the Allegheny Conference had been merged into it, and that commissioners had been appointed to reunite with the North Carolina Conference, which action was approved and authority given to merge the Deep River Conference into it, so as to recognize but one Conference in that State. Adrian, Western Maryland, and Yadkin colleges reported to the

body, and were recognized in their respective relations. The Board of Ministerial Education reported: assets, \$3234.27; liabilities, \$100. Since 1875 eighteen had been educated under its auspices, eight of them now in the ministry, one withdrawn, and nine still beneficiaries, four at Adrian and five at Western Maryland College. The Discipline was amended in sundry particulars. C. H. Williams was elected Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Missions, and J. B. Walker of the Board of Ministerial Education. The General Board of Church Extension was discontinued. The division of Annual Conferences into sub-districts was recognized. Sabbath-schools were placed under the supervisory control of the Quarterly Conferences, and any member of the Church made eligible as a voter on election of superintendent, if present. A committee of five was appointed to fix the place of the ensuing General Conference in the interval. The following were elected representatives to the Ecumenical Conference: L. W. Bates, G. B. McElroy, S. B. Southerland, C. W. Button, J. J. Gillespie, F. H. Pierpont. The Hymn Book Committee was authorized to adopt a book already compiled, under conditions. An overture was sent to the Annual Conferences to invest the General Conference of 1884 with conventional powers for specific purposes, — the restrictive rule and some other points. The Annual Council was reënacted with enlarged and specified powers (see minutes and Discipline). The Pastoral Address was reported and published, reviewing the three years past with its encouragements. The reports of the Book Concerns show for Pittsburgh, value of real and personal property, \$18,367.33; Baltimore, with no realty, \$7433.33. Both reports are in detail and occupy much of the space in the printed Minutes. The Committee on Statistics reported as follows. It will be observed that there are no returns from Sunday-schools, the special committee not being able to secure accurate returns, owing to the fact, principally, that throughout the South, since the Civil War especially, schools are conducted on the Union plan, and these are not denominationally reported. (See p. 18 of printed Minutes.)

On the 3d of June, 1880, the Conference adjourned, with prayer by Dr. J. J. Murray, and the benediction by Dr. John Scott.

STATISTICS OF THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH, 1880

ANNUAL CONFERENCES	Itinerant Ministers and Preachers	Unstated Ministers and Preachers	Members	Probationers	Churches	Parsonages	Valuation of Church Property
Alabama	20	..	2,625	8	59	1	\$47,560
Allegheny	19	..	561	..	15	..	8,000
Arkansas and Louisiana	15	33	1,500	..	35	..	10,000
Baltimore (Colored)	4	6	187	10	4	..	18,800
Batesville	10	5	600	..	6	..	1,000
California	6	..	70	..	..	..	..
Central Texas	14	6	480	..	5	..	1,750
Colorado (Texas)	20	19	1,053	7	7	..	2,750
Deep River	14	..	500	17	10	..	2,000
Genesee	13	2	784	17	8	7	29,200
Georgia	32	20	2,552	32	51	..	14,825
Georgia (Colored)	15	7	642	15	10	..	1,480
Indiana	61	50	7,000	200	94	10	94,520
Iowa	33	21	2,250	525	23	11	40,900
Kansas	23	12	2,000	..	..	2	600
Kentucky	26	6	1,270	84	2	..	500
Maryland	110	60	14,980	903	218	45	688,875
Michigan	59	18	2,582	164	24	26	52,050
Mississippi	15	5	1,000	..	10	..	2,000
Minnesota	13	8	375	2	2	..	2,425
Missouri	53	40	2,523	25	15	2	10,000
Muskingum	68	36	10,000	83	139	11	139,300
McCaule (Texas)	10	6	600	..	10	..	3,000
Nebraska	11	9	484	14	2	2	1,000
North Arkansas	23	6	800	10	3	1	1,000
North Carolina	21	3	2,900	340	34	2	26,925
New Jersey	20	18	1,818	58	29	6	85,225
New York	36	14	2,426	87	26	10	126,300
North Illinois	41	30	2,570	50	58	17	109,000
North Mississippi	18	10	1,300	..	15	..	3,000
North Missouri	85	25	1,300	42	8	1	7,000
North Kansas	23	14	593	..	2	..	2,300
Ohio	46	48	6,009	204	103	23	216,700
Onondaga	56	20	2,170	160	25	16	48,600
Oregon	6	4	200	..	2	1	5,000
Pennsylvania	16	14	879	86	14	5	26,800
Pittsburgh	47	25	7,000	250	80	16	464,000
South Carolina	11	7	950	..	23	1	7,000
South Illinois	33	10	2,275	20	33	4	26,800
Tennessee	20	6	1,063	..	..	..	9,950
Texas	25	..	2,400	..	..	..	..
Texas (Colored)	10	3	300	..	2	..	1,000
Virginia	13	16	2,551	266	41	1	26,200
West Arkansas	14	..	930	..	5	..	1,800
West Michigan	48	36	2,000	42	21	3	30,860
West Tennessee	17	6	1,140	..	10	..	8,500
West Virginia	53	85	9,736	168	120	15	93,615
West North Carolina	31	21	8,534	123	106	51	83,700
	1,345	755	118,502	3,559	1,509	290	\$2,563,870

Several Conferences made no returns of statistics. A small Conference is yet existing in Massachusetts, including eight or more ministers, holding regular sessions, but we have no further statistics. A Colored Methodist Protestant Conference has been organized in Alabama, but not making application, it was not recognized.

(This report was delayed several weeks and correspondence had, yet but few additional data could be obtained; in some instances resort was had to the figures of 1877.)

The aggregates reported here, when compared with those of 1877, do not show a numerical increase commensurate with reasonable expectation in view of the revival intelligence, the new churches built, and the general uplift of the denomination by the reunion through the intervening three years. True, they are very imperfect, as were those of 1877. But now, as then, the writer cannot account for the seeming shortage in the per cent of increase. From this period until 1896, however, the aggregate growth will be seen as something phenomenal — no denomination will show a heavier increase, other things being equal.¹

The *Daily Christian Advocate*, issued during the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Cincinnati, gave a hint of the ultimate purpose of that Church in furthering an Ecumenical Conference in these pregnant and significant utterances: "It is to be hoped there will be a revival of churchly loyalty which will henceforth rid it of those destructive theories, that at the Conference just closed were so determinately put forward to make us a Methodist Presbyterian instead of a Methodist Episcopal Church." It may be queried, what destructive theories? The only answer is, Lay-Representation, an elective Eldership, etc. Rev. E. B. Byckerman, D.D., of the Canada Methodist Church made a "radical" address to that Conference, under which the Bourbons, like the writer of that editorial, winced, as he depicted in glowing colors its success under the Union of the Methodisms in that province, not as an Episcopal, but a Presbyterian Methodism, with lay-delegation by equality, and elective superintendency, not a bishopric, and no presiding elders. Yet to this day, in America, by the dominating Methodism, their statistics are put in the Episcopal column in any recapitulation. (See Baltimore official paper, June 26, 1880.) The *Methodist Protestant* closed its fiftieth volume under that title. A series on Nicholas Snethen, by Rev. Dr. A. A. Lipscomb, was republished in the Baltimore paper from the *Quarterly Review* of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Dr. Lipscomb,

¹ A recurrence to the subject later brings out the fact that the net increase of the M. E. Church for the quadrennium was about two hundred thousand, or a little less than four per cent. The foregoing statistics show for the Church a net gain of about five thousand for the three years from 1877 to 1880, or about five per cent. In other words, the M. E. Church in the past four years has increased about one per cent a year, and the M. P. Church about one and a quarter a year for the past three years. Before the close of this History, the growth of the respective Churches, as accepted in evidence of the efficiency of the systems, will be further and conclusively exhibited, though it is by no means a fair test of the scriptural and logical consistency of a Church government.

now esteemed one of the brightest literary and religious lights of the South-land, was, through these years, a voluminous contributor to the *Methodist Protestant*. Largely for lack of a position in the Church commensurate with his abilities, he accepted a professorship in the Vanderbilt University of the Church South, which he filled for a number of years with great acceptance and literary reputation. Though so closely allied with a sister Methodism, with every inducement before him to choose otherwise, he maintained an unfaltering loyalty to the Church of his father, holding the relation of an unstationed minister to the Montgomery church, Alabama, to the close of life. It was an example to all sons of worthy sires; but from its default the Church has suffered greatly in the past. It takes grit to wed yourself to a principle at the sacrifice of social preferment and a good support.

In December, 1880, the *Bible-School Quarterly* was added to the series of international lessons by the Baltimore Directory, putting a fresh burden on the editor in his single-handed work, without increase of compensation, about this time reduced, on his own motion, to \$1200 a year. Increase of current expenses in other directions made it a necessity. It was also proposed by the Baltimore Directory, under the permissive legislation of the last General Conference, to make the Sunday-school papers a separate department; but the Directory at Pittsburgh did not acquiesce at the time. The Annual Council was held in July, 1880, at Steubenville, O., with a large attendance. A plan was arranged for Conference visitations by the Church agents, so as not to concentrate their attendance at some to the neglect of others. The editor of the Baltimore paper made a wide circuit in the Northwest.¹ At Pittsburgh the *Sunday-School* was discontinued, leaving the *Morning Guide* with the *Child's Recorder*, bi-monthly, both of them beautiful issues, with large circulation. Dr. Scott pushed these, and the official church paper, with unflagging zeal in conference visitations.

Rev. Alson Gray, of the North Carolina Conference, departed this life September 23, 1880. He was an original Reformer, and spent his years in the service of the Church, identifying himself with every interest, and always in the van of struggle. Once a

¹ The writer is constrained to make this mention of the continuous and uncompensated assistance in conducting the Church paper during his frequent and often prolonged absence at conferences of Rev. J. D. Kinzer, while serving as pastor of Baltimore churches, for a series of years. It was a service to the general Church demanding this notice.

member of the General Conference and President of his Annual Conference, his fidelity was never questioned, and he ranks with the Reform heroes of his section. Announcement was made of the decease of Rev. William Neal of Texas, an original Reformer; but no data were furnished at the time. James A. Kenneday of Washington, D. C., departed this life October 4, 1880. He was born September 26, 1795, in Philadelphia. He settled in Washington in early manhood, soon became a Methodist Christian, and, as early as 1829, embraced Reform principles, and was a charter member of the First church (Ninth Street), laboring with his own hands in its erection, and giving liberally of his limited means all through life to the support of it. While the church was building, to save it from embarrassment, he placed a mortgage on his home as security. When an aged man, finding that his means were more limited, he counted the cost of a life-long habit of tobacco smoking, cut off the habit, and thus saved his church subscription from enforced reduction. He was a man of rare qualifications, frequently a member of the Maryland Conference, honored in the community for his business fidelity, and in the Church for all the elements of matured Christian character. Rev. Dr. W. S. Whitehurst, of the Virginia Conference, deceased, aged eighty years, at Hawkins, Tenn., October 2, 1880. Such is the brief mention of another original Reformer.

The first number of Volume 51 of the *Methodist Protestant* contains an elaborate review of its history by the editor, and that of his predecessors, from 1821 to 1881, a period of sixty years. Much valuable information is here condensed. The Hymn Book Committee of fifteen had numerous meetings and much correspondence, and the official papers flamed with light upon the subject; but the insuperable difficulties of copyright upon hymns and the immense expense, led, as a finality, to the adoption of the book now in use as the only method of securing a hymn book with the music. The first Ecumenical Methodist Conference, in London, shaped itself. Among the things agreed upon was an equal representation of clerical and lay members from the twenty-six Methodisms taking part. The number allotted to the Methodist Episcopal Church was eighty; but when they came to distribute them, there were so many worthy aspirants that it did not seem to these brethren, so long used to do everything and to be everything as ministers, possible for forty laymen to be appointed; so they disregarded the agreement and sent but twenty-four laymen, or something near the delegation they had

conceded to them in its General Conference. It was not a matter of moment except for its significance, and hence this mention. The Gittings Seminary had been instituted at La Harpe, Ill., and was prospering, under Conference auspices, as a school for young women. The Annual Council met this year at Sharpsburgh, Pa., and was well attended, and exhibited the general interests in an improved condition.

The first Ecumenical Methodist Conference assembled in City Road chapel, London, September 7 to 20. A volume would not suffice for its presentation, so notice must be brief. It was composed of four hundred representatives, one-half of them laymen, except in the case of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as noted. The Methodist Protestant representatives were Dr. S. B. Southerland, Dr. G. B. McElroy, Rev. J. H. Robinson, J. J. Gillespie, and Charles W. Button, lacking one of the full number to which the Church was entitled. The official papers contain exhaustive correspondence on the subject by several of these brethren, and the proceedings were afterward issued in a portly volume. It was presided over by brethren selected from the different Methodisms, and the Church representatives were courteously and fairly treated in the arrangements. Dr. Southerland presided one day and also read one of the programme papers. At one of the side meetings he was requested, by a number of foreign brethren, to make an address on the Non-Episcopal Methodisms of America. He complied reluctantly, knowing the delicacy of the subject. General Clinton B. Fisk, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was appointed to preside as pertinent. An unfortunate episode occurred on his introduction of Dr. Southerland as from "the Protestant Methodist Church," though the proper title was before him on the printed programme. In such a representative body of Methodisms, Dr. Southerland was impressed that it ought not to be overlooked, and, accordingly, in his opening remarks made the correction and stated the difference of implication in such a reversal of the Church title, as, undoubtedly, any other representative brother present in like circumstances would have done for his Church. That address may be found in the official paper of Baltimore of even date, and an examination shows it to have been cautiously and prudently worded; yet anything defensive of Liberal Methodism seemed to be unpalatable to the Episcopal brethren, and there were signs of unrest and impatience expressed in discourteous methods, as well as a time-call of the presiding officer indicative of his own dissatisfaction. This Conference was re-

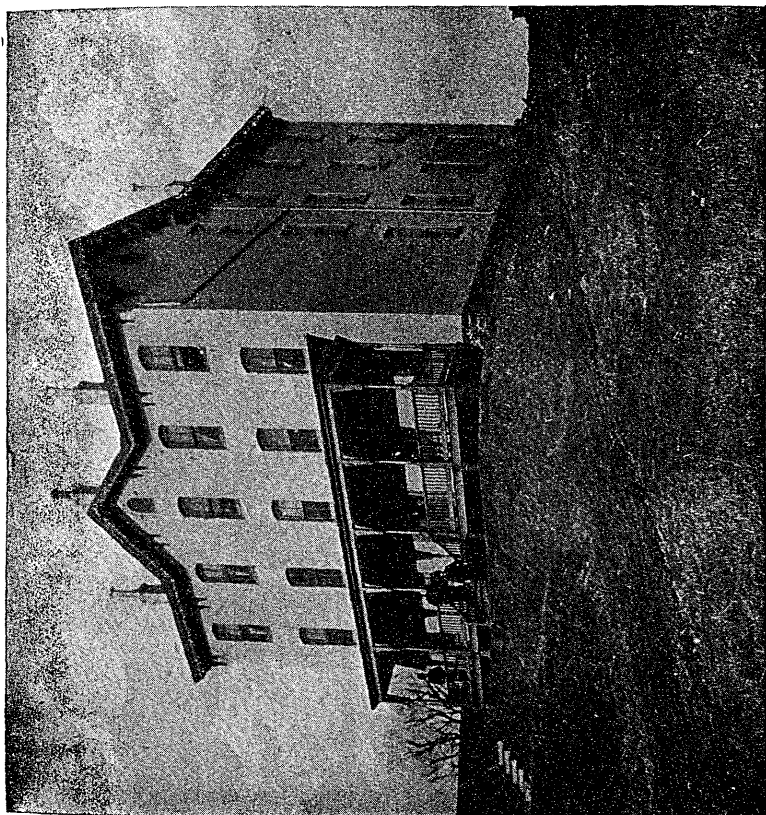
puted to represent 4,800,000 of world-wide Methodists. There was great enthusiasm and blending of brethren, out of which came a proposition to hold another Ecumenical Conference in 1887, and also a suggestion that the American Methodisms should have such a Conference of their own. Bishop Simpson and Dr. H. K. Carroll were active in promoting such a scheme for 1884, marking, in their estimation, 1784 as a starting-point of its Methodism and a centennial commemoration. A paper for such a call was passed, and numerous signed by the Episcopal brethren, as also the names of three of the Methodist Protestant representatives. When the information reached this writer, as editor of the official paper, he called attention to the incongruity of such a date as 1784, and fomented opposition to the participation in such a centennial as a Non-Episcopal Methodism. Several of the brethren whose names were attached to the call could not recollect their signatory act, and this led to a regrettable question of veracity between them and Dr. Carroll, which the writer has ever since deplored.

The Methodist Protestant Year Book was announced for 1881-82, by Rev. Dr. Stephens of Adrian College, and it was issued, for a series of years, by himself and Rev. J. F. Cowan, but finally surceased for lack of support. Rev. I. H. C. McKinney of Indiana continued and enlarged the *Western Record* as representing a group of Conferences. The necrólogy for the period included Rev. R. R. Prather of North Carolina, who deceased March 4, 1881, aged eighty-seven, for fifty years a minister, and an early Reformer. Rev. Jesse Mings of Texas departed this life, and was known as "father" Mings for his years and long association with the Church in that section. Rev. Jonathan M. Flood, M.D., of the Ohio Conference, deceased July 21, 1881.¹ He and his brother Sandford H., both active and early Reformers of the West, were nephews of Rev. Jonathan Flood, who died October 21, 1867, after fifty-eight years of service. He was born in Virginia, December 29, 1781, entered the Methodist Episcopal Church in his twenty-first year, licensed to preach in 1819, and, in 1829, withdrew and united with the Associated Methodist Churches. His name was enrolled at the organization of the Ohio Conference, October 15, 1829. He was twice President of that body.

¹ Frequent mention has been made of this honored minister in the course of this History, but no obituary details are at the command of the writer. He occupied a commanding position in the Church of the West, and with his brother, Sandford H., who still survives, venerable in years, did much to mould the Church.

In his eighty-sixth year he peacefully departed, Rev. Dr. Brown preaching the funeral sermon. Rev. J. S. Mitchell of Georgia Conference was born May 28, 1810, and deceased October 16, 1881. He was an original Reformer and father of Dr. W. D. Mitchell, also deceased, but long a pillar of the Church in Georgia.

The *Methodist Recorder* and the Sunday-school papers appeared in January, 1882, in new type dress and much improved. Shortly thereafter the editor, Dr. Scott, was prostrated with typhoid fever, and for a number of weeks hung between life and death, but finally recovered, to spend many years in efficient service to the Church. The Board of Publication held its annual meeting in Baltimore, May, 1882, and the exhibits then made are as follows, by totals: Pittsburgh Directory, assets \$14,153.55; circulation of Sunday-school papers, 13,790, a net loss since a year previous of 5969; Baltimore Directory, assets \$6597.78; circulation of Sunday-school papers, 36,000, a net gain of 9000 over a year previous. John Munden and J. G. Clarke, committee. (See synopsis for Annual Council.) The circulation of the official papers not given for business reasons. Following this glint of statistics, it will be interesting to note that in April, 1882, those of the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church showed a net loss in members for the year of 923. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, of the Baltimore Conference, covering a large section in northern Virginia, the loss for the same period is reported at 198. In the Maryland Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church for the same period, and covering nearly the same territory, the net gain is reported at 404. These facts excited at the time unusual interest, and the *New York Independent*, on investigation, found that in the 110 Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1881-82, the net aggregate loss of members was 2647. There was spiritual dearth in the land, but the significance of these figures, as in contrast with those at the last General Conference of 1880, cannot be ignored. A School of Theology was organized at Westminster, Md., with Rev. T. H. Lewis, A.M., as Principal, and its first session was held in the autumn of this year, a seminary building having been subsequently erected for the purpose. The eighth Annual Council met at New Brighton, Pa., and was fully attended, all the reports from the colleges, the publishing houses, and the general agents showing progress and better work. Rev. James Robison resigned as Agent of the Pittsburgh Book Con-



WESTMINSTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.
Location, Westminster, Md.

cern, deafness and advancing years unfitting him for farther service in that connection. He was succeeded by W. J. McCrackin, Jr., the head bookkeeper of the house. The Conference visitations, as arranged at the Annual Council, were made by the editor of the Baltimore paper and the general agents, and the good results of these interchanges were apparent in reviving a connectional spirit and in improving the collections for these interests. The Annual Conferences under the impulse indicated more uniform work, accurate statistics, and published minutes. Theological education was growing under the importunate labors of J. B. Walker, the foreign missionary outlook improved in Japan, and the denomination felicitated itself at now possessing all the agencies and instruments of a fully equipped Church. More general effort was made to establish the cause in the towns and cities heretofore given up to other denominations, at great numerical loss by reason of the trend of removals in that direction from the country. The new hymn book also came into large and rapid circulation for all the sections, creating another bond of connectionalism. A larger number of educated and consecrated young men were coming into the ministry, and this accretion strengthened the pulse of the whole organization.

The General Conference of the Methodist Church, South, met at Nashville, Tenn., in May, 1882, and the salient event germane to this history was the introduction by half a dozen prominent members of a paper reciting the two-order theory, and the validity of Presbyterial ordination, thus designating the bishopric as an office and not an order, with instruction to the Committee on Revisals to so word the Discipline that in the absence of a bishop at an Annual Conference elders could ordain. Without debate the reference to the committee was defeated, and then a motion to lay it on the table was also defeated, so that the paper to this day hangs suspended, like Mahomet's coffin in the fable, between heaven and earth. It put the brethren in a quandary, as it was the view now obtaining in the Methodist Church, North; but the South, at the General Conference of 1844, having practically put themselves on record, to make the case of Bishop Andrew stronger, that the bishopric was an order and not an office only, and therefore not liable to suspension, held to this high church view and it has largely obtained ever since. They will yet purge themselves of it. Another notable event was the declination of the bishopric, to which he had been elected, by Dr. Haygood. It was the second instance of the kind in the history of American Methodism, Dr.

Fisk declining, and for the same reason,—a preference for educational work.

In May, 1883, by an arrangement with the Baltimore Directory, Wm. J. C. Dulany, the Book Agent, was induced to accept the whole charge of the business department of the official papers as well. It greatly relieved the overworked editor, and threw larger efficiency into the business methods. The necessity for such relief may be inferred from the fact that, at this time, the Baltimore Sunday-school series had risen to an aggregate circulation of about fifty-five thousand. The venerable Miss Rachel Wilson, of Harford County, Md., deceased, leaving bequests of \$1000 each to the Superannuated and the Home Missionary societies of the Maryland Conference. She had been identified with the Church from the earliest period. The *Methodist Recorder* of London, Eng., about this time, reviewing the call for an American Ecumenical Conference to commemorate the Methodist Episcopal Church history as an Episcopacy, dating from 1784 centennially, and as of Wesleyan origin, scouted his authorization of its system, and poked fun at the brethren. It had not forgotten that it celebrated its true centennial in 1866, but did not divine that this for 1884 had for its ulterior purpose to unify the branches of Methodism in America into an Episcopal Church, and thus, as the editorial in the *Daily Advocate* at their last General Conference, already cited, intimated, "end the destructive theories" tending to make it Presbyterian in form. The Annual Council assembled this year, July, at Wellsville, O., and made recommendations to the ensuing General Conference for certain enlargements of its powers in directions which its experience showed would be useful, and yet harmless as centralizing authority. But it was the occasion of an alarm among the brethren sensitive to the growth of a bishop-gander in the Church out of the gosling, that swept the whole plan out of the Discipline in 1888, the brethren who believed in it despairing of additions to its features, and those opposed eager to find this occasion against it. "Recollections of Rev. Samuel Clawson," a twelvemo volume, was issued by James Robison, thus perpetuating the memory of one of the most remarkable men, next to Lorenzo Dow, ever produced by Methodism. More brilliant than Dow, he was his equal in piety and eccentricity, but limited in his range to West Virginia and the adjacent States. The Baltimore official paper grew this year in circulation as the South-land recovered from the ravages of the Civil War, as did the *Methodist Recorder* and its two Sunday-

school papers under Dr. Scott. Rev. G. P. Miller issued a *Methodist Protestant*, at Corsicana, Tex., in December, 1883, a monthly at \$1 a year. It goes for the writing that its brief existence entailed loss, as in so many cases. Its editor, through more than a score of years, has been a conspicuous example of adherence to principle in Church loyalty. With abilities to command high position elsewhere or in secular life, he has kept his colors flying for the cause to this day.

William A. Harris of Henderson, N. C., son of Rev. Ivy Harris, born October 23, 1813, deceased December 24, 1882, an original Reformer and an honor to his family name. A. Wesley Melvin of Maryland, born June 19, 1810, deceased September 24, 1882, an original Reformer. Rev. Thomas McCormick, born January 5, 1792, deceased February 20, 1883, in his ninety-second year. These pages are accented with his name and deeds. He united with the Methodist Episcopal Church when fifteen years of age, rapidly rose to all its official positions, was licensed to preach, embraced the principles of Reform, suffered Expulsion for his devotion, lived a spotless life, honored even by his ecclesiastical enemies. His obsequies were at St. John's church, Liberty Street, of which he was an original member, with addresses by Dr. A. Webster and the pastor, Dr. J. J. Murray. His remains were deposited in Mount Olivet cemetery, where repose scores of the early Methodist preachers, and his memory is blessed. Rev. I. H. Hogan, born September 22, 1808, deceased December 9, 1880, an original Reformer of New York, and for many years an honored member of the Onondaga Conference. Rev. Nathan Ellis of the Alabama Conference, deceased May 15, 1883, aged ninety-one years, an original Reformer. Joseph Wells of Wellsville, O., born in Pennsylvania, March 21, 1798, and was removed by his parents in infancy to where the town of Wellsville now stands. Converted in West Liberty, Va., 1820, he in 1824 returned to Wellsville, where he spent the last fifty-six years of his useful life. He opened his house for "Radical" preaching in 1829, under George Brown, and a church was organized. For seven years before this time he had regular religious services at his house, refusing to unite with the Methodist Episcopal Church on account of its government, one of many such instances in its early and later history. He was a representative to four General Conferences, two Conventions, and fourteen Annual Conferences. Steadfast, liberal, devoted, he died peacefully December 1, 1882. Rev. L. F. Cosby, D.D., of the Virginia Conference, born January

14, 1807, deceased July 6, 1883, in his seventy-sixth year. He espoused the cause of Reform in 1827, was licensed to preach in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1828, and on the expulsions in Baltimore and Lynchburg he united his fortunes with those ostracized brethren; entered the Virginia Conference in 1829, and served for a number of years; faithful in all relations until 1844, when he located, but preserved an active connection with the work until age and infirmity compelled retirement. As a preacher he was of the old-time school. Thomas Growden, April 14, 1883, aged eighty-three, was born in England, but spent his life in the Cumberland valley of Pennsylvania, as did his brother, Rev. John Growden, deceased August 16, 1883, aged eighty-four. They were original Reformers in their section and worthy men.

Rev. John Burns, D.D., born April 10, 1808, deceased September 12, 1883. He was converted in his eighteenth year, and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church at Wheeling, Va. In December, 1832, he united with the Methodist Protestant Church, having from the first been a Reformer in principle. He united with the Ohio Conference in 1833, and served a mission near Wheeling for a salary of fifty cents for the year. He was afterward identified with the cause in the West, in the Pittsburgh, Ohio, and Muskingum Conferences. He was a member of nearly all the General Conferences from 1842, and was a pacificator during the separation of 1858-77. Of commanding presence, clear intellect, large executive ability, he easily held leadership wherever he was recognized. He was prominent in the Union Convention of 1877, and in 1878 was appointed chaplain to the penitentiary at Columbus, O., and served for a number of years. He was honored by his brethren, and was faithful to his convictions in all circumstances. His end was peace. Rev. John Paris, D.D., was born in North Carolina, September 1, 1809, and in 1832 was converted, in his twenty-third year, and united with the Methodist Protestant Church, his preferences being with the early Reformers. He was of clear intellect, self-cultured, devoted, and spiritual, and in his Conference relations was a strict expounder of the Church law. In 1849 he issued a "History" of the Church, and later a "Manual" and other booklets, while for the official papers he was a voluminous contributor as controvertist and expositor. He passed away, from congestion of the brain, October 27, 1883. Rev. J. W. Rutledge deceased December 14, 1883, well known in the early history of the Mary-

land, Pennsylvania, and afterward of the Pittsburgh, Conferences; merits this mention for fidelity to every trust committed to him.

From the Year Book for 1883-84, the fact is furnished by careful investigation that the Church was building nearly two houses a week, as well as twenty-two parsonages for the year. The exact percentage was 1.85. The aggregate membership was now about 125,000. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, with a reputed membership of rising two millions, the number of churches built a week for 1882-83 was five. Dr. Scott, editor of the Pittsburgh official paper, made a tour of Annual Conference visitations in the autumn of 1883. The fiftieth session of the Pittsburgh Conference met at Eighteenth Street church, south side, as a semi-centennial Conference, for which a programme commemorative had been arranged. It was participated in by Rev. T. H. Colhouer in an historical address on the Church; Rev. James Robison, who read a paper on the history of the Pittsburgh Conference; and Rev. John Gregory presented three papers, covering the statistics of the Conference for the period and facts germane to the celebration. Rev. David Jones delivered a sermon on the doctrinal position of the Church. A number of fraternal messengers delivered greetings. In the midst of these exercises Rev. Dr. William Collier, who had been partially paralyzed some time before, was carried up the aisle in a chair and seated beside the President, Rev. G. G. Westfall. The venerable Collier answered to the roll-call, and received the hearty congratulations of the entire body. At the close of the day he was returned to his home at Sharpsburg, Pa. He lingered nearly a year in cheerful, hopeful mood, speaking encouraging words to his numerous visitors, until, July 12, 1884, he passed peacefully away. William Collier was born May 11, 1803, in Washington County, Md.; united with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1817 at Hagerstown; licensed to exhort in 1822, and to preach in 1824. He applied himself closely to study, engaged in school-teaching, and soon became a good English scholar. He was converted to the principle of Reform by reading a tract written by Rev. Ezekiel Cooper of the Methodist Episcopal Church, on lay-representation. Being a true American, as well as a true Christian, and an equally true Methodist in doctrine and practice, he sympathized with the Expelled brethren of Baltimore in 1827, and a righteous indignation led to his withdrawal from the Methodist Episcopal Church. Fraternizing with the Reformers, he was by them licensed to preach; travelled under President Henkle of the Maryland Con-

ference in 1830, and in 1831 was formally received. Ordained deacon and elder, he rapidly rose as an efficient and zealous worker, pursuing his studies meantime, until he could read and translate Hebrew, Greek, and German, with a wide acquaintance with theology. He was made a doctor of divinity in 1861 by Waynesburg College, Pa. Remaining in the Maryland Conference until 1851, then its President, he removed to the Pittsburgh Conference, and took a commanding position in it for the remainder of his active and useful life. He was for four years President of that body, often a representative to the General Conferences and Conventions of the Church. He was an active participant in the Western movement of 1858-74, and an equally active participant in the union movement of 1874-77, and a member of the historic Convention of the latter year. His social qualities were of a high order, and no one doubted his ingenuous character, as he steadfastly adhered to his convictions in all circumstances. His obsequies were held in the Sharpsburg, Pa., church, where he long resided, and his remains interred in Allegheny cemetery, Pittsburgh. Memorial services were also held in the Allegheny church by Dr. John Scott, August 31. (For a full sketch see Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 275-280.)

The call to invest the ensuing General Conference with Conventional powers for certain specific objects was acted upon by the Annual Conferences, and, as will be seen, approved by a large majority. It had been fixed for Fairmont, W. Va., but the brethren of that vicinage, as the time arrived, found it impracticable to carry the hospitality it demanded, and there being no provision of the Discipline for such an emergency, by the suggestion of the editors and publishers of the official papers and the Secretary of the last General Conference, and an invitation from Baltimore, the place was changed accordingly. Two questions engaged both the official papers through the months preceding the assembly. Denominational creed and doctrinal liberty in the Church was discussed by Rev. D. S. Stephens, President of Adrian College, as suggested by the note appended to the Articles of Religion by the last Conference, the authority for which he questioned; and the non-participation in the Ecumenical Conference of the Episcopal Methodisms now matured for 1884 in Baltimore city. Strong men wielded their pens on both sides of these questions; the outcome will be seen later in this History.

At no period, perhaps, since 1830-35, was there livelier agitation and more healthful ferment throughout the Church. All

the departments of Church work were being vigorously pushed, and an auspicious augur was the activity and intelligent progress made by the women of it in missionary enterprise, with centres in Baltimore and Pittsburgh. Revival news in both the official papers was abundant; the rank and file of the ministry, now so largely reënforced by educated young men, were faithful in labors, with an aggressive participation in Church legislation, it being the genius of Methodist Protestantism to magnify personal sovereignty both in clerics and laics. The peerage of democracy is that every man is a sovereign; every head wears a crown. It may be true that nine of the ten shall be clowns instead of kings; but this is better than that nine should be slaves and one a kingly clown. And this is the answer to all allegations of the mental unfitness by natural constitution and defects of education for government of the average member of the Church, or a member of the State. The trend of the one system is an education upward, while that of the other is an education downward; the one makes men, the other makes machines. It may also be true that more can be urged against the former than against the latter as a working hypothesis. As such, there is nothing in the State like the autocratic rule of a Cæsar or a Czar, as there is nothing in the Church like a Pope or a Prelate. But it must be the excuse in a preference for personal sovereignty that it was what the Master taught, what the Apostles taught, what the primitive Church taught, and what the struggling peoples are teaching their rulers the world over; a struggle, it may be repeated, that will not end until this pyramid stands upon its base, and authority shall work from the many to the few, and not from the few to the many.

It must be conceded that this genius carries with it a grave responsibility, resting with greatest weight upon the teaching class, and this may be the opportune time for its larger development, recognizing its philosophy as history teaching by example. And nearly fifty years of close observation by the writer of the ministry and laity of the Methodist Protestant Church, two-thirds of it being in the active pastorate, satisfies him that in no Protestant denomination of the country is the proverbial saying, like people like priest, more true than in it. Let us examine it in the light of that experience as a working hypothesis, and see if the secrets of its alleged defects can be discovered on this theory. The members of this Church, with a nearer approach to the New Testament priesthood of the people than any other Methodism at least, as set forth in its elementary principles, and as exemplified

in the practical workings of the organization, the laity, for the most part intelligently appreciative of the polity it has championed, are as open to reasonable persuasion, and are as readily swayed by the opinions and wishes of the ministry, as any other. It is true that this Church is at the opposite pole of all hierarchies in the ecclesiastical world, and it is freely admitted that these forms have all the advantages that go with absolutism under all its types and modifications. Among them, like people like priest, is true, because they are made so by authority. To be invested with it is one of the fallen ambitions lurking in every human breast; and the temptation is open to those who, espousing a system like its own, in which the equality of manhood is asserted, whenever their convictions as to methods, either for the reform of manifest evils, or the adoption of higher aims and practices, are crossed, to look with admiration, if not with desire, upon the hierarchical methods, which, like the Alexandrian sword, spurns the slow processes of untying, and cuts with one sharp swish these Gordian knots. Hence the fact—does it disclose a secret?—it is sometimes said by brethren when in one of these moods: “Methodist Protestantism is not adapted to the masses.” It demands careful analysis. Is it true? Only as it is true that popular suffrage is not adapted to the masses, and a kindred temptation comes, when the abuse of suffrage is observed to un-Americanize citizenship; or as it is true that Christianity is not adapted to the masses because its essential air is freedom in the whole circle of its applications, and its adaptation is only seen when it seizes one of these “masses” and educationally lifts him up to the plane of its own movement and to the rhythm of its own music. The Roman Catholic Church—and no excuse need be made for the frequent use of this analogue—as a hierarchy is the perfect ideal of effectiveness in its methods. From the Pope downward there is absolutely no individual freedom; the Pope himself is but a part of the machine. All the actors, of whatever dignity in the government, are but puppets in the show—cogs in the wheels within wheels, in which the adaptation is complete as it moves with noiseless momentum; and anything that falls between these cogs is simply crunched and powdered and cast out, and the silent majesty of authority reigns. It cannot be otherwise than that everything takes its complexion from the primary color. A brother, therefore, who suffers such an admission as just cited to fall from his lips cannot speak advisedly; for ask him if he is in fellowship with such an arrangement, and the very

love of the individual freedom he knows he enjoys as a registered advocate of the antipodal system draws from him an almost indignant repudiation. Ask him further, if any system whose inevitable tendencies are in the same direction is best, and again he hesitates, and, closely pushed for answer, the sense of the equality of manhood, which he claims for himself, prevails. His mood for the hour is simply the outcome of his experience with some of the "masses" in the Methodist Protestant Church; he has been under trial, and has seen the free will of the brethren in some special case degenerate into wilfulness, and for the nonce he is discouraged. The struggle simply means that this, as in everything touching the elevation of a fallen race, involves a lifting process, a Sisyphus stone that must be rolled up the hill every time it falls back. Those who engage for the right, like those who engage for the gospel, must take this into the account when they enter upon the contest.

The contention then is that, in great measure, the failures noted as to an intelligent appreciation of the system, and the consequent discordances observed occasionally in the practical working of its methods, are due to the fact that the educational side of this superior system has been neglected by the teaching class. The ministers of the Methodist Protestant Church have had to deplore the numerous instances in which the sons and daughters of the "fathers" and founders of this Church have sought Church homes, not in other denominations only, but in the very ecclesiasticism from which those fathers suffered expulsion for opinions' sake. Not so only, but there are not lacking instances of the children of its ministers forsaking the Church home in which they were reared. Wherefore? The answer comes from one of the worthy elders of the Church: "I have known more than one minister who has this trouble upon his hands, whose children have told me that their father was such a chronic grumbler that they never heard him commend the Church to their consideration, but they had learned almost to hate it; for, said they, we hear nothing but father's growlings about the membership, and if they are half as bad as he makes them out to be, we do not care to know anything more of them; and this by men living at her altars, and who are reaping more than they ever sowed." Every Conference has examples of this kind, and it points one of the remedies clearly. Teach them your own professed convictions, and they will not lightly esteem them when you are gone. If you have no convictions, which is tantamount to admitting that

you have never cared, and never examined whether you are right or wrong, then it may be that you have gotten into the wrong pew, or are making a mere convenience of a serious Church organization having for its two pillars — its Jachin and Boaz — the salvations of souls under a priesthood of “all ye are brethren.”

Great sacrifices are required of such a ministry and such a people, it is true; all things of value based upon principles are costly, and it is also true that in the largest proportion the ministry and the laity of the Methodist Protestant Church are rendering them. But the insistence is that where inequality of burden-bearing exists, as between the ministers and the churches they serve, the explanation is found in the very maxim, like people like priest, more fully than there is a willingness to admit. Are they deficient in the support of the ministry? It is not believed that they are more so, where other things are equal, than is the common and crying fault with all the denominations; and if so, what is the ministry doing, not of pulpit scolding and browbeating, but of kindly, earnest presentation of the gospel of Christian beneficence, line upon line and precept upon precept? Are the general interests languishing — those things without which denominational existence is a parody, and which denominationalism means in turn: organized work for Christ, whether it is Ministerial Education, or Colleges for children and students of theology, or Publishing Interests, the synonym of a denominational literature for the people and their children, or the Foreign Missionary work, or Church Extension? Like people like priest, is replied; or else why is it that a class of these pastors, labor where they may, bring the assessments for these purposes, while another class, labor where they may, are always deficient? These things are facts notorious in all the Conferences. Is it your habit to respect conference resolves as to these interests, or do you slur them over, or, worse, denounce them at the firesides of the people as excessive? There is abundant evidence that whenever the pastors in a business-like and rational manner set before the people a cause worthy of their liberality, they respond in the measure of their ability, if not upon the first trial, then upon the second, or the final appeal. How greatly the people need elevating, instructing, and liberalizing requires no homily, and it is also known how greatly the pastors need the same, or otherwise it would not be so true as it is, that this Church, like all others, is what its pastors make it!

Worthington G. Snethen, son of Rev. Nicholas Snethen, de-

parted this life March 16, 1884, at Elizabeth, N. J., in his eightieth year. Removing to that town in 1867, he found himself without his father's Church, as no organization then existed, happily since supplied, but up to this period he was identified with it, and while residing in Washington, D. C., threw himself with all the influence he could command into the recuperation of the cause at the Ninth Street church, which under reverses had languished. The voluminous literary remains of his father, which he edited and largely rewrote for the press, have been before referred to as in the possession of the Pittsburgh Book Concern. Hon. Beniah S. Bibb deceased February 10, 1884, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. He was born in Georgia, September 30, 1796, and received a liberal education and entered upon the practice of the law. Converted in 1822, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, but embraced the principles of Reform, and in 1830 united with the new Church. He removed to Montgomery, Ala., and in 1825 was elected Judge of the Probate Court, a position he filled until 1844, when he was elected Judge of the Criminal Court of Montgomery, and served until the close of the Civil War. He was often elected to the legislature and to the State senate. If thus prominent as a civilian, he was none the less so as a churchman. His convictions were deep-seated, and he remained firm to the Church of his choice to the end, with his faithful wife, who was a daughter of Governor Gilmer, and known through life by her friends, in the Church and out of it, as "Miss Sophy." A delegate to almost every session of the Alabama Conference from 1830, as also of the General Conferences of 1842, 1856, 1874, and of the Union Convention of 1877, he died universally respected, and his end was peace. Tall, erect, his splendid character grew with his widening reputation, and his name in the Church is as ointment poured forth.

CHAPTER XXXVI

The Fourteenth General Conference, Baltimore, May, 1884; roster of members; Rev. W. S. Hammond, President; styled "a General Convention" in the title-page of Minutes, but it was such only as to certain specific changes, otherwise it was a General Conference only in legislative powers—Union with Cumberland Presbyterians; a default through the common cause; opposition of its officialism; also with the Congregational Methodists—The W. F. M. S. at the Conference—Book Concerns; reports; restrictive rule compromise; ordination of Anna M. Shaw by the New York Conference; consequences; Mrs. Eugenia F. St. John; was the action legal? a moot; Commissioners sent to the Centennial Conference of American Methodisms; what they did; Union predictions unverified; organic Union a dream; statistics—Curious things anent Episcopacy—Publication of Sunday-school supplies given to Pittsburgh; the terms and obligations involved—Centenary of Episcopal Methodism in Baltimore; Methodist Protestant Commissioners; queries; results of the Centenary in the Church, North and South; laymen—Obituaries of Reformers; Laishley and others; noble exceptions made in necrology; still others; Thomson and Bassett.

THE Fourteenth General Conference convened at St. John's church, Liberty Street, Baltimore, Md., at 10 o'clock A.M., May 16, 1884. It was called to order by the President of the Conference of 1880, with religious services, W. S. Hammond, Secretary. The Committee on Credentials reported the following as entitled to seats as representatives:—

		ALABAMA		
<i>Ministers</i>			<i>Laymen</i>	
E. R. Moore			C. E. Crenshaw	
W. J. Nolen			L. W. Jenkins ¹	
		ARKANSAS		
M. C. Jackson			Jeff. Wallace ¹	
		CENTRAL TEXAS		
G. P. Miller ¹			P. D. Henkle ¹	
		DEEP RIVER		
R. R. Brookshier			E. L. McHargue	
		GEORGIA		
F. H. M. Henderson			W. M. Bray	

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	GENESEE	<i>Laymen</i>
S. A. Baker		G. W. Doty
	INDIANA	
H. Stackhouse		N. H. Jones
J. M. Langley		S. L. Marrow
F. M. Hussey		P. W. Patterson
I. H. C. McKinney		J. D. Stopher
S. J. Jones		W. A. Quick ¹
	IOWA	
Wm. Remsburg		Virgil Roberts ¹
J. Selby		S. G. Russell
	KENTUCKY	
H. S. Swetnam		D. M. Dilleon ¹
	McCAINE (Texas)	
W. F. Bonham ¹		J. J. Hefflin ¹
	MARYLAND	
L. W. Bates		J. W. Hering
J. T. Murray		C. W. Button
W. S. Hammond		W. J. C. Dulany
S. B. Southerland		J. D. Baker
F. T. Tagg		W. B. Usilton
J. J. Murray		Horace Burrough
J. D. Kinzer		S. S. Ewell
T. H. Lewis		John Mason
T. D. Valiant		J. W. Thompson
E. J. Drinkhouse		H. F. Zollickoffer
	NORTH CAROLINA	
T. T. Ferree		S. V. Pickens ¹
R. H. Wills		J. M. Hadley
T. J. Ogburn		W. C. Whitaker
W. W. Amick		J. C. Roberts
J. L. Michaux		J. L. Ogburn ¹
A. W. Lineberry		J. A. Holt
A. C. Harris		S. R. Harris ¹
J. R. Ball ¹		J. F. Harris ¹
	MICHIGAN	
G. B. McElroy		A. A. Rust
A. C. Fuller		J. S. Duffie ¹
	MISSISSIPPI	
J. S. Scarborough ¹		M. D. Etheridge ¹

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	MINNESOTA	<i>Laymen</i>
W. R. Sweet ¹		W. Stauffer ¹
	MISSOURI	
A. A. Keran ¹		D. B. Biddle ¹
	MUSKINGUM	
S. A. Fisher		M. Yingling
J. S. Thrap		W. E. Case
G. W. Hissey		Thos. Chambers
O. V. W. Chandler		Vincent Ferguson ¹
F. A. Brown		Thos. Smith
W. L. Wells		W. L. Trennor ¹
J. H. Hamilton		W. E. H. Hartsock
	NEW YORK	
J. J. Smith		Benj. Harding ¹
Mark Staple		Arnet Seaman
	NEW JERSEY	
T. B. Appleget		John Z. Stanger
	PITTSBURGH	
John Scott		J. S. Barnes
G. G. Westfall		H. C. Swart
W. H. Phipps		J. P. Sayer
John Cowl ¹		G. W. Pogue
	PENNSYLVANIA	
A. G. Bloomfield		Joseph Anderson
	NEBRASKA	
E. T. Hudson		S. W. McGrew
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
W. W. Williams		A. R. Borton
V. H. Brown		C. P. Crum
	NORTH MISSISSIPPI	
B. T. Weeks ¹		W. C. Carter ¹
	NORTH ARKANSAS	
G. O. Hickey ¹		J. McLemore ¹
	OHIO	
J. B. Walker		Wm. W. White ¹
T. B. Graham		Jordan Downs
D. S. Stephens		G. W. Kent ¹
S. K. Spahr		Thompson Douglass

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	ONONDAGA	<i>Laymen</i>
G. D. Ellis		N. J. Fields
	SOUTH CAROLINA	
J. Q. Stockman ¹		J. W. Pevy ¹
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
D. B. Turney		Jas. A. Link ¹
G. C. Smith ¹		David A. Reed
	TENNESSEE	
Joseph Camper		Wm. E. Thompson
	TEXAS	
M. F. Rosser		J. J. Morris ¹
	VIRGINIA	
G. R. Barr		J. A. McQuown ¹
John G. Johnson		Ira P. Robinett ¹
	WEST MICHIGAN	
L. D. Abbott		Wm. Woodward
	WEST VIRGINIA	
George Nestor		J. W. Williams
H. P. F. King		W. F. Post
E. F. Westfall		G. W. Reay ¹
M. S. Barnett		J. B. Watson ¹
J. J. Poynter ¹		Reason Cain ¹
D. H. Davis		F. M. Durbin ¹
D. G. Helmick		Wm. Mearns
A. L. McKeever		J. W. Hull
Benj. Stout		J. N. Pierpont
	WEST TENNESSEE	
J. A. Fowler		J. Thomas ¹
	WESTERN ARKANSAS	
J. E. Loudermilk ¹		S. A. Reppy ¹
	BALTIMORE (Col.)	
Thos. Wells		Perry Gray
	RED RIVER	
Wm. Trogden		W. R. Hefflin ¹
	GEORGIA (Col.)	
G. N. Barge ¹		J. M. Smith ¹

¹ Absent.

Ministers
W. S. Bartholomew

FORT SMITH

Laymen
H. N. Sanders¹

Daniel Young

KANSAS

Out of one hundred and sixty-one, fifty were not present. It will be observed that these were mostly from extreme distances. As it was the original purpose of the framers of the Constitution to keep this legislative assembly of the Church within one hundred, it was considerably overreached. It was an imposing representation of the general Church in all its sections, this and the color line having been both wiped out.

Dr. J. J. Murray, pastor of St. John's, made an address of welcome in behalf of the congregation, the citizens of Baltimore, and the Maryland Conference, to which the acting President responded. The election for permanent officers occurred at the afternoon session, after some fruitless balloting, at the open suggestion of a Western minister, naming the acting Secretary for the position, against the precedents of the body. William S. Hammond was chosen President against his personal protest; and S. K. Spahr, Secretary.

The printed Minutes of this Conference make a pamphlet of ninety-six octavo pages; but its salient business may be compressed into much briefer space, as much of its time was occupied with the presentation of papers on revision, and various matters of reference to committees with negative action, the Standing Committees, as appointed by the President, doing their work with thoroughness and despatch. Note will be made of the essential matters of report and legislation; disciplinary changes, etc., may be found in the revised Discipline of even date.

Rev. Dr. Augustus Webster and A. H. Bassett, by invitation, addressed the Conference on historical lines with much favor. A final report from the Committee on Conventional Powers, after various references and votes by the body, rehearsed that the action of the Annual Conferences was not uniform; but they found that "for powers according to the General Conference resolutions of 1880"² twenty-five Conferences, or a majority of two-

¹ Absent.

² A critical examination of these resolutions, as well as an analysis of the votes of the Conferences subsequently on them, as found in the Minutes of 1884, make

thirds, were in favor. The report was adopted. The Hymn Book Committee of fifteen, appointed by the last General Conference, reported their action, which was approved. A correspondence between the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, growing out of the presence at the Conference of 1880 of Rev. Dr. Black, was submitted, suggesting organic Union of the two Churches. It was reciprocated, and commissioners were appointed by this body to consider its advisability. Their General Assembly was now in session at McKeesport, Pa., and telegraphic messages were sent and received. There was quite a popular feeling in both Churches in favor of this movement, the doctrinal differences being unimportant and the governmental structure practically the same; hope was entertained that for once something tangible would come of the proposition. The two Churches were numerically nearly the same; and other interests quadrated. But after the respective assemblies had adjourned, the official organ of the Cumberlands, at Nashville, Tenn., made open and strong objection to the proposal, with the result that once more officialism killed what might have been the will of the membership, if the work of the commission had been encouraged to go on for its ascertainment. As it was, in Texas and some other places, local churches did unite. It may surprise some other later advocates of Union among Methodists that the name was one of the principal difficulties of adjustment, as tentatively mooted. It was natural, as no denomination that has struggled to recognition among the Churches is willing to be extinguished under a name that does not continue to recognize it. A similar movement was inaugurated by this General Conference appointing a Commission of five to enter into correspondence with the Congregational Methodists with "a proposition of Union of that Church with our own," etc.¹

it plain and indisputable that "conventional powers" would have been defeated by a strong majority, except those favoring it under the strict limitations imposed; namely, a new method of constitutional changes in the future, a change of the restrictive rule, and the harmonizing of any sections of the extant Discipline not in accord with each other. So that anything else this body of 1884 did, it did as a General Conference, and not as a General Convention. The point is of vital importance, as will be seen from the moot raised on a later action of this body. It is, however, always styled a "General Convention" in the technical references of the Minutes and on the title-page, — the moot is, by what authority?

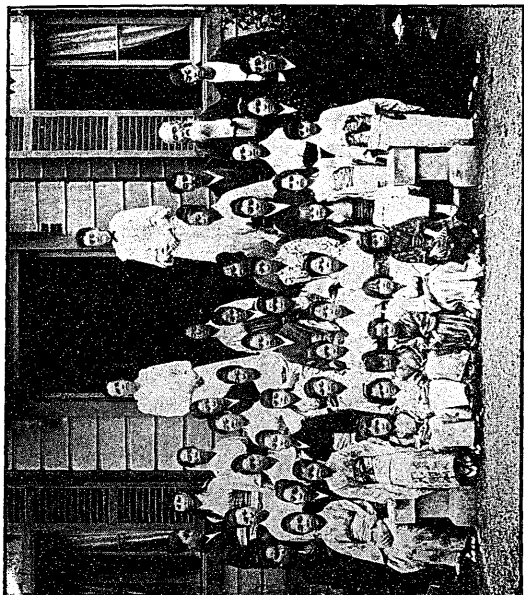
¹ "Constitution and Government of the Congregational Methodist Churches." 3d edition. Opelika, Ala. 1873. 32mo. 64 pp. Cloth. An examination shows that it was organized in 1852, by certain brethren who withdrew from the M. E. Church, South, and a few from the Methodist Protestant Church, one of its leaders, Eppes Tucker, having been an original minister in the organization and a

It is now believed feasible because of the change made by the Conference, giving Annual Conferences control of the time limit, — the only remaining difference between the general church law and the Congregational theory. But it came to naught — a few fraternal interchanges and individual transfers of membership, with the ministers, was all that could be secured. Again officialism killed it, as their paper at Cave Spring, Ga., did not favor it, and their leading brethren looked askance.

Mrs. F. A. Brown, Mrs. A. R. O'Brien, and Mrs. M. A. Miller were introduced as representatives of the executive board of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Church.¹ They were invited to seats within the bar, and received other formal recognition. Adrian, Mich., was selected as the place for the next General Conference. The report of the Committee on Publishing Houses submitted the reports of the two Directories, from which the following items are culled. Circulation of the *Methodist Protestant*, February 29, 1884, 3424; circulation, February 28, 1883, 3122; net gain, 302; new names, 772; discontinued, 470. Sabbath-school papers, May 1, 1884, 58,984; May 1, 1883, 39,240; net gain, 19,744. *Methodist Recorder*, circulation, March 1, 1884, 4820; March 1, 1883, 4954; loss, 1243; new subscribers 1109; net loss, 134. Circulation of *Our Morning Guide*, 9000; *Child's Recorder*, 4600. Baltimore Directory, net assets, March 1, 1884, \$9401.98; Pittsburgh Directory, March 1, 1884, net capital, \$20,865.87, of which the Book Room realty is appraised at \$19,071.64. The Conference elected for Directory at Baltimore: H. F. Zollickoffer, J. T. Murray, Horace Burrough, J. D. Kinzer, and J. G. Clarke. At Pittsburgh: John Gregory, J. S. Thrap, John Munden, W. K. Gillespie, and F. M. Durbin. H. F. Zol-

member of the Convention of 1830. They withdrew from the Church, South for three principal reasons, — the restrictive rule over pastors, its unrepublican government, and taxation without representation. They organized sporadically in various sections of the South, principally in Georgia and Alabama, until within thirty years they claimed to number some ten thousand members. They maintained an official organ. The Civil War greatly disintegrated them, but they bravely rallied their scattered forces. The lack of connectional bonds, of preachers and means, retarded their growth, so that in the past ten years they have gradually declined. The elementary principles of the M. P. Church were embodied by them almost without change. A number of their societies have coalesced, and ministers individually; and the process of disintegration is going on to their probable ultimate extinction.

¹ "History of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Protestant Church," by Mrs. M. A. Miller. 1896. W. F. M. S., Pittsburgh, Pa. 12mo. 140 pp. Cloth. A digest of this work is found as an Appendix to the first volume of this History from the pen of Mrs. Miller.



SCHOOL AT YOKOHAMA.

This picture was taken four years ago—Miss Annette Lawrence at the left of the doorway and Miss Amelia Rowe at the right. Miss Rowe returned to the United States later, and Miss Lawrence was sent to Nagoya. This school is now in charge of Miss Kuhn and Miss Williams.

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This picture was taken four years ago.—Miss Annette Lawrence at the left of the doorway, and Miss Amelia Rowe at the right. Miss Rowe returned to the United States later, and Miss Lawrence was sent to Nagoya. This school is now in charge of Miss Kuhn and Miss Williams.

lickoffer elected President and W. K. Gillespie, Secretary. Among the orders given by the Conference was the consolidation of the Sunday-school papers under a separate editor. E. J. Drinkhouse was elected Editor of the Baltimore papers, and Wm. J. C. Dulany, Publisher and Book Agent; and of the Pittsburgh papers, John Scott, Editor, and W. McCracken, Jr., Publisher and Book Agent. The Restrictive Rule was changed so as to read, "No rule shall be passed to abolish an efficient itinerant ministry; each Annual Conference shall have authority to determine for itself whether any limit, or, if any, what limit, shall be to the annual appointments." It was in the nature of a compromise between the adherents and opponents of such a rule. The liberty it gave to the Annual Conferences has worked well. For the most part they have passed a limitation of from three to five years, except in Maryland and a few other Conferences. The practical result has been that the average changes have been nearly as frequent as under the old regulation. It made provision for exceptional cases, and in a few of the cities the extended time has worked to the advantage of the Church.

The Committee on Journals reported that "at the fifty-first session of the New York Conference, Miss Anna M. Shaw was elected to Elder's orders, and received ordination." It was referred to the Committee on Judiciary, who subsequently reported as follows: "We report the act unauthorized by the law of the Church, and that she is not entitled to recognition as an Elder in the Methodist Protestant Church." A long debate occurred upon it, and it was finally adopted. She continued to exercise as an Elder, the New York Conference sustaining their act as such. It will be seen that the question recurred in the General Conference of 1892, by its recognizing Mrs. Eugenia F. St. John as an Elder, and representative in the body from the Kansas Conference. The contention was made that this act was void, inasmuch as the legislative assembly of 1884 had pronounced Miss Shaw's ordination as an Elder unconstitutional—that it was a "General Convention" act, and, as such, no subsequent "General Conference" could nullify that deliverance. See the moot raised in a recent footnote, and the query stands to this day: Were all the enactments of the body of 1884 "General Convention" actions, or only the three to which that "General Conference" was limited, as being invested with "Conventional powers"? If the latter, then the deliverance it made as to Miss Shaw could be nullified by the later deliverance of 1892 as to

Mrs. St. John. The writer affirms only that, as a moot, it cannot be settled by asseveration simply on either side.¹

The Reformed Episcopal Church of the United States of America was formally recognized, and fraternal messengers appointed to its next General Council. The Committee on Fraternal Relations reported that the brethren appointed to correspond with the Wesleyan, the New Connexion, and the Primitive Methodists of England had done so, and replies received from each; that of the New Connexion being beautifully engrossed, and is appended to the minutes of this Conference. The Committee on Missions reported that for the quadrennium \$17,395.28 had been collected, and nearly \$5000 for the Japan Home. The aggregate expenses for this period, except for missionaries, was \$4839.26. Paid to missions in this country, \$4787.25; for foreign work, \$6703.72. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society reported that it had raised, for the five years of its existence, about \$11,000; \$2400 of this is a building fund, and the remainder in the treasury, in addition to this fund, is \$2083.31. A constitution for the Board of Missions and one for the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society were adopted. The relations of the two were defined. The Board of Ministerial Education reported net assets, \$5021.76. Westminster Theological Seminary building, \$4000; indebtedness, \$1200. The Theological School at Adrian was advised, as soon as possible, to secure the undivided services of the Dean, Rev. Dr. G. B. McElroy. A new constitution for the Board of Education was adopted. Rev. F. T. Tagg

¹ In reply to an article by Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray, acting as editor *pro tem.* of the Baltimore paper, October 25, 1884, in which he cites Church law as against the contention that anything but the expunging of the word "white" was in the mind of the brethren in the radical change made in the Twelfth Article of the Constitution in 1877, Rev. T. B. Appleget of the New Jersey Conference, November 1, 1884, affirms that the expunging of the word "male," in the section elided, "Every white, male member," was considered by the "Methodist" Convention as well. On this the whole controversy hinges. It was the only place in the Constitution or Discipline in which the word "male" occurred; and it is true that when it, as well as the word "white," was expunged by the abolition of the entire Article XII, both words went out together. But it is also true that the word "laymen" remains in the definition of eligible members to the General Conference and "the husband of one wife" in the ordination service, indicating that the excision of the word "male" with the word "white" was a mere accident of the situation, and not the intent of the "General Convention." It was certainly not in the mind of the Methodist Protestant Convention at the time, so that whatever advantage may be taken of the absence of the word "male" is technical, and not conventional. Some things, however, are settled by manifest destiny, and the ordination and delegated elective character of women in the Methodisms of the world come under the category.

was elected Corresponding Secretary to the Board of Home and Foreign Missions, and J. B. Walker to the Board of Ministerial Education. The special committee on the Methodist Episcopal Centennial reported, acknowledging the invitation from Bishop Simpson and H. K. Carroll to participate, reciprocating the "courtesy and good-will," "we beg leave respectfully to state, that whilst as a denomination we could not feel free to appear as participants in the celebration," etc., in furtherance, "we recommend that a commission, consisting of two ministers and two laymen, be appointed, "who shall bear to the Centenary Conference of 1884 the fraternal greetings of this body, and our grateful recognition of what God has wrought in this land through organized Methodism, both Episcopal and Non-Episcopal": L. W. Bates, John Scott, J. W. Hering. Subsequently, the President announced as the Commission, Dr. L. W. Bates, Dr. John Scott, Hon. F. H. Pierpont, and Dr. J. W. Hering.

On the twelfth day, May 29, three sessions were held to expedite the closing business, the most important being the report of the laborious Committee on Statistics, which is herewith appended; that on Sabbath-schools being so imperfect as to furnish no truthful idea of what the Church was doing as an organization committed specially to childhood church membership and Sabbath-school instruction, it is omitted. The statistics, it will be seen, show an aggregate net increase of the membership of about eight thousand for the quadrennium, or about $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ per cent. That of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the same period is $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ per cent (see "Centenary Year Book" of that Church). "What are you doing as a Church?" *Answer.* "As much as our powerful sister Methodism, with all its incidental advantages and protection against loss by removals, heretofore considered." The aggregate net increase in the value of church property was nearly half a million, one of the surest evidences of the growth, and most reliable signs of the permanence, of a denomination. At the close of the night session the General Conference adjourned.

STATISTICS OF THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH

ANNUAL CONFERENCE	Itinerant Ministers and Preachers	Unstationed Ministers and Preachers	Members	Probationers	Churches	Parsonages	Valuation of Church Property	Percentage of increase in Church Membership	Percentage of Decrease in Church Membership	Remarks
Alabama	31	3	3,139	60	65	2	\$57,205	..	..	..
Arkansas	10	7	1,275	1	29	..	5,256	..	..	..
Colorado, Texas	19	9	510	9	11	..	1,500	..	..	..
Central Texas	31	24	1,560	200	15	..	4,000	..	..	..
Deep River	112	8	663	15	9	..	2,000	..	..	Year book
Fort Smith	31	11	1,400	2	13	1	2,500	..	..	..
Georgia	29	5	2,104	56	47	..	65,100	..	..	..
Georgia (Colored)	18	18	1,000	17	18	..	2,500	..	..	Year book
Genesee	19	21	713	12	104	8	31,750	..	..	Year book
Indiana	56	62	6,891	259	90	13	105,110	..	..	..
Iowa	46	15	2,847	73	44	14	53,100	..	..	..
Kansas	20	16	926	16	5	7	9,250	..	..	Year book
Kentucky	26	..	1,291	..	8	..	2,400	..	..	..
Louisiana	9	5	1,129	4	22	..	7,220	..	..	Year book
McCaine	12	12	587	7	4	..	1,975	..	..	..
Maryland	109	33	14,548	822	2204	56	753,035	..	..	Year book
Michigan	41	29	2,198	25	104	26	87,350	..	..	Year book
Mississippi	19	..	963	..	29	..	2,105	..	..	Year book
Minnesota	20	3	304	18	4	2	4,030	..	..	Year book
Missouri	43	21	1,905	3	204	2	10,100	..	..	..
Muskingum	55	63	10,131	696	148	15	232,320	..	..	..
New York	84	15	2,500	119	25	11	148,050	..	..	..
New Jersey	21	14	2,169	214	28	9	90,750	..	..	..
North Carolina	58	59	12,276	103	166	2	90,125	..	..	..
North Missouri	24	10	1,280	21	204	4	23,700	..	..	..
Nebraska	10	10	602	40	12	5	2,600	..	..	..
North Illinois	49	37	2,300	..	54	20	95,000	..	..	..
North Arkansas	23	6	800	10	3	1	1,000	..	..	..
North Mississippi	16	13	944	3	30	..	4,950	..	..	..
Ohio	45	43	6,065	174	104	26	242,100	..	..	..
Onondaga	66	30	2,153	141	854	24	90,400	..	..	..
Oregon	6	4	200	..	3	2	17,000	..	..	..
Pittsburgh	49	54	8,115	134	764	17	507,021	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	12	11	570	144	143	3	20,000	..	..	..
South Illinois	27	42	2,675	2	85	3	30,000	..	..	..
South Carolina	16	11	1,209	14	29	2	6,000	..	..	..
Tennessee	18	4	1,277	4	24	..	10,550	..	..	..
Texas	23	4	1,779	6	44	2	5,450	..	..	..
Virginia	38	19	3,267	142	324	..	16,650	..	..	..
West Michigan	26	33	1,412	80	214	15	40,300	..	..	..
West Virginia	64	105	13,070	47	1254	19	116,150	..	..	..
West Tennessee	20	..	784	..	23	..	4,500	..	..	..
Western Arkansas	23	17	1,159	16	33	..	3,900	..	..	..
Total	1,321	905	124,695	3,572	1,824	311	\$3,010,502	..	..	..

MISSIONARY DISTRICTS

Boston	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baltimore (Colored)	9	4	293	21	7	..	\$13,900	..	..	..
California	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Colorado, Tex. (Col'd)	..	8	480	4	11	..	2,428	..	..	..
Red River	10	2	198	..	3	..	600	..	..	..
Total	19	14	971	25	21	..	16,928	..	..	..
Grand total	1,340	919	125,666	3,597	1,845	311	\$3,027,430	..	..	..

G. G. WESTFALL, *Chairman.*

In the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, May, 1884, on motion of Dr. Neely, — opposed by Dr. Whedon, but seconded by Dr. Curry, — it was resolved that the bishopric is an office, and not an order, etc. Immediately after its adjournment this action set the family of *Advocates* by the ears, — the usual official harmony was disturbed, — the prelatical element of the ministry vehemently denounced it, while the presbyterial brethren as vehemently upheld it as the view of the "fathers." Perhaps it was aggravated by the fact that the Protestant Episcopal Church had announced a Centenary celebration, dating from October 7, 1884, quadrating with the ordination of Bishop Seabury of Connecticut by the Aberdeen, Scotland, bishops, October 7, 1784, or nearly three months before Asbury was "set apart" as a Bishop(?) in the Methodist Episcopal Church. True, their formal Convention was not held until after Asbury's Christmas Conference, but these sticklers for priority held that constructively, at least, they were an Episcopal Church from the date of Seabury's ordination; and this cannot be disputed. Why all this ado? Nothing, gentle reader, but the disputable claim of the Methodist Episcopal Church, often and pridefully repeated, that Coke and Asbury were "the first bishops in America." And now for the General Conference of 1884 — the rash work of the young bloods — to declare that their bishopric was a mere office and not an order, with a rubric appended to the so-called "ordination service" to this effect, it was too bad. And then, in November 27, 1884, Dr. Abel Stevens, now in a kind of voluntary banishment in Switzerland, after his cavalier treatment and dismissal from the editorship of the *New York Advocate*, published an article in that paper, under the date given, in which he affirms of lay-representation, "On the ground on which the 'Reformers' [1827-30] were arrested, all great reformatory movements could be impeached, and all progress arrested." In the same article, speaking of Emory's "Defence of our Fathers," he says, "It was actually from the pen of Dr. Thomas E. Bond, a layman." (See the Baltimore official paper, December 6, 1884.) The writer had intimated this latter fact earlier in this volume, but until now he lacked evidence.

September 20, 1884, the writer, as editor of the official paper, began the publication, in short chapters, of O'Kelly's "Apology," for its more general circulation and preservation, as it had become very rare. In obedience to the order of the late General Conference to consolidate the Sunday-school issues under an editor, the

Board of Publication, as such, met at Pittsburgh, and took the question into consideration. As already noted, the Sunday-school papers of Pittsburgh claimed a circulation of 9500; those of Baltimore, covering the international lesson series, nearly 59,000. A whole day was spent in a fruitless negotiation, neither Directory being willing to surrender to the other its publications. No further mention need be made, but the fact that, as a last resort, the brethren of Pittsburgh presented the commercial proposition of give or take, offering the Baltimore Directory, for the privilege of concentrating the publishing at their end, 33½ per cent discount on them delivered in bulk as compensation for the surrender, and distribution in Baltimore, as an agency, on an equal footing with their own. It was not believed by the Baltimore brethren that the margin of profit would justify them in such tender of discount, therefore they accepted the offer. It was another of those business compacts not to be disturbed in its essential features except by common consent. It has worked well to both publishing houses, and the faith has been kept. The election of an Editor and General Manager resulted in the choice of Rev. J. F. Cowan, who had been assisting on the Baltimore lesson series for a length of time, he receiving the entire vote of Baltimore and one from Pittsburgh. It was agreed that the new arrangement should not take effect until January, 1885, to give time for the readjustment.

The Centenary of the Episcopal Methodists, pursuant to notice, took place in Mt. Vernon church, Baltimore, December 7. It is a splendid structure, and has a capacity of fifteen hundred or more. The delegates to the Centenary elected were six hundred, of whom about four hundred and fifty attended. Expectation as to its size was not realized, but it made an august assembly, the picked men of the Episcopal Methodisms gracing it with their presence, piety, and eloquence. No Non-Episcopal Methodism was present, except the Canada Methodists, always heretofore rated as Episcopal, a few from the Primitives, and the Baltimore Independents. The programme did not include Organic Union or Union of any kind; but there were frequent incidental references, always received with applause. Bishop Foster's sermon, introductory, was a grand effort, bating some queer allusions, historical, such as the averment that the Christmas Conference of 1784 contained no laymen, — a reference made necessary from the fact that the present assembly was nearly equally divided between ministers and laymen, — because it was "with their own

consent." It was not the place or time to dispute it, but everybody knew better, except Bishop Foster, who ought at least to have known it was not true, either in whole or in part. The Methodist Protestant Commissioners were most courteously received, and the night of December 11 set apart to hear them. Hon. F. H. Pierpont gave notice that he could not attend, and Dr. H. F. Zollickoffer was named as a substitute; but he did not participate. Drs. Bates, Scott, and Hering were present, and the church was full of the Conference and spectators, of whom the writer was one. Their addresses may be found in the *Methodist Protestant* of December 20, 1884. No more loyal men to the Church ever appeared before an Episcopal Methodist body. The addresses of Drs. Bates and Scott were largely historical, and did credit to their heads and hearts as representatives of the Church. The first, however, took occasion toward the close, as he said, properly, "on his own responsibility," to advert to the question of Organic Union, and made a prediction in these words, "I venture to predict that a Union of American Methodists is a foregone conclusion." (Applause.) He further said, "We claim the credit of your lay-delegation, and when the Union comes to pass, and, lo, it will come, we shall claim the credit of that also." The second made the longest address of the three, and it abounded in excellent things, and allusions to his own personal association with the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church; argued the question of church government irenically, and expressed his desire for Union in the words, "I would be willing, Mr. President, to live to a great age, if I could only see all the Methodist Churches in this country sink out of sight the minor differences which separate them, and, as my brother from Canada suggested this afternoon, unite in one great Methodist Church." A decade of years after this deliverance he wrote in review, "From present indications, I am inclined to think that I would have to live to a very great age indeed, to be permitted to see a Union of all the Methodist Churches in this country."¹ In the knowledge of the writer, Dr. Bates has not since been heard from on this subject;²

¹ "Fifty Years' Recollections in the Ministry."

² The writer has since ascertained that Dr. Bates has made several deliverances, indicating that he has abandoned the view expressed at the Centennial Conference, the latest being, in substance, that any denomination of Methodists so thoroughly partisan as the M. E. Church proved itself to be in officially withdrawing all countenance to the Christian Endeavor Societies, and the counter organization of the Epworth League, makes the Union of any other Methodism with it impracticable and undesirable.

and he ventures to predict, also at the risk of a like false prophecy, that Organic Union of the American Methodists will never be realized. If it be among possibilities, it is so remote that the present generation has no interest in it. What the Methodists of the world need is federation, and what the Protestantism of the world needs is federation. More than this is impracticable, undesirable, and a Utopian dream. Even this cannot be attained until there is the growth of a Christ-love greater than the Church-love; and federation is the first step in the direction, and must be taken before Organic Union is even in sight. Dr. Hering delivered a chaste, pertinent, and admirable address, confining himself to the fraternal mission on which the brethren were sent.

The British Conference having pronounced against the second Pan-Methodist Conference for 1887, this Episcopal Conference did the same, and the whole matter seemed a default; but, as will be seen, it was afterward revived and such a Conference appointed for 1891, the centenary of Wesley's death; and was successfully held in Washington, D. C., the Methodist Protestant Church fully participating in it. The Episcopal Conference was a great success in prompting the laity to another display of abundant liberality, as in 1839 and 1866 — a round million was contributed by the brethren, and the material status of the Church lifted to a higher plane than ever. It was so, also, largely in the Church South, their poverty considered. It gave a wonderful stimulus to all the general interests of the Methodist Episcopal Church: colleges, education of the ministry, church extension, foreign missions; and the tide of enterprise rose at home to the cheerful announcement that they were building a church every day.

These gifts came from a loyal laity, most of them from the common walks of life; but, made spiritually alive by the free-grace gospel preached and the helpful means of the Church, they prospered in business, and a deep Christ-love impelled these offerings to a system which had ever ignored them as competent to participate in government or have any part in the distribution of what they so liberally gave. It has been seen how their deep unrest under this disability had found expression on the eve of General Conferences, petitioning meekly for the privilege; and, since this period, rising to the dignity of remonstrance, with gradual and grudging concessions, as the volume of demand increased, with a future hopeful for this long-submerged estate of a Church which is rapidly girdling the world. "Ah! it is our

system, our system!" Yes, the system has much to do with it as a coercive and cohesive force; so it has to do with the same features in the Roman hierarchy. And the writer is not so ill-informed as not to know that not a few of their most intelligent laity are in full accord with the ministry that it is the system, and patiently rest under it, yea, defend it. A typical personality of this class was the late Theodore Runyon, United States Ambassador to the court of Germany, deceased January, 1896. An ardent Methodist from his youth, cultured in legal and classical lore; in politics, a democrat of democrats, believing in universal suffrage and equal rights for every citizen; yet so enamoured of an ecclesiastical system violating every political sentiment he held, that on one occasion, in a public debate at Newark, N. J., he defended the system against a brother layman, Charles C. North. These are anomalies, and few as the "scattered berries on the uppermost branch." As offsetting him, instance the Hon. Will Cumback of Indiana, his equal in all the features named, whose indignant remonstrance within a year was expressed through one of the *Western Advocates* against the dallying, and, what seemed to him, the evasive, policy of the governing class in granting the lay-rights he holds so sacred and indefeasible. Interrogate this laic, and he will be found to represent four out of every five of them.

Our notations of the year 1884 will close with necrological observations upon Rev. P. L. Laishley, M.D., born in England. January 1, 1798. His forbears were early Methodists, and he one of five sons, all of whom became ministers. He came to America in 1818, and in 1819 was converted at a camp-meeting in Loudoun County, Va. He soon became acquainted with O'Kelly's "Christian Church," united with it, was licensed and ordained in 1820; so that he was a pronounced Reformer before the cause was born. He was graduated in medicine in 1832, and practised for several years; but the love of preaching overcame the secular employ, and, removing to the West, he united with the Pittsburgh Conference in 1833, the year it was organized. He labored in the West Virginia Conference until 1868, when he again united with the Pittsburgh Conference. He was elected President of his Annual Conference thirteen times, and four times a representative in the General Conferences, as well as of the General Convention of 1877. As a preacher he was clear, forcible, and pathetic, and well furnished as a debater. He was a close observer, with a great fund of general information, interlarded

with anecdotal illustrations. In all the relations of life he was respected and loved by a large circle of intimate friends. He spent his closing days in cheerful retirement, and met his end peacefully, May 31, 1884, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. Rev. William Collins, of the Tennessee Conference, deceased July 12, 1884, in his eighty-second year. He was licensed to preach in 1829, and had a life-long connection with the Church. Such is a brief record of a worthy man. Rev. Edward Dromgoole, Jr., of the Virginia Conference, deceased, in 1840, in his fifty-second year. His obituary did not appear in the official paper until October 25, 1884. He was a son of the Rev. Edward Dromgoole, one of the early Methodist preachers, and from whom he imbibed his Reform principles, though the father in his old age made no change in his church relations. But little is now known of the son, except that he was true to his convictions and died in peace.

The Sunday-school literature, in its new form and with its new editor, appeared punctually with the first week of the year 1885. The *Baltimore Bible-School* was discontinued, as well as the *Child's Recorder*, at Pittsburgh, making the new issues stand, the *Bible-School Quarterly*, the *Monthly and Weekly Lessons*, the *Morning Guide*, and *Our Children*. As announced at the time, they were "as good as the best, and as cheap as the cheapest"; and the editor soon gave evidence that he commanded the situation; and has ever since kept them abreast with the needs, while many improvements have marked their career through these eleven years. The official papers were kept first-class in character, and gradually won their way more fully among the people, despite the fact that competing literature, both secular and religious, was never so abundant. The *West Virginia Methodist Protestant* was issued at St. Mary's, W. Va., by Rev. J. J. Poynter about this time. It was about half the size of the official papers, and made a very creditable appearance. It soon went the way of all such ventures. The editors and general agents, under the Annual Council, kept up their Conference visitations. The mission work in Japan, under Rev. F. C. Klein and Miss Brittain, took shape and was gaining ground. The Annual Conferences exhibited, as they met, improved statistics and church building; and the denomination was settling upon its foundations and rising in superstructure, challenging the notice and winning the respect of its compeers. It had demonstrated its right to live in an enlarging sphere. It has been well observed that "the real

force of any movement or institution is to be measured by its permeating power." Judged by this criterion, the Methodist Protestant Church was a great success. The principles and methods for which its originators were expelled from the mother Church, and which were now before the Christian world a working hypothesis, permeated the ministry and membership of the parent body; and the "innovations" of 1827-30 were wrought into the polity of the Episcopal Methodist churches. Reformers might be counted by hundreds of thousands who remained under tolerant treatment in their old Church home, and so did not add to the statistics of Reform Methodists, a test unhappily quite misleading as to the prevalence of kindred ideas in other communities.

Rev. Allen Y. Davis deceased April 14, 1885. He was a pioneer in the Church work in the Southwest, and an original member of the Mississippi Conference. His name must not perish from the records of devoted adherents of the cause. William S. Greenwood deceased May 12, 1885, aged seventy-seven years. He was an original Reformer and a charter member of the church in Chestertown, Md., and abounded in liberality and fidelity. It is not the plan of this work to perpetuate the memory in this form of other than those who were active participants in the movement of 1827-30; but a few exceptions the writer deems proper. Dr. Henry Fletcher Zollickoffer was born in Maryland, June 16, 1824, and was a son of Rev. Daniel Zollickoffer, an ardent Reformer of the early days. The son was, for a few years, an itinerant in Maryland, but retired and studied medicine, and, after some years' practice, again retired from the exposures of these employments and settled in commercial life in Baltimore city; accumulated a competence; gave it to the Church in liberal sums of \$1000 at a time, while smaller gifts were of frequent occurrence; he saw this competence, by the failure of business partners, vanish away; renewed the struggle, partly recovered, and returned to his liberal methods with the Church, and was cut off by typhoid fever, September 30, 1885. He held all the positions of trust the Church could bestow upon him; several times representative in the General Conferences, and a member of the General Union Convention, and did much, in the "Committee of Conference," to adjust differences of opinion. He was from the first President of the Board of Publication. Cultured, spiritual, devoted in his friendships, his closing days were a triumph of grace over disease and the fear of death. The official papers of the period are filled

with tributes. Rev. John H. Honour of South Carolina, and joint author with Rev. W. B. Evans of the "Questions and Answers," heretofore noticed, an early Reformer, and true to his convictions, died November, 1885. Daniel Stone of North Carolina deceased December 5, 1885, aged ninety years. He was identified with Reform from 1828; was steadfast and true.

The new volume of the *Methodist Protestant* introduced as a motto: "Childhood for the Church and the World for Christ." It seems to have struck a key-note, for at once, and for months after, the writers for the papers enlarged upon it, and needed attention was called to this feature of the church work, somewhat fallen into neglect as the "fathers" formulated the principle. The *Methodist Recorder* appeared in a dress of new type, and under Dr. Scott's unremitting labors held its own and better. The "Year Book" of the Church, now continued by Rev. J. F. Cowan, was filled with useful information, and added a feature of likenesses of prominent brethren. The *Western Recorder* changed its title to the *Evangelist*, as edited and published by Rev. I. H. C. McKinney, at Indianapolis, Ind., in the interest of that Conference. Rev. F. T. Tagg, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, injected into it new plans, extensive travel among the Conferences, and brought up the receipts to a most encouraging figure during this quadrennium. Rev. J. B. Walker, of the Ministerial Board, was no less diligent, so that the general enterprises were more hopeful than ever. For several years the polished and prolific pen of Rev. A. H. Widney of Illinois graced the columns of the official papers, whose editors, now free from the double burden of the Sunday-school literature, gave undivided labor to the weekly papers. A series of letters appeared in the Baltimore official, November and December, 1886, from Asbury and Coke to Alexander McCaine, as furnished by his daughter, Mrs. S. A. Britt. They bore date 1799, 1802, 1806, and one, from Coke, 1807, all of them breathing the love and confidence that existed during life between these men of renown.

The necrology was much enlarged this year. Rev. R. B. Thomson, D.D., was born at Norfolk, Va., November 15, 1808. He received the benefit of the best education, was converted, and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church in Richmond, Va. In 1827 he removed to Princess Anne County, where he became acquainted with the Reform literature of the day, and, on the 30th of November, 1828, he united with the first Associated Methodist Church, formed under this title at Princess Anne Court

House. On the 2d of December he was elected class-leader. Licensed to preach, in 1829, he was a delegate to the first Virginia Conference, and, in 1830, was received as a member. From this onward he received every honor his brethren could bestow upon him; President of the Annual Conference a number of times, and also a member of the General Conference, in which his pronounced abilities always commanded respect. He was eminent as a preacher and a Conference debater, a man of mark in all relations. His closing days were spent in the quiet of his country home, and he departed this life in peace, January 18, 1886, in his seventy-eighth year. His obsequies were held in the Lynchburg, Va., church, and drew tributes of admiration from ministers of the various denominations.

Rev. John Herbert, an original member of the Ohio Conference, was born in 1800, and departed December 25, 1885. Rev. Thomas Shipp, pioneer in the Indiana Conference, deceased January 8, 1886, aged eighty years. Rev. W. H. Marshall was born in England, August 18, 1806, came to this country in 1818, was converted in 1822, and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1829 he cast his lot with the Reformers in the West. He afterward labored successfully in the Ohio, the Pittsburgh, and the Muskingum Conferences, and of the latter was once elected President. His useful life ended February 8, 1886. Joseph Graham deceased March 28, 1886. He was an original member of the church at Easton, Md., and for fifty-eight years was honored for all manly and Christian virtues. Linked with this name is that of Jacob Boston of Baltimore, an original Reformer, and steadfast friend of the Church and of every good work, who departed this life, loved and honored, in his eighty-fifth year. Rev. B. J. Thackera, born in New Jersey, June 3, 1790; united with the Reformers of his day; endured persecution for his convictions; and departed this life February 26, 1864, his son, Rev. Daniel Thackera of the New Jersey Conference, furnishing a sketch for the official papers, May 1, 1886. J. J. Gillespie of Pittsburgh, Pa., deceased July 17, 1886, in his seventy-third year. He became identified with the Church in 1835, and held prominent positions, in Annual and General Conferences, and its institutions, the Book Concern and Adrian College; liberal, devoted, successful in business, of unflinching convictions, of marked personality and commanding physique, for more than fifty years he was a leader in Church work. Rev. T. K. Witsel, of the New York and the New Jersey Conferences, and often President, a member of

the General Conferences, a Reformer from 1829, departed this life July 8, 1886, in his ninetieth year.

Rev. A. H. Bassett was born in Massachusetts, July 1, 1809; in 1810 his parents removed to Cincinnati, where, at twelve years of age, he was converted and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. By close application he made up for the lack of educational advantages, and when the Reform movement took shape in that city, though but nineteen years of age, he faced the responsibility, great in that day, and joined his fortunes with the Expelled Reformers. In 1830 he united with the Ohio Conference, and served it as Secretary and President. In 1845 he retired, and took charge of the *Western Recorder*, and conducted it for ten years, having become a painstaking and able writer. When the paper became the official organ of the West he again took charge, and remained connected with it, as Agent or Editor, or both, with a few intervals, until 1872, when he retired. He was punctilious, accurate, and circumstantial in all his work, and has done much to preserve to the Church the olden records. In 1877 he issued a "Concise History" of the Church. He was one of the founders of the Western Book Concern, and was elected to every General Conference, save one, for forty years; also of the Conventions of the "Methodist" Church, and the Union Convention of 1877. As a preacher he was chaste and instructive; but his fame stands associated with the press of the West, as father and patron, with Cornelius Springer. He had a lingering illness from heart affection, and departed peacefully at Springfield, August 30, 1886, aged seventy-eight. Rev. Mather Hoover, local minister of Tennessee, original Reformer, deceased March 9, 1886, aged seventy-three. James West Thompson of Centreville, Md., deceased August 25, 1886, for half a century identified with the Church, a noble man, an educator, and true Christian. Rev. A. G. Grove, M.D., born in Maryland, March 31, 1814, was identified with Reform from 1827, the year of his spiritual birth. A member of the Maryland Conference, in 1857 he removed to Alabama and there took up the distracted cause and bore the brunt of its recuperation for a series of years. He departed suddenly October 31, 1886.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Statistics for the first fifty years of the M. E. and the M. P. Churches show that the "system" of the former cannot be claimed as advantageous — Improvement in the official papers, etc. — General Conference of the M. E. Church; lay-delegation and women delegates before them; the latter referred for decision to the Methodist "people"; shades of the Reform fathers! — Fifteenth General Conference at Adrian, Mich., May, 1888; roster of members; reports of Book Concerns and general Agents; committee of nine to revise the Articles of Religion; colleges; statistics; a gain of twelve per cent in the quadrennium in members — Comparison of statistics of the M. E. and M. P. Churches; queries — Obituaries: W. H. Wills and others; Calvin Tompkins and J. J. Amos of the laity, and Robison, Webster, and Lipscomb of the clergy — British delegates at the General Conference of the M. E. Church, South; reflections thereon; manifest destiny of the Reformed Church — The Heathsville, Va., church case — The Christian Endeavor movement — Obituary: Rev. J. B. Walker and others.

THE *Western Methodist Protestant*, Rev. J. H. Albritton, editor and publisher, Cameron, Tex., a quarto four-page paper, was issued in 1883, with the brief life of such ill-considered local enterprises. The *Indiana Evangelist* again changed name to the *National Methodist*, No. 1 of Vol. 8, by I. H. C. McKinney. Intelligence, enterprise, and pluck marked his conduct of it through these years, with or without the support of the local Conference. September 17, 1887, a carefully prepared statement was published in the Baltimore paper, giving the relative increase in members of the Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Protestant Churches for the first fifty years of the existence of each. The result is, for the former 2049 per cent, and for the latter 2220 per cent. There are some elements of uncertainty in the calculation, but approximately correct enough to prove that the success of Methodism could not be due to the system of Asbury and Coke; other things being equal, the system of Snethen, Shinn, and Jennings succeeded just as well. The *Methodist Recorder* for May, 1887, reported a circulation of sixty-two hundred, an increase of twenty-two per cent for the year past. The preachers and people took hold of it under the careful editorship of Dr. Scott, with this result; but one thought was allowed to dominate; it was the Church paper of the North and West, and an official organ of the

general Church, and they meant it should be supported. Business had improved, and the country was on a tide of apparent if not real prosperity, and this was helpful. The same zeal would keep all the Church interests to the front at all seasons. The Baltimore Book Concern was invited into new and handsome quarters by the agent and publisher, at No. 8 East Baltimore Street, the present eligible location. With the first number of its next volume, for January, 1888, the form of the official paper was changed to sixteen pages, large quarto, with new headpiece and new type, and a readjusted make-up, at an additional cost of \$1500 a year. It was warmly received by its patrons, and shared in the increased circulation, the edition being fifty-two hundred, a gain of a thousand in the year. The Sabbath-school literature adapted itself to every want, and was soon received into nearly all the schools. It was more evident than ever that the Methodist Protestant Church was to be denominationally perpetuated indefinitely. It was the General Conference year, appointed for the first time at Adrian, Mich., a territorial extreme inciting some discussion and fear of a sparse attendance,—a fear which its assembly effectually dissipated.

James B. Mathews of Maryland, born November 2, 1791, deceased June 26, 1887. He was an original Reformer, and founder of Union chapel, Howard County, whose long life was spent in active business and Church work. He married a sister of Rev. Alfred Griffith of the Baltimore Conference, and from him derived his Reform principles. Rev. J. P. Johnston, M.D., of the North Illinois Conference, local elder and practising physician, deceased October 8, 1887. An original Reformer, a frequent contributor to the official papers, true and steadfast to the end. Rev. Israel Thrapp was born May 15, 1807, in Ohio. He was converted at the first camp-meeting held west of the mountains by the "Reformers," and united with them. In 1829 and 1830 he took active part in revivals, and worked with his own hands in erecting the first Reform church west of the Ohio River. In 1831 he was licensed to preach by Zanesville circuit, and joined the Ohio Conference, September, 1831. In 1833 the Ohio Conference was divided, and he identified himself with the Pittsburgh section, and labored until the fall of 1842, when the Muskingum Conference was set off, and he elected to remain in Muskingum, becoming by this act its first President. He was a member of the General Conference of 1846 at Cincinnati, and also of several Conventions of the Methodist Church. Something of his history

in this connection has already been given in these pages. For a number of years he held a superannuated relation to the Conference, but abated none of his interest and lost none of his influence, though partially disabled from paralysis. He departed this life peacefully at his home, August 30, 1887.

Mrs. A. C. Baker of Buckeystown, Md., deceased, made three bequests: one of \$1000 to Nagoya mission, Japan; one of \$500 to the superannuated fund of the Maryland Conference; and one of \$300 to the Bible Society. A godly woman's remembrance. It was officially announced that arrangements for a second Ecumenical Conference of Methodists had been made for 1891, at Washington, D. C., U. S. A., on the same basis of attendance as at London in 1881: four hundred delegates, to be divided between the English and the American bodies. Again the good nature of the Americans prevailed over the jealous fears of their trans-Atlantic brethren that they would be outnumbered, though on a ratio of membership this was only fair. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, there being no church edifice large enough for the purpose, May 1, 1888. The inevitable and irrepressible lay-delegation question was before them in various forms, the people entreating and the brethren professing willingness, but somehow always leaving it a question for farther delays. Six women delegates appeared with their credentials from Annual Conferences, and the issue had to be met. After debates and manœuvring, it was settled for the time by referring it to the people of both sexes on popular vote for decision, report to be made to the next General Conference. Shades of the Fathers! A reference to the Methodist "people" in their primary assemblies! It was the first adoption of a genuine Methodist Protestant idea ever known in that Church. It shall be seen what became of it.

The Fifteenth General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church convened in Plymouth church, Adrian, Mich., May 18, 1888, at 10 A.M. Called to order by the President, W. S. Hammond; Secretary, S. K. Spahr. The following list contains the names of those elected to this General Conference:—

ALABAMA

Ministers

H. H. McNeill¹
J. T. Howell¹

Laymen

D. O. Stanfill
C. E. Crenshaw

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	ARKANSAS	<i>Laymen</i>
M. C. Jackson		J. F. Jordan
	BALTIMORE (Colored)	
	Rev. W. H. Lee, Messenger ¹	
	CENTRAL TEXAS	
J. E. Bounds		L. Hinds ¹ N. G. Ferguson ²
	COLORADO (Texas)	
Thomas Aaron ¹		Judge Morris ¹
	DEEP RIVER	
Solomon Long ¹		E. L. McHargue ¹
	FORT SMITH	
James Whitaker		W. C. H. Walker ¹
	GEORGIA	
J. G. Coldwell		J. M. Adamson
	GENESEE	
F. N. Foster		Geo. W. Doty
	INDIANA	
H. Stackhouse		W. W. McCaslin
I. H. C. McKinney		J. M. Eades
G. W. Boxell ¹		W. A. Quick ¹
F. M. Hussey		N. Hill
	IOWA	
S. J. Geddes		J. F. Burdine
W. M. Van Vleet		J. W. Murphy ¹
	KANSAS	
J. H. Luse		D. Vangundy ¹
	KENTUCKY	
H. S. Swetnam		Dawson Dillon ¹
	LOUISIANA	
J. M. P. Hickerson		J. W. Calcote ¹
	MARYLAND	
L. W. Bates		W. J. C. Dulany
F. T. Tagg		C. W. Button
W. S. Hammond		J. R. Caton
W. M. Strayer		J. W. Hering

¹ Absent.² Alternate.

MARYLAND (*continued*)

Ministers

J. D. Kinzer
E. J. Drinkhouse
T. H. Lewis
J. T. Murray
D. L. Greenfield

Laymen

J. D. Baker
Samuel Vannort
W. J. Aydelotte
J. B. Thomas
Horace Burrough

MICHIGAN

G. B. McElroy

W. J. Spear¹

MINNESOTA

W. H. McChesney

Wm. Stauffer¹

MISSOURI

W. A. Fogle

J. W. Miller¹

MISSISSIPPI

J. L. Scarborough

J. W. McInnis¹

ONONDAGA

J. R. Hatch

F. C. Griffin

OREGON
(No report)

PENNSYLVANIA

J. R. Botts

G. P. Miller

PITTSBURGH

D. Jones
A. W. Robertson
Mark B. Taylor
J. C. Berrien

W. K. Gillespie
Jos. Bently
James P. Sayre
Henry J. Heinz

RED RIVER
(No report)

SOUTH CAROLINA

C. McSmith

Daniel Yarborough¹

TENNESSEE

B. F. Duggan

G. B. Moon

SOUTH ILLINOIS

G. C. Smith

F. M. Link

TEXAS

G. W. Johnson¹

Joseph Morris¹

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	VIRGINIA	<i>Laymen</i>
Geo. R. Barr ¹		H. F. Woodhouse ¹
F. T. Matthews ¹		J. F. Richmond ¹
	WEST ARKANSAS	
Thos. J. Loudermilk		Dr. C. M. Norwood ¹
	WEST TENNESSEE	
A. W. Floyd ²		R. W. Talley ¹
S. O. Hooper ¹		
	WEST MICHIGAN	
Wm. D. Tompkinson		S. J. Badecock ²
		J. W. Burlington ¹
	MUSKINGUM	
M. L. Jennings		Warner Mills
S. A. Fisher		C. J. Yingling
Wm. Hastings		J. M. McHenry
G. W. Hissey		Boyd McCormick
J. S. Thrapp		H. H. Woodard
W. L. Wells		L. Hawk
	NEBRASKA	
C. S. Bradley		J. W. Strickler ¹
	NEW JERSEY	
L. D. Stultz		Z. Patterson
	NEW YORK	
L. E. Davis		Arther D. Matthews
	NORTH ARKANSAS	
H. B. Cox		G. B. Holifield ¹
	NORTH CAROLINA	
T. J. Ogburn		J. F. Harris
J. R. Ball		W. C. Whitaker
J. L. Michaux ¹		W. J. Ellis ¹
R. H. Wills		J. C. Roberts
D. A. Highfill ¹		M. H. Holt
S. W. Coe		J. M. Hadley
F. M. Totten		O. R. Cox ¹
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
Thomas Kelley		W. S. Wilson
	NORTH MISSOURI	
G. Williams		N. Davis

¹ Absent.² Alternates.

NORTH MISSISSIPPI

*Ministers*Wm. Shepherd¹*Laymen*A. T. Harris¹

OHIO

T. B. Graham²C. S. Evans¹

D. S. Stephens

S. K. Spahr

A. Alexander

W. L. Bailey

A. T. Corbit

WEST VIRGINIA

B. Stout

A. L. McKeever

M. L. Barnett

J. F. Cowan

J. J. Mason

D. G. Helmick

D. H. Davis¹O. Lowther²E. J. Wilson²

J. W. Hull

R. H. Freer¹

John Linn

J. N. Pierpont

I. C. Post

J. H. Henry¹

U. S. Fleming

Wm. Mearns²L. D. Swisher²

Alabama, Colorado, Georgia, Spring River (colored), no report.

One hundred and sixty-one were elected, and of these forty-four were absent, mostly from the South and Southwest. It was not so large as was feared, from the pecuniary inability of brethren to be present, there being no Book Concern fund out of which to pay expenses, as in the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was largely a picked body of men, and made a good impression as a deliberative assembly. At the afternoon session David Jones was elected President, and U. S. Fleming, Secretary; L. D. Stultz, Assistant. The whole of the second day was occupied in the presentation of papers and incidental business. On the third day a large list of Standing Committees was announced by the President, and the time occupied with reports from the Colleges and Book Concerns and General Agents. The same order for the fourth and fifth days. On the afternoon of the sixth day the election of editors and officers took place: Editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, D. S. Stephens; Publisher and Book Agent at Pittsburgh, W. McCrackin, Jr.; Directory, W. P. Herbert, W. K. Gillespie, Nathan Jones, S. A. Fisher, and John Gregory; Editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, E. J. Drinkhouse; Publisher and Book Agent at Baltimore, W. J. C. Dulany; Directory, Horace Burrough, J. G. Clarke, J. T. Murray, J. W. Hering, and J. D.

¹ Absent.² Alternates.

Kinzer. John Clarke was elected President of the Board of Publication, and Nathan Jones, Secretary. Editor of the Sunday-school literature, J. F. Cowan. Secretary of the Board of Home and Foreign Missions, F. T. Tagg. Westminster, Md., was selected as the place for the next General Conference. A separate Board of Home Missions was set off, and the new Board elected as follows: S. A. Fisher, M. L. Barnett, S. K. Spahr, J. W. Hawkins, F. M. Durbin, and F. H. Pierpont. It was located at Grafton, W. Va. Board of Ministerial Education: G. G. Westfall, W. P. Herbert, William Hastings, and J. H. Claney. J. B. Walker was elected Corresponding Secretary. Board of Governors for Westminster Theological Seminary: L. D. Stultz, C. E. Crenshaw, J. C. Roberts, Benjamin Stout, and J. W. Hull. The Committee on Revisals made a number of reports emendating the Discipline, for which see the revised edition. Board of Foreign Missions: T. B. Graham, C. S. Evans, G. B. McElroy, T. J. Ogburn, O. V. W. Chandler, William White, W. W. McCaslin, C. J. Yingling, and L. W. Bates. Executive Committee of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society: Mrs. W. K. Gillespie, Mrs. M. A. Miller, Mrs. J. D. Anderson, Mrs. J. E. Palmer, Mrs. F. A. Brown, Mrs. A. R. O'Brien, Mrs. I. D. Coxen, Mrs. S. K. Spahr, and Mrs. M. J. Morgan. Benjamin Stout was elected Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Home Missions. W. S. Hammond was elected Fraternal Messenger to the Reformed Episcopal Church.

The report of the Committee on Articles of Faith submitted a paper offered by E. J. Drinkhouse, and naming the following committee of nine to formulate, in the interval of the General Conference, Articles of Faith. Committee: L. W. Bates, G. B. McElroy, B. F. Duggan, A. W. Robertson, T. H. Lewis, J. J. Smith, J. S. Thrap, John Scott, and T. J. Ogburn. (See supplement to printed Minutes for the full text of report.) This action was instigated by alleged latitude of doctrinal teaching claimed in the Northwest, on the ground that Snethen and Shinn, in the original Convention of the Church, did not favor a Creed for it, and that the Articles of Religion extant were not adopted by said Convention. The facts as to the latter allegation are set forth in this History in the connections named. The committee, after sundry efforts by voluminous correspondence and a few meetings, found itself divided, and their report to the ensuing General Conference was incomplete, and the committee was continued, to report again to the General Conference of 1892. Nothing was done by it, and the question of revision will probably be finally

dropped. It leaves the Church as to Doctrinal Creed in the same category with the Methodisms generally, that is, with Wesley's abridgment of the Articles of Religion of the Established Church of England, which do not embody a single distinctive doctrine of Wesley and Methodism. Happily, Methodist teaching for one hundred and fifty years has been so uniform that scarcely a shade of difference has appeared, what are called Methodist Standards being accepted as the criterion, as set forth in Wesley's "Sermons and Notes" and Watson's "Institutes," etc. It was found that creed-mending is much more difficult than creed-making.

The licensure of women to preach came before the Conference on report that certain Annual Conferences had so done, and led to the adoption of this resolution, to wit: "That the following overture be made to the Annual Conferences; viz., that the Constitution be so changed as to grant the power to Annual Conferences to license women to preach the gospel." The reports of the committees are found in full as an appendix to the printed Minutes, and are synoptically as follows. Ecumenical Conference, committee to select from nominations by the Annual Conferences for representatives to that body in 1891. On Journals, report that they had before them those of thirty out of forty-five Conferences, and found them in good order. They also find seven mission Conferences. On Missions, total receipts for the quadrennium, \$34,130.55; expenditures, \$33,130. It was in evidence of the activity, invention, and ceaseless travel of the Corresponding Secretary, as well as the enlarging interest excited in the people for foreign missions. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society made its quadrennial report, with the showing that by the uncompensated labors of volunteer workers organizations were effected in seventeen Conferences, with three hundred auxiliary societies, forty mission bands, and a membership of three thousand. The receipts for the period from all sources were \$15,222.65. The *Woman's Missionary Record* had a circulation of seventeen hundred, and was self-sustaining. Colleges, report Adrian and Western Maryland as in flourishing condition, with mention of Yadkin in North Carolina and Gittings at La Harpe, Ill., Conference institutions. Hopeful indications of establishing an institution of learning of a high grade having developed in the West, the Conference appointed a committee of twenty to have discretionary charge of the interest. Westminster Theological Seminary reported during the quadrennium thirty-seven students, and from its organization sixty-four, and

of these sixteen were full graduates. Ministerial Education, report showed amount disbursed for the quadrennium for all purposes, \$10,906; on hand, \$453; permanent fund, \$4800.

Communications Committee report as to the moot of union with the Methodist Episcopal Church, "Your committee are of opinion that so long as the question of organic union is under the consideration of our General Conference, our Church will be in a continual confusion and a state of unrest, and there will be a hinderance of our work in every department of the Church, which may impede and seriously impair our general work. Evidence is not wanting that such influences have been already exerted." They also call attention to the fact that, even if such a scheme were practicable, litigation over Church property and trust funds would inevitably occur; and they are of "unanimous opinion that further overtures in this direction should now cease," etc. The Commissioners to the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and the Congregational Methodist Church made report of the futility of their efforts for union with these closely kindred denominations; and the General Conference thus reached the conclusion of this writer, that the only wise and safe ground for the Methodist Protestant Church is to pursue the even tenor of its way in soul-saving and rendering more efficient its high ideal of government polity, keeping, like sister denominations, an open door for any who may wish to share in its distinctive features as one of the flocks of the Great Shepherd's fold. The Board of Publication made a full report. That of the Baltimore Directory showed net assets, after adding \$4500 for "good will," \$8869.38, there being no real estate. Circulation of the *Methodist Protestant*, 3535, February 29, 1888. Sabbath-school periodicals, 25,105. The Pittsburgh Directory showed for March 1, 1888, net assets, \$31,492.38, the realty, or Book Concern house, included, at an appraisement of \$19,071.64, as also of "good will" for \$4500. Circulation of the *Methodist Recorder*, paid up, was 5829. The Sabbath-school literature is given in round numbers for each form, and is inclusive of all printed for both publishing houses; to wit: *Scholars' Quarterly*, 60,000; *Teachers' Journal*, 7000; *Our Morning Guide*, 20,000; *Our Children*, 35,000; *Lesson Leaf*, 20,000. Other reports, on Temperance, etc., need no special mention. That on Statistics is by far the most complete ever submitted to a General Conference. It shows a most gratifying growth, and will bear close examination. It is appended in full.

The General Conference adjourned on the ninth day, May 28, 1888, with the benediction.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATISTICS

ANNUAL CONFERENCES	Itinerant Ministers	Unstationed Ministers and Preachers	Members	Probationers	Churches	Parsonages	Valuation of Church Property	Percentage of Increase	Percentage of Decrease
Alabama	38	29	3,746	169	64	3	\$68,000	19	..
Arkansas	21	12	2,041	..	43	1	7,275	16	..
Alabama, Colored	16	1	900	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baltimore, Colored	16	5	400	100	9	..	4,500	..	..
Central Texas	17	19	1,955	7	7	2	..	25	..
Colorado, Texas	27	16	1,205	67	11	2	2,825	136	..
Colorado, Colored	9	..	484	11	..	..	2,458	..	..
Deep River	9	2	500	..	12	..	500	..	..
Fort Smith	47	22	1,700	43	12	1	8,000	28	..
Georgia	29	13	2,864	94	43	..	15,700	30	..
Georgia, Colored	41	28	1,125	57	33	..	7,560	..	..
Genesee	21	3	844	46	12½	8	38,400	18	..
Indiana	40	65	7,014	144	106½	15	116,625	2	..
Iowa	54	17	3,196	19	45	18	75,000	8	..
Kansas	52	38	1,603	33	16	11	24,340	72	..
Kentucky	30	7	1,300	..	21	..	1,650	8	..
Louisiana	5	4	1,900	..	31	..	7,340	68	..
McCaune	12	12	587	7	4	..	1,957	..	..
Maryland	110	62	15,332	1,727	234	62	863,045	5	..
Michigan	61	32	2,676	73	42	24	73,650	22	..
Mississippi	14	8	1,175	14	34	..	3,300	10	..
Minnesota	18	..	280	20	4	2	3,125	..	7
Missouri	30	55	3,257	85	26	4	17,500	11	..
Muskingum	51	55	11,777	83	138	14	257,750	16	..
New York	27	2	2,207	39	25	11	164,500	..	9
New Jersey	25	22	2,868	191	31	12	123,900	40	..
North Carolina	90	54	13,311	158	181½	5	76,380	8	..
North Missouri	30	55	3,250	33	26	4	22,000	154	..
Nebraska	20	12	449	7	6	3	5,700	..	15
North Illinois	34	24	2,421	20	46½	16	86,450	5	..
North Arkansas	20	12	1,000	15	13½	1	6,900	..	..
North Mississippi	14	14	708	15	16	..	3,600	5	..
Ohio	52	48	6,759	225	102	26	282,800	11	..
Onondaga	10	46	1,965	103	34	25	92,700	..	9
Oregon	6	4	200	..	2	1	15,000	..	..
Pittsburgh	46	46	7,409	117	74	23	555,075	..	8
Pennsylvania	17	13	1,166	17	18½	5	26,775	105	..
South Illinois	42	27	2,519	136	41	16	25,100	..	6
South Carolina	22	10	2,000	..	37	8	14,350	80	..
Spring River, Colored	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	19	4	930	..	17	..	10,000	..	10
Texas	35	17	1,595	10	18½	5	8,925	..	12
Virginia	50	35	5,509	153	72½	..	31,300	69	..
West Michigan	25	43	1,296	16	26½	12	38,500	..	9
West Virginia	71	119	13,783	192	144	21	134,825	5	..
West Tennessee	16	2	951	..	17	..	5,000	17	..
West Arkansas	15	4	1,300	..	31	1	10,000	10	..
Red River	9	2	..	25	10	..	1,000	..	..
Total, 1888	1,463	1,125	141,557	4,271	2,039	357	\$3,342,050	..	..
Net gain, 1888	123	206	13,891	674	184	46	314,620	..	..
A gain of	..	..	12 per ct.	..	..	..	13 per ct.	..	..

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS KELLEY, *Chairman*, WM. J. SPEAR,
J. L. SCARBOROUGH, J. T. HARRIS, *Sec'y*.
J. H. LUSE,

Among the doings of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was the authorization of an order of deaconesses, since carried into effect on a limited scale. It also proposed that their missionary work in foreign lands should be known as that of the "Methodist" Church, and they invited coöperation from other Methodisms in it, as suggested by Missionary Bishop Thoburn. It was much criticised in the official papers at the time, but nothing came of it, inasmuch as in its finality it became evident that they would hold the control of the arrangements.¹ Dr. John Scott, retiring from the editorship of the *Methodist Recorder*, after fifteen years of service in several periods, left him free to reënter the pastorate, which he did, and continued for seven years, finally retiring from active relations in 1895, in his seventy-fifth year. Dr. Stephens, his successor, brought to the position much native ability and an extensive culture, and the official paper maintained its high rank under his guidance. The Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Missions, Rev. F. T. Tagg, was authorized to visit London as a delegate to the World's Conference on Missions, to represent the Church, which he did during the summer of 1888. The official paper of Baltimore published, in June, 1888, a list of 1465 new subscriptions received during the past fourteen months, as offsetting a net circulation reported to the General Conference of 3535, the difference being in default of renewals and discontinuances for non-payment. It exposed a radical defect, the responsibility of which it is not hard to place. The "Year Book" for January, 1889, made a carefully tabulated statement of the relative increase of the Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Protestant Churches for six decades as 2860 per cent for the latter, and 2048.66 for the former. There was also published about this time a comparison of the net growth in membership of the Baltimore and the Maryland Conferences, showing $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent increase for the former during 1888, and 12 per cent for the latter. They occupy rela-

¹ Missionary Bishop Thoburn's plan was a fair one; but after the General Conference adjourned, it so happened that Bishop Fowler of the M. E. Church and Bishop Wilson of the M. E. Church, South, met in Japan during a missionary tour of each around the world, and putting their heads together,—another case of officialism killing a liberal purpose,—they discovered that the federative features of the plan were not to their Episcopal liking, so they interjected certain modifications to give the new "Methodist" missionary work a "strong government"; that is, Episcopal control, so that the brethren could not enter the plan. Talk of organic union! when even the federation Bishop Thoburn proposal is thus eschewed by "authority" in the interval of the General Conference.

tively the same territory, and operate under the same conditions, and yet a membership of fifty thousand and a ministry of nearly two hundred in the Baltimore Conference secure a net gain of $5\frac{1}{2}$ for the year, while the Maryland Conference, with a membership of less than eighteen thousand, and a ministry under one hundred, secures a net gain for the year of 12 per cent. Efforts have been made to show that this is due, even on a larger scale, taking the whole Church as the factor in either case, to what is called the law of diminishing returns. It is plain enough where material resources alone enter into the calculation, as in agriculture and other departments. A virgin soil declines in fertility under constant cultivation, and the returns respond to this law of diminishing crops, etc. But the writer is unable to concede that where the supernatural is the main factor, and all other conditions are equal, how it can be made to apply as to spiritual results; neither is he able to explain such facts as are here given. It is clear, however, that the ecclesiastical system under which the one operates cannot demonstrate its superiority as against the other on the line of numerical increase respectively.

In the month of August, 1888, the Baker family, of Buckeystown, Md., contributed \$4000 for a President's house at Western Maryland College. From May to January the official papers contained no obituaries of early Reformers. But few of them remained. January, 1889, the *Methodist Recorder* celebrated its semi-centennial with new type and an excellent make-up, under the new editor, Dr. Stephens. In April, 1889, the editor of the *Methodist Protestant* was suddenly prostrated with bronchial hemorrhage, though after some months of surcease of labor he partially resumed the pen and the management of the official paper. Later he was found daily at his post, with the assistance of Rev. Dr. Southerland until the spring of 1890, and of Rev. Dr. McGregor for the ensuing two years to the General Conference of 1892. With these editorial associates he divided his salary, and their bright and piquant pens did much to demonstrate the inadequacy of any one man for all the labor of a sixteen-page weekly religious paper. The general agents of the Church were, if anything, more diligent than ever in Annual Conference visitations, with an improving outlook in all sections of the work and in all departments.

Neurology. Rev. Henry Palmer was born in Ireland, May 12, 1812; came to America a Methodist in 1828, united with the Church in Pittsburgh under Dr. Brown in 1829, was licensed to

preach; joined the Pittsburgh Conference in 1842, was several times President, and a member of the Union Convention of 1877. In 1879 he was superannuated, and departed this life peacefully December 23, 1888. Nathan Smith of Burrsville, Md., a Reformer of 1828, deceased March 16, 1889, aged eighty-seven years. Rev. Redmond Boyd of Arkansas, and later of Texas, was born January 4, 1823; united with the Reformers in 1844; was a pioneer of the cause southwest of the Mississippi, an organizer and never-ceasing itinerant in Texas until within a few years of his peaceful departure at Cooper, Texas, May 6, 1889. Rev. William H. Wills, D.D., of North Carolina Conference, born August, 1809; united with the new Church in 1830; licensed to preach, April 18, 1831; often President of the Annual Conference; a member of the General Conference of 1846, and of those of 1850, 1858, 1866, 1870, and the General Convention of 1877. He was President of that of 1866, and with the Conference visited the President of the United States, and made the address. His active relation to the Annual Conference was often interrupted by ill health, but he never lost a commanding influence. Loyal to the Church and loyal to his Conference, he was always found in the front. An acceptable preacher and a ready debater, holding the pen of a legible writer, he engrossed the minutes of the early Conventions and General Conferences by order heretofore noticed; a frequent contributor to the official paper, with clear convictions and moral courage, he became well known throughout the general Church. He yielded to paralysis after a long disability, and his characteristic firmness was exhibited in his dying word. Being asked if he would have some brandy, he promptly answered, "No," and sank into the embrace of death, June 22, 1889, in the eightieth year of his age. His obituary covers six columns of the official paper, a merited tribute to his unusual worth. Rev. N. G. Andrews of the Georgia Conference, born November 30, 1816; united with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1834; became acquainted with Reform literature, and in 1836 was licensed to preach, and for a series of years afterward did much missionary work for the cause in his native state; deceased August, 1889. Rev. John Sexsmith, born in Virginia, 1815, was resident in Alexandria and Washington during the Reform controversy, and became deeply interested after his conversion through the early new Church preachers; was licensed to preach, removed to West Virginia, and united with the Conference in 1847; thence to the Pittsburgh Conference, thence

to Missouri, where he took charge of the Des Moines mission in 1851, and spent most of the remainder of his useful life in its development, adhering to the Methodist Protestant Church during the separation of 1858-77. He was partially paralyzed a few years prior to his decease, which occurred February 17, 1890. Joseph Radcliffe, born March 6, 1804, united with the Reformers of the District of Columbia in 1828, and remained steadfast until his departure March 27, 1890, at Trappe, Md.

Calvin Tompkins, born in New Jersey, January 31, 1793; served in the War of 1812, converted at a camp-meeting near Haverstraw, N. Y., united with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1820, at Newark, N. J., and in 1830 embraced the principles of Reform. He introduced the cause in New York City, and afterward at Tomkins' Cove, where he prospered in business and spent the remainder of his exemplary life. His liberality was proverbial, erecting a Methodist Protestant Church in the Cove and another near by at his own charges. Also a public school building, at a cost of \$22,000, as well as a bequest of \$10,000 to the endowment fund of Adrian College. He disbursed his Master's money freely through his long life, holding all the official positions of the Church, and in his old age continued to teach in the Sabbath-school. He departed this life peacefully June, 1890, in his ninety-seventh year. His memory is blessed. J. J. Amos, born in Kentucky, September 30, 1803; converted in 1826, and being of an inquiring mind, identified himself with the first Reformers of his neighborhood, and maintained through life his ecclesiastical convictions in a plain, positive, and radical manner. Being at first a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he was arraigned for trial for "inveighing against the discipline," but he defended his course so intelligently that the church before which he demanded to be tried failed to convict. As a result he and fifty-five others withdrew, and adopted the articles of association of the new Church in 1830. In 1839 he removed to Rush County, Ind., and was licensed to preach, and was for a short time a member of the Ohio Conference. He was elected to twenty-three Annual Conferences, three General, and to the Union Convention of 1877. He greatly prospered in business, and dispensed his accumulations liberally. He gave \$21,000 toward the endowment of Adrian College, and \$6000 to other Church interests, and had an open hand for any good work. He departed this life in 1890.

Rev. James Robison was born in Pennsylvania, June 27, 1812.

Converted in 1832, he united with the Reform church at Fairmont, W. Va. Feeling a call to preach, he entered Allegheny College in 1834, and in 1837 united with the Pittsburgh Conference, and at once proved himself one of the most active, successful ministers, both as a revivalist and church builder. He was a member of most of the General Conferences and Conventions since 1850, and in 1872 was elected Book Agent at Pittsburgh, and twice thereafter. Reëntering the ministry, after deafness disqualified him for the position last named, he was active as ever in church building, until his strong constitution gave way, he lapsed into senility, and finally passed away, August, 1890. Rev. Augustus Webster, D.D., born December 8, 1808; educated at the University of Maryland, he followed the counsel of Methodist parents, was converted under Rev. William Kesley of the new Church about 1830; he felt his call to preach, and in 1832 was admitted to the Maryland Conference. His after career has been largely anticipated in these pages. For learning, piety, and successful ministrations he filled the place vacated by the great leaders of Reform in his native State. He was indeed a "burning and a shining light" in all relations. His obsequies took place October 29, 1890 (deceased October 26), from St. John's church, Baltimore, with which he was connected as pastor or pastor emeritus for forty-seven years. Addresses were made by Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray, Rev. Dr. W. S. Edwards of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Rev. Dr. A. W. Green of St. John's, Madison Avenue, officially kin to the Liberty Street church. His end was not only peaceful, but triumphant, and his remains repose in Greenmount cemetery. Within a month, or in November, 1890, Rev. A. A. Lipscomb, D.D., LL.D., departed this life. He was born September 16, 1816, in Georgetown, D. C., and was the eldest of three sons of the Rev. W. C. Lipscomb. A student from his youth, furnished with the best educational facilities, he grew in intellectual stature, until few names were more honored in the South-land for all that is reputable in learning, piety, and integrity, both in the Methodist Protestant and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Resident in Maryland, Alabama, and Georgia, his life divided between the itinerancy of his father's Church and educational work, he spent his days in honorable employ and struggle with a feeble constitution. He remained true to the convictions of his youth as a Reform Methodist, and departed with his name enrolled as an unstationed minister of the Montgomery, Ala., church. His remains repose on the banks

of the beautiful Oconee River. Samuel S. Barton, born September 11, 1798, deceased October 27, 1890 — an original Reformer of Baltimore city.

The *National Methodist* of Indiana was changed to the *Methodist*, and Rev. H. Stackhouse took charge, and pushed it with energy for a few years. The *Southern Christian Advance* was issued from Corsicana, Tex., a bi-monthly at \$1.50 a year; Rev. Edward L. Wood, editor. It survived a few years. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, met in May, 1890, and was favored with a fraternal delegation from the British Conference for the first time in its history. True, they numbered 1,200,000, and there were 150,000 Methodist Protestants in the land; but the prejudices of the past, slavery in the former and "radicalism" in the latter, with misinformation hard to overcome, led our British cousins to overlook them. It was reported in earlier days that English Methodist preachers and members emigrating to this country were advised to "inquire for Bishop Simpson's Church," and there deposit their certificates. It was a stroke of policy in both the parent bodies. The time was when no Episcopal Methodist would think of uniting with the Methodist Protestant Church, however convenient it might be, or demanded by circumstances; but this has largely passed away, and now it is no unfrequent thing, thereby compensating the Church in some measure for the great depletion from change of residence and the necessity of refuge by its members on account of the existence almost everywhere of Methodist Episcopal churches, and the absence of others. The Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions had issued, first as a quarterly and then as a monthly, the *Missionary Bulletin*, for larger and more frequent distribution of such intelligence among the people. The new Board of Home Missions, under Secretary Stout, pressed its claims, and it has grown into a most helpful branch of the general work. (See Appendix to first volume.)

With the surcease of "Union" agitations the Church set itself to denominational evangelization, and there was a marked growth everywhere, clearly indicating that it has a providential mission which is not to end simply when its permeating force wins for acceptance its principles in kindred organizations. There is one sign, and one only, that should receive the prayerful notice of the Church, to wit: should the time ever come when numerical decay through a quadrennium presages loss of autonomous power in soul-saving, then may the question of its accomplished purpose

be considered, but that time never has been, and probably never will be. The Head of the Church does not forget history, if some of his members do, and the watchful care of the Master will continue to accentuate the deeds and memory of the Fathers as fully worthy of it, and in many points parallel with the "Deed of Demission," and the act of the Scottish clergy under the lead of Chalmers, leaving the Established Church of Scotland, and with it not their living only, but entailing a heritage of defamation and persecution. If the scale was larger, it was no grander, and Presbyterianism has not suffered it to die. It abates not one jot of its force to declare tritely that a Church cannot live on the memory of its past; it is sufficient answer to say that, with such a past in either case, the Church does not deserve to live that forgets or ignores it.

As one result of the Union agitation with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the Virginia Conference, certain members, under the advice of an ex-Methodist Protestant minister and lawyer, seized the church in Heathville, Va., and held possession for a series of years. A suit for recovery in a lower court was decided by the local judge, under the specious pleading of the minister-lawyer, against the people; but, satisfied of the justice of their cause, at great expense they carried it to the Court of Appeals, and after tedious delays, in the winter of 1891, Judge Lacy, in Richmond, Va., reversed the decision of the lower court, and remanded the property to the people as the legal holders, and since that period they have been in undisturbed possession. (See Baltimore paper, January 28, 1891, for full text of this decision.) The right of women to be delegates to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was this year submitted, as heretofore stated, to a popular vote of the Church, but as it became known that it would have no legislative effect, out of 1,200,000 voters, male and female, not one-fourth of them took part in the sham proceeding; but of these a decisive majority was in the affirmative. Carried to the ensuing General Conference, it was defeated, as it required a three-fourths majority to approve. It was, however, again referred to the Annual Conferences, and these have by an enormous majority voted affirmatively. It remains to be seen what the Conference of 1896 will do with this action. It is profoundly important, as the General Conference, meeting simultaneously, will be called for a final decision also on the same question. The Christian Endeavor movement, on an interdenominational basis, was zealously es-

poused by the young people of the Church, and has grown to nearly one thousand societies, represented in literature by *Our Young People*, a weekly issue. Rev. Dr. Thomas H. Lewis, President of Western Maryland College, was deputized to visit the missionary work in Japan and report. He fulfilled the mission, and with it made a tour of the world, returning in September, 1891. Rev. J. C. Berrien was elected to fill the place of J. B. Walker, deceased, as Corresponding Secretary of the Ministerial Board. He at once entered upon his duties.

Rev. J. B. Walker departed this life, of pneumonia, January 14, 1891, at Adrian, Mich. He was born October 26, 1828, in Tennessee, removed to Ohio, and was converted in his youth in the Church. After a struggle for an education, he was licensed to preach, and united with the Ohio Conference in 1849. A burning zeal characterized his work from the beginning, and he soon became deeply interested in ministerial education, and may be regarded as the father of this work. To establish the society he travelled unremittingly, covering the entire territory with his earnest pleading, joining with it at several periods the agency of Western Maryland, and also of Adrian, College. He literally spent himself in the service of the Church, contracting his death illness from exposure in labor lying so near his heart, so that even in the delirium of fever he was pleading for the "boys." Richard Vanzant deceased August 23, 1890, aged eighty years, near Mount Airey, Md., an original Reformer and devoted Christian. Rev. J. R. Turner, born in North Carolina in 1801, removed to Georgia in 1828, an original Reformer, and a member of that Conference, deceased June, 1890. A group of loyal laymen will fittingly close this obituary paragraph: Robert H. Marshall of Pittsburgh, Pa.; Woolman J. Gibson of Centreville, Md.; J. H. Harper and Archibale Perritt of Tennessee, all of them original Reformers, centres of influence, devoted, faithful, and true.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Recognition and participation of representatives in the Second Ecumenical Conference at Washington, D. C., 1891; Union, and what came of it; New Connexion Methodist courtesies—Obituaries of Reformers—Sixteenth General Conference at Westminster, Md., May, 1892; roster of members; Dr. J. W. Hering, President; presence of women delegates and the action thereon; overtures to the Annual Conferences on the subject; election of General Conference officers; reports from the Book Concerns and general Agents; fraternal delegates—The Young People's Societies of Christian Endeavor; Foreign Mission work; statistics; twelve per cent increase numerically for the quadrennium—The search for a "Constitution" in the M. E. Church, but unavailing; blunders of 1784 and 1808; efforts to correct historical errors in that Church—Obituaries: Rev. D. W. Bates, Francis Brown, George Nestor, and others—Growth of the Church; C. E. Societies of the denomination; rapid increase—*Our Church Record* established in North Carolina by Rev. J. F. M'Culloch—Obit. Hon. C. W. Button; financial depression as affecting the Church—Dr. Mather's bequest to the Kansas University—Texas Westminster College set on foot—Aged People's Home in Maryland—Great meetings of laymen in the M. E. Church demanding lay-representation; practical difficulties entailed by the system in the way of such Reform; who is responsible?—Obituaries: Rev. J. K. Nichols and others—The German work under Rev. S. Heininger.

THE second Ecumenical Methodist Conference assembled at Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal church, Washington, D. C., October 7, 1891, and continued in session until the 20th. Two hundred delegates from the European section and three hundred from the American were present, occupying the ground floor of the church, which has a seating capacity of about two thousand. It was always well filled, though the admission was by tickets, at every session. The proceedings were published in a five-hundred-page octavo volume, so that references must be under severe limitation of space. It was in every sense a representative body of world Methodists from every clime. The programme was well arranged and smoothly carried out, and much impartiality observed by those who framed it. Several incidents have been recorded earlier in this History, and our notations must be confined to participation in it as a Church. Nine delegates were allowed the Methodist Protestant Church, and, after several substitutions, the following seven stood to represent it: Rev. J. J. Smith, D.D.,

of New York, Rev. T. B. Appleget of New Jersey, Rev. J. T. Murray, D.D., of Maryland, and Rev. T. J. Ogburn of North Carolina; with Hon. Charles W. Button of Maryland, W. C. Whitaker of North Carolina, and James S. Topham of Maryland. T. J. Ogburn read an able paper, which was well received, as also T. B. Appleget, both from the regular programme. J. T. Murray presided over the Conference on the seventh day most acceptably. There was much discussion of Organic Union between certain groups of kindred Methodists, that of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, and the American Zion Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church being most prominent, and, after a caucus, formally announced as inchoately accomplished; but after various tentations subsequently, it came to nothing; thus for almost a decad of times demonstrating that such things are the vapor of good-will, but held in check by the jealousies of officialism. So there was talk of union among the British brethren, but the one essential to it, as brusquely put by a delegate from the Bible Christians, "Let the stronger begin with concessions," met with no response; and it died. The Americans were more chary of it, though, as already recited, Bishop Foster, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, made an impassioned appeal to the delegates of the Church, South, which Dr. Hoss stampeded by demand for honest non-interference with their Southern work as a condition precedent. A hymn book for universal Methodism was talked of, but interjected difficulties loomed up, and this most sensible and really practicable suggestion, as a bond of union, came to nothing. It was a grand opportunity for federating the Methodists in foreign missionary work; but federation was not mooted. In the matter of fraternity, however, the assembly was a spectacle of Christian brotherhood, and, bating a few partisan incidents among the British, was an honor to these sons of Wesley. Rev. J. C. Watts, D.D., of the New Connexion Methodists, early Reform congeners in England, preached for Methodist Protestants in Baltimore, and was hospitably entertained by Dr. Ward, President of Westminster Theological Seminary, Maryland, the college having conferred upon brother Watts his doctorate, the first ever received by a minister of his Church; inasmuch as their own college had not felt free to dispense such honors at home, and the colleges of the parent Methodism had never found it expedient to recognize their naughty church cousins in this way. Several other of their leading men have since been honored by Western Maryland College. A commission of eighty was ap-

pointed to call another Ecumenical Conference for 1901. It may be, by that time, federation may be reached, for which every Methodist should devoutly pray who has Christ-love enough to elevate the Cross above his denominational symbol.

H. J. Heinz and W. K. Gillespie of Pittsburgh initiated a laymen's work, which has since developed into a Laymen's Bureau for church extension, and has done good work. A similar organization had been made in Baltimore for local church extension, and should be initiated in all the larger Conferences. By the will of Mrs. Mary A. Dodge of Baltimore, though not a member of this Church, but intimately associated, \$2000 was bequeathed to the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, in June, 1892. The Methodist Episcopal Laymen's Association of Baltimore petitioned for equal representation to the ensuing General Conference at Omaha, Neb. It was but one of numerous petitions of the same kind quadrennially going to that body. Thirteen young itinerants were received by the Maryland Annual Conference at its April session, 1892. Every one of them could have gone to the strong, influential Methodist Episcopal Church, but they followed their convictions into a Church respecting their Christian manhood and personal liberty.

William Kirkwood of Charleston, S. C., departed this life January 2, 1892, in the ninety-third year of his age. He was one of the charter members of the church in that city, and merits this mention. Thomas W. Ewing deceased January 5, 1892, aged seventy years. He had been associated with the Church from early boyhood at St. John's and, later, with the East Baltimore station, also as clerk to the Baltimore Book Concern, and Agent until 1874. John Smith of Westminster, Md., deceased March 14, 1892, in his eighty-fifth year. He was a son of Joshua Smith, and from his boyhood absorbed Reform principles from such leaders as Snethen, Shinn, Jennings, Dorsey, and others, who were frequent visitors at his father's house. In 1859 he became a member of the Church, and, by his devotion to the founding of Western Maryland College and the local interests of the Westminster church, left a noble record. As citizen and churchman he was equally respected. Richard Chilcote of Maryland deceased March, 1892, in his eighty-eighth year, an original Reformer and devoted Christian. Rev. J. P. Ellis of North Carolina deceased March 6, 1892, in his seventy-second year. He was one of the pioneers of the cause west of the Blue Ridge and in Tennessee, as well as his native State, and, whether as

itinerant or local minister, left his mark. Joseph Armfield, Kernersville, N. C., deceased May 4, 1892, in his ninety-second year. Converted in 1828, he united with the first Reform movement, and continued faithful until death.

The Sixteenth General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church convened at Westminster, Md., May 20, 1892, at 9 A. M. In the absence of the President of the last Conference this body was called to order by the Secretary of 1888, and, after preliminary services, he read the following certified list of representatives:—

ALABAMA	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
G. R. Brown	C. E. Crenshaw
J. T. Howell	
John Merriman	
ALABAMA (Colored)	
ARKANSAS	
H. B. Cox	
J. J. Bond	
Thomas Aaron	
COLORADO (Texas)	
CENTRAL TEXAS	
W. G. Veal	
GEORGIA	
J. Q. A. Radford	G. B. Branan
F. H. M. Henderson	W. G. McDaniel
GENESEE	
A. L. Stinard	Henry H. Vick
INDIANA	
H. Stackhouse	O. C. Clark
S. H. Flood	W. W. McCaslin
F. M. Hussey	Mrs. M. J. Morgan
W. H. Fisher	W. R. Beard
IOWA	
W. Huddleston	Mrs. E. A. Murphy
	J. W. Murphy
KANSAS	
Mrs. E. F. St. John	W. S. Hendricks
LOUISIANA	
James P. Patton	

Ministers

L. W. Bates
 J. D. Kinzer
 T. H. Lewis
 F. T. Tagg
 W. M. Strayer
 W. S. Hammond
 F. T. Little
 J. T. Murray
 E. J. Drinkhouse

G. B. McElroy
 C. W. Stevenson

J. A. Sartin

J. L. Scarborough

D. C. Coburn
 M. L. Jennings
 J. A. Thrapp
 J. W. Thompson
 W. L. Wells
 F. A. Brown

A. H. Widney

W. S. Miller

W. C. Miller

T. B. Appleget
 L. D. Stultz

Ruel Hanks
 J. J. Smith

W. A. Bunch
 W. F. Bennett
 D. A. Highfill

MARYLAND

Laymen

J. W. Hering
 W. J. C. Dulany
 Daniel Baker
 J. D. Grant
 W. C. Coulbourn
 Joshua Miles
 Samuel Vannort
 S. S. Ewell

MICHIGAN

A. A. Rust
 Roscoe Swift

MISSOURI

J. F. Howe

MISSISSIPPI

N. W. Davis

MUSKINGUM

Vincent Ferguson
 J. B. McLucas
 T. J. Barnes
 C. J. Yingling
 M. Yingling

NORTH ILLINOIS

W. S. Wilson

NORTH MISSOURI

NEBRASKA

NEW JERSEY

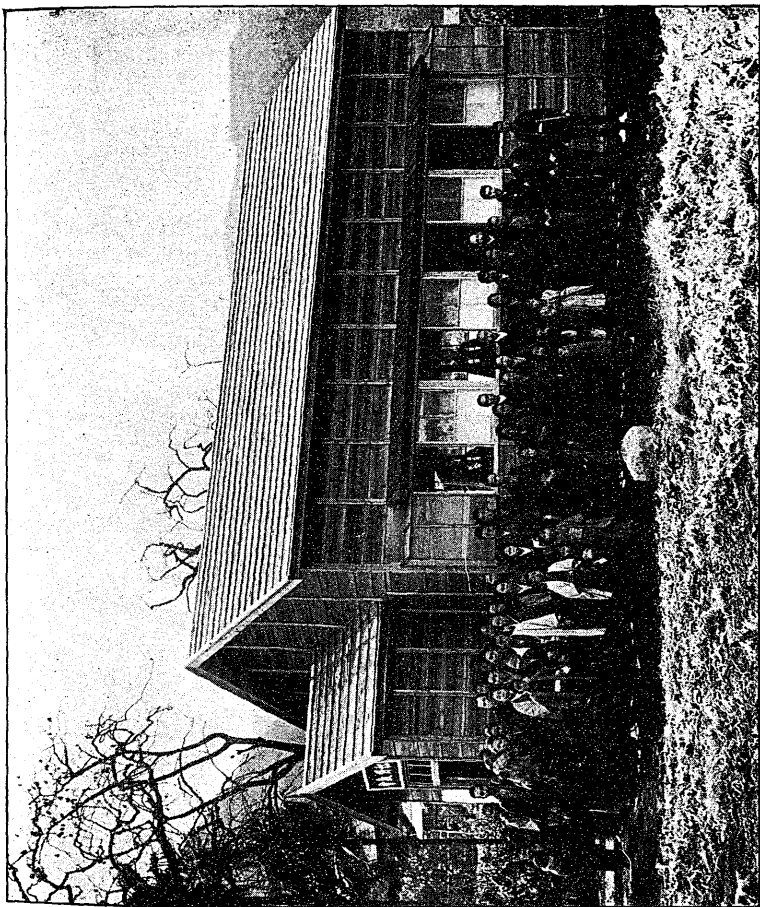
J. F. Fulton

NEW YORK

Theo. Cocheu

NORTH CAROLINA

W. C. Whitaker
 R. T. Pickens
 J. M. Hadley



SHIDZUOKA, JAPAN; MISSION CHAPEL AND SCHOOL.
REV. E. H. VAN DYKE, Pastor.

Ministers

L. W. Bates
 J. D. Kinzer
 T. H. Lewis
 F. T. Tagg
 W. M. Strayer
 W. S. Hammond
 F. T. Little
 J. T. Murray
 E. J. Drinkhouse

G. B. McElroy
 C. W. Stevenson

J. A. Sartin

J. L. Scarborough

D. C. Coburn
 M. L. Jennings
 J. A. Thrapp
 J. W. Thompson
 W. L. Wells
 F. A. Brown

A. H. Widney

W. S. Miller

W. C. Miller

T. B. Appleget
 L. D. Stultz

Ruel Hanks
 J. J. Smith

W. A. Bunch
 W. F. Bennett
 D. A. Highfill

MARYLAND

Laymen

J. W. Hering
 W. J. C. Dulany
 Daniel Baker
 J. D. Grant
 W. C. Coulbourn
 Joshua Miles
 Samuel Vannort
 S. S. Ewell

MICHIGAN

A. A. Rust
 Roscoe Swift

MISSOURI

J. F. Howe

MISSISSIPPI

N. W. Davis

MUSKINGUM

Vincent Ferguson
 J. B. McLucas
 T. J. Barnes
 C. J. Yingling
 M. Yingling

NORTH ILLINOIS

W. S. Wilson

NORTH MISSOURI

NEBRASKA

NEW JERSEY

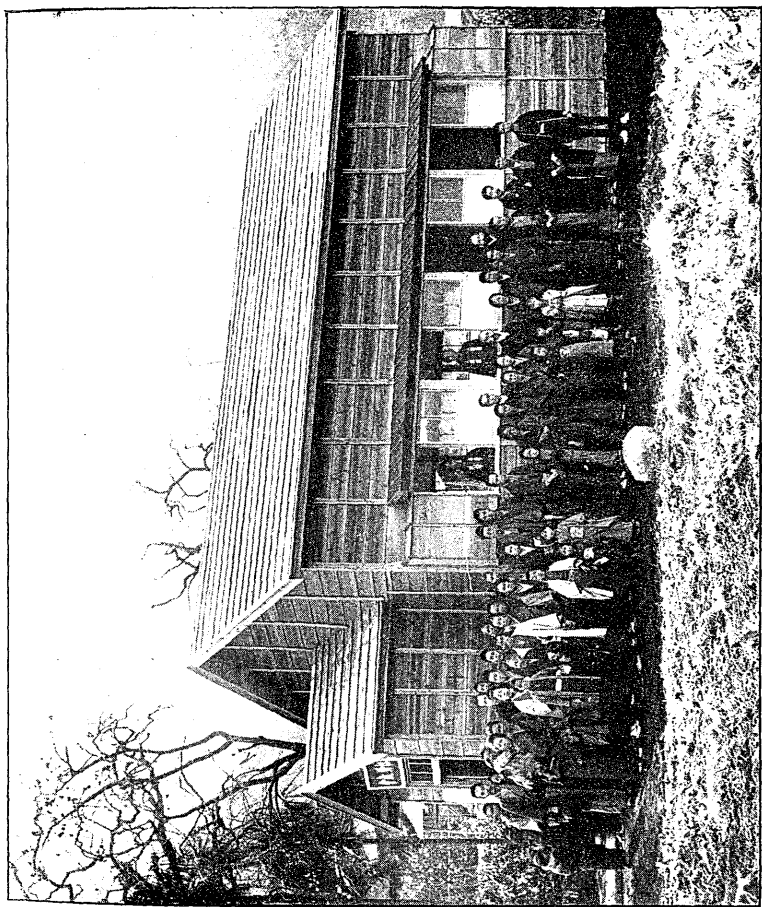
J. F. Fulton

NEW YORK

Theo. Cocheu

NORTH CAROLINA

W. C. Whitaker
 R. T. Pickens
 J. M. Hadley



SHIDZUOKA, JAPAN; MISSION CHAPEL AND SCHOOL.
REV. F. H. VAN DYKE, Pastor.

NORTH CAROLINA (continued)

Ministers

C. L. Whitaker
J. R. Ball
C. A. Cecil

Laymen

W. C. Hammer
G. S. Wills
G. B. Harris
J. L. Ogburn

OHIO

T. B. Graham
D. S. Stephens
A. M. Ravenscroft
J. F. Henkle

S. P. Weaver
Henry Buagh
S. C. Gressley
C. W. Henkle

ONONDAGA

W. H. Bentley

G. W. Crandell

OREGON

O. V. W. Chandler

PENNSYLVANIA

Samuel McClain

E. T. Molyneaux

PITTSBURGH

John Scott
G. G. Westfall
A. W. Robertson
J. F. Dyer

W. K. Gillespie
W. H. Myers
G. W. Pogue
Dennis Smith

SOUTH ILLINOIS

J. G. Reed

TENNESSEE

B. F. Duggan

TEXAS

J. L. Garrison

D. P. Hollon

VIRGINIA

E. M. Lockwood

WEST MICHIGAN

L. Dodds

Thomas McKee

WEST VIRGINIA

Oliver Lowther
Benj. Stout
D. G. Helmick
A. L. McKeever
J. M. Conaway
D. C. Wees
R. C. Dean
J. F. Cowan

C. H. Smoot
W. A. Stricker
U. S. Fleming
Porter Maxwell
Miss M. M. Bonnett
J. W. Hull

The following were elected, but not certified or present with certificates:—

BALTIMORE (Colored)

<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
W. H. Holland	Perry Gray

CHARLESTON, S. C. (Colored)

E. R. Washington

FLORIDA

T. J. Lyle J. J. Fielding

FORT SMITH

W. S. Bartholomew Wm. Irvin

GEORGIA (Colored)

J. T. Robinson Jas. S. Smith

INDIAN MISSION

W. V. Tunstall J. C. Hart

KENTUCKY

P. G. Pyree D. M. Dillon

MINNESOTA

Austin Lent T. N. Miller

NORTH MISSISSIPPI

John Stone H. R. Green

SOUTH CAROLINA

C. McSmith Daniel Yarborough

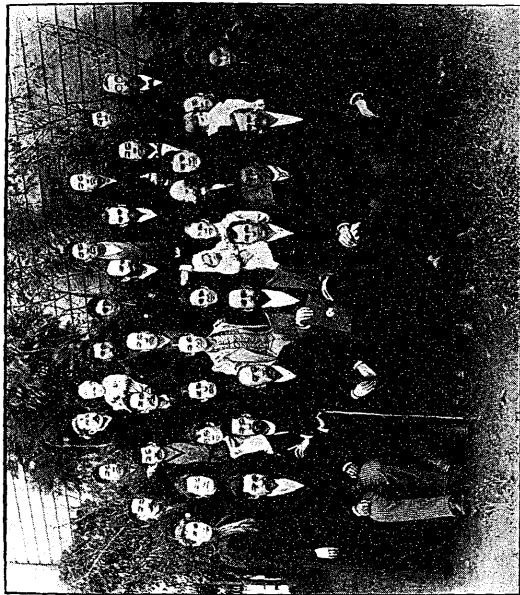
The attendance was large and the personnel one of the most creditable that had ever represented the Church. On motion of W. J. C. Dulany, E. J. Drinkhouse was elected President *pro tem.* by unanimity. The special Committee on Credentials reported, making a few changes of substitutes in the list as prepared by the Secretary. All these were present except in the cases noted as not heard from either in person or by certification of election. At the afternoon session nominations were made for the permanent Presidency, a departure from the precedents of the body. J. W. Hering was named by W. J. C. Dulany of Maryland, L. W. Bates by W. M. Strayer of Maryland; T. B. Appleget by L. D. Stultz of New Jersey. The result of the ballot was for J. W. Hering, fifty; for L. W. Bates, twenty-nine; for T. B. Appleget, seven;

scattering, five; so the chair pronounced J. W. Hering, M.D., elected, having received a majority of all the votes cast. It was thought by some that it was the first instance of a layman occupying the position; but, as this History has shown, Hon. W. R. Stewart of Maryland was elected and presided over the called Convention of December, 1827; Hon. P. B. Hopper was elected, but declined to serve in the Convention of 1828; and Hon. F. H. Pierpont was elected and served in the "Methodist" Convention of 1871. Nominations were also made for Secretary, with the result that on ballot J. F. Cowan was elected. He named U. S. Fleming and L. D. Stultz, Assistants. On the second day twenty Standing Committees were appointed by the chair, thus distributing the business of the Conference systematically. A telegram of fraternal greeting, on motion of W. M. Strayer, was sent to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, then in session at Omaha, Neb. No response was ever received to it, the "sifting" committee, perhaps, to which much of its incidental business was referred, not regarding it perhaps of any moment. As has been observed, four women were enrolled as members of the Conference by the Secretary, following the Annual Conference certificates sent him according to the law in the case. Numerous papers and reports were referred to the committees.

The Committee on Certificates, J. T. Murray, Chairman, considered the election of Rev. Mrs. E. F. St. John and Mrs. E. A. Murphy and Mrs. M. J. Morgan, and Miss M. M. Bonnett as representatives; and majority and minority reports were submitted, pending which E. J. Drinkhouse offered a paper as a substitute for both. After much discussion and parliamentary manœuvring by the friends of the several measures, the final result was summed up by the adoption of the minority report, by T. B. Appleget (see printed Minutes, p. 113), by an aye and nay vote, and by "orders," which is also given in full in the Conference Minutes. It stood as follows: ministers, aye forty-two; laymen, aye thirty-three; ministers, nay twenty-eight; laymen, nay twenty. It admitted the women to their seats, and proposed to amend the Constitution by overture to the Annual Conferences as follows: Amend Article XII. by adding, "and provided that no Annual Conference shall elect a woman to the office of elder"; and amend Article XII. by adding, "and provided that no Annual Conference shall elect a woman as representative to the General Conference." The substitute as offered

for both the reports provided for the recognition of the women as representatives, inasmuch as they were already seated, and of overture to the Annual Conferences to construe Articles X. and XII. as to the eligibility of women as representatives, and if a constitutional number of Conferences shall vote that they are eligible, then to amend Article XII. accordingly. The method was direct and affirmative, and left the ordination of women still an open question. A call for the previous question had barred out its reintroduction. The majority report declared that both the questions had already been decided by the General Conferences of 1884 and 1888, and pronounced against the legality of ordination by Annual Conferences of women, and their eligibility to seats in either General or Annual Conferences; and unseated those in attendance.

On the seventh day a telegram of greeting was sent to the Cumberland Presbyterian Assembly, then in session at Nashville, Tenn. It came too late, but was officially acknowledged by the Secretary. The mass of business submitted will be covered in its salient features under a review of reports. The election of Editors, Publishers, and General Agents was had, with the following result: Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, T. E. Coulbourn of Maryland; Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Home Missions, Benjamin Stout of West Virginia. W. K. Gillespie was elected President of the Board of Publication, and Horace Burrough, Secretary. E. J. Drinkhouse announced that he was not a candidate for the editorship of the *Methodist Protestant*, having served for eighteen consecutive years, and his purpose to devote his time to preparation of a history of the Church. Nominations were made, and on counting the ballots, F. T. Tagg was elected by a vote of ninety-six to twenty scattering. The Secretary, by order, cast the ballot for D. S. Stephens as Editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, and for J. F. Cowan as Editor of the Sunday-school periodicals, and for W. J. C. Dulany as Publishing Agent at Baltimore. William McCrackin, Jr., having declined nomination for the Publishing Agency at Pittsburgh, nominations were made, and the ballot elected U. S. Fleming. The Secretary, by order, cast the ballot for J. C. Berrien as Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Education. Kansas City, Kan., was selected as the place for the next General Conference. The report of the Committee on Articles of Faith was recommitted, with instructions to report to the next General Conference. Fraternal dele-

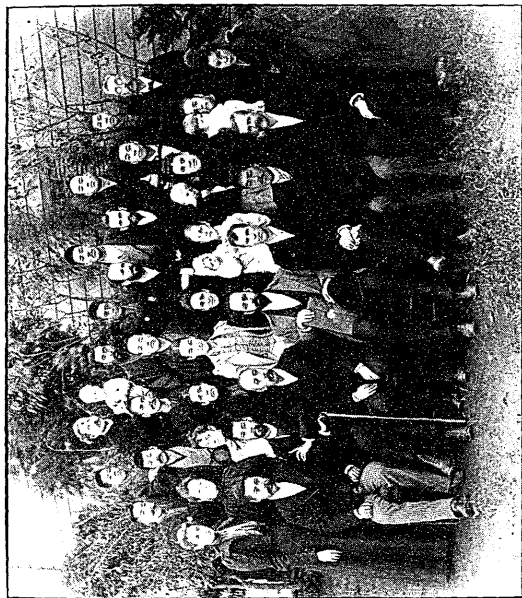


THE 1897 METHODIST PROTESTANT CONFERENCE IN JAPAN.

Mr. VanDyke, President of the Conference, sits in the centre, with Mr. Murphy at the right and Mr. Maruyama at the left; Mrs. Vankylke stands behind her husband, with Miss Coates at the left; next her stands Mrs. Cairnes, Mrs. Richardson, Mrs. Murphy, and Mrs. Layman; Mrs. Smith and the baby stand behind Mr. Murphy, with Miss Kate Kuhns and Miss Lawrence beside her, holding Howard and Floyd Smith in their arms; in the first row, in front of Miss Lawrence sits Mr. Cairnes; Mr. Layman and Mr. Smith stand in the third row, and Mr. Richardson and Mr. Roberts in last row.

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1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation $f(x) = \int_0^x f(t) dt$. It is shown that $f(x)$ is a continuous function and that it satisfies the differential equation $f'(x) = f(x)$. The solution of this equation is $f(x) = Ce^{x^2/2}$, where C is a constant. The value of C is determined by the initial condition $f(0) = 1$, which gives $C = 1$. Therefore, the function $f(x)$ is $f(x) = e^{x^2/2}$.

2. In the second part of the paper, we study the properties of the function $g(x)$ defined by the equation $g(x) = \int_0^x g(t) dt$. It is shown that $g(x)$ is a continuous function and that it satisfies the differential equation $g'(x) = g(x)$. The solution of this equation is $g(x) = Ce^{x^2/2}$, where C is a constant. The value of C is determined by the initial condition $g(0) = 1$, which gives $C = 1$. Therefore, the function $g(x)$ is $g(x) = e^{x^2/2}$.

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gates were elected to the United Brethren Church, the Cumberland Presbyterian, and the Primitive Methodists of America. After a pertinent address from the President, the Conference adjourned on the tenth day.

The reports show that the "Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Methodist Protestant Church" was recognized, and *Our Young People* made its official organ. The total of societies organized was 419, with a membership of 10,956. J. F. Cowan was authorized to give as much attention to these societies as his other duties warranted. The Committee on Foreign Missions report that \$52,028.94 had been collected from all sources during the quadrennium, and disbursed for that work, except \$2257.90, balance on hand. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society report 19 branches, 200 auxiliaries, 45 mission bands, and 2800 members. The *Missionary Record* has a circulation of 1400, and no indebtedness. They have two schools, one at Yokohama and one at Nagoya, Japan. The receipts for the quadrennium amount to something over \$20,000. A plan for the organization of an Annual Conference in Japan was submitted, approved, and afterward carried into effect. The Board of Ministerial Education report \$10,300.21, total receipts for the quadrennium, and disbursed, except \$253.81, balance on hand. The permanent fund amounted to \$5479.15 and \$1500 of mortuary notes. The reports of the publishing houses are in detail. At Pittsburgh, increased net assets over the last quadrennium, \$21,790.45, of which \$20,928.36 is increased estimated value of the realty in publishing house. Circulation of the *Methodist Recorder*, March, 1888, 5829; present circulation, 5390. The six forms of the Sunday-school literature show an average yearly number printed of 129,300. Paid subscribers not given. At Baltimore the net assets are \$7674.31, an increase of \$3304.93 over the last quadrennium. Circulation of the *Methodist Protestant*, 4013 for the past year, an increase of 478 over the last quadrennium. Paid subscribers to the Sunday-school literature for the year, 28,360. The Committee on Education submitted reports from Adrian and Western Maryland colleges, Westminster Theological Seminary, Yadkin College, Gittings Seminary, and a prospectus for Kansas City University. The Committee on Home Missions report the whole amount raised by the Board for the quadrennium, \$19,697.48, of which \$1148.72 is a permanent fund. Fifteen members were named to be Incorporators of the General Conference of the Church. The statistical tables are

unusually full, and cover in separate tables not numbers only but Finances, Sunday schools and Young People's Societies, and may be found in the printed minutes. As heretofore, the numerical table is given (on opposite page) as corrected from other tabulations believed to be more accurate. These show a net gain for the quadrennium of about 21,281, members and ministers, or about twelve per cent for the period, being the same for that of 1888.

In 1888, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in their address, asked the question: "Have we a Constitution? And if so, where and what is it?" It was more than a hundred years after the organization in 1784, and raised what was always a moot; but now that the heads of authority seem uncertain about the foundations of the great ecclesiasticism, the brethren took the cue and appointed a most competent committee in the interval of the General Conference to decide the question. They reported at this General Conference of May, 1892, but it settled nothing and was most unsatisfactory to the body. How could it be otherwise? Finally a motion prevailed that left the matter substantially where it was, so that the query abides with them: Have we a Constitution? The bishops, in their address in 1892, stirred the whole Church by the announcement that the statistics would probably show a gain of twenty-five per cent in membership, or from 2,000,000 to 2,500,000 for the quadrennium. They were indeed to be congratulated, and if the actual enumeration did not fully sustain it, the growth was phenomenal, and the Christian world could unite in gratulations. A similar increase had been reported relatively in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at their 1890 meeting.

Dr. L. W. Bates, shortly after the rise of the General Conference, uniting in the official papers' discussion of a Union with the Primitive Methodists of America, made the insistence that they should inaugurate it, if they desired it; that self-respect required that in any movement of the kind the initiation should not come from the Methodist Protestant Church,—a sensible view of the situation. (See Baltimore paper for June 8, 1892.) About this time Dr. Townsend of Boston University, Methodist Episcopal Church, issued a work, "Clerical Politics in the Methodist Episcopal Church," which made a great sensation, and with it he proposed, in order to correct the abuses pointed out, to organize within every Conference "The Reform League of the Methodist Episcopal Church." It was akin to the "Union

STATISTICAL TABLE—NUMERICAL

ANNUAL CONFERENCES	Itinerant Ministers	Unstationed Ministers and Preachers	Members	Probationers	Churches	Parsonages	Valuation of Church Property
Alabama	25	41	4,272	139	86	4	\$68,355.00
Alabama, Colored	8	....	480	4	6	..	830.00
Arkansas	34	57	5,310	....	82½	4	23,000.00
Arkansas, Colored	....	....	....	....	....	..	....
Baltimore, Colored	16	10	238	....	....	7	....
Central Texas	55	51	2,682	....	13	1	14,920.00
Colorado, Texas	44	....	1,255	144	4	6	3,508.20
Colorado, Texas, Colored	21	11	567	17	10	2	1,980.00
Charleston, Colored	12	16	1,250	140	17	..	....
Florida	10	....	265	84	11	..	2,500.00
Fort Smith	34	14	1,245	10	9	..	....
Genesee	15	6	718	15	13½	9	40,700.00
Georgia	30	13	2,705	60	48	..	23,400.00
Georgia, Colored	28	35	1,078	42	27	..	11,990.00
Indiana	60	70	7,934	144	114½	19	1,462.80
Iowa	48	22	3,950	....	64	22	80,900.00
Indian Mission	40	5	700	....	....	..	....
Kansas	46	34	2,458	15	23	8	35,250.00
Kentucky	15	15	1,968	71	8	..	....
Louisiana	10	6	1,800	....	30	..	5,000.00
Maryland	130	68	18,861	1,434	256½	76	1,055,330.00
Michigan	44	69	2,919	79	65	27	117,517.35
Minnesota	10	....	137	....	5	1	....
Missouri	32	52	2,740	42	40	9	29,550.00
Mississippi	45	24	2,151	54	61	2	11,000.00
Muskingum	63	55	12,274	170	142½	17	276,225.00
Nebraska	3	10	487	21	7	3	7,900.00
New Jersey	44	....	3,107	148	37	13	149,750.00
New York	29	20	2,090	40	26	11	150,520.00
North Carolina	42	71	15,002	171	187	9	132,666.00
North Illinois	59	....	2,219	23	49½	19	82,200.00
North Missouri	21	29	2,073	2	17½	3	13,650.00
North Mississippi	25	....	1,059	8	19	..	3,800.00
Ohio	53	48	6,184	319	93	24	218,842.74
Onondaga	48	7	2,116	89	35½	25	51,645.00
Washington and Oregon	5	4	191	20	3	1	66,900.00
Pennsylvania	17	11	1,268	8	19½	5	39,600.00
Pittsburgh	63	54	7,257	178	85	24	504,289.50
South Carolina	15	11	2,000	....	30	2	17,590.00
South Illinois	14	30	2,881	100	42½	9	40,900.00
Tennessee	17	....	1,743	....	34½	..	15,500.00
Texas	31	....	2,244	22	21½	6	13,360.00
Virginia	18	25	2,943	41	24	..	15,860.00
West Michigan	35	20	1,144	66	24½	14	38,175.00
West Virginia	71	103	15,306	....	186	30	187,825.00
West Arkansas	....	....	....	....	....	..	....
Totals	1,485	1,125	141,271	4,120	2,181½	405	\$3,551,359.29
Totals of <i>Methodist Recorder</i> table, Dec. 26, 1891, which are much more satisfactory and reliable than the above	1,511	1,073	156,473	4,035	2,070	401	\$3,742,398.00
Total lay and ministerial membership	....	....	165,162	....	....	..	....

Societies" of 1824-28, but no one ventured to assert that it was illegal or seditious now as then. Seventy years had made right what was then wrong. The change in the editorship of the *Methodist Protestant* took place with the issue of June 22, 1892.

Rev. George R. Barr, D.D., was born in North Carolina, July 25, 1810. Converted in 1823, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, but soon thereafter becoming acquainted with Reform literature, heartily entered into the movement, and was received into the Virginia Conference in 1842. In the following three years he organized churches in four counties of the State, being indefatigable in his zeal for Christ and the new Church, and with occasional retirements to the local ranks remained connected with it to his death. Cultivated in intellect, devoted and steadfast, he shared largely the confidence of the Church, and was elected a representative to the General Conferences of 1858, 1870, 1874, and the Conventions of 1867 and 1877. He was also President of the Holston Conference for three years, and of the Virginia Conference two years. He departed this life peacefully at Abingdon, Va., August 27, 1892. Rev. Zadoc M. Waters, of Howard County, Md., local minister, deceased July 19, 1892, in his ninetieth year. He united with the Church from the Methodist Episcopal Church about 1830, and remained constant to Christ and the Church until the end. John McPherson of North Carolina, born March 25, 1810, deceased October 14, 1892, an original Reformer from 1830. Joshua Murray of Maryland deceased February 6, 1892, aged eighty-eight years, an original Reformer. Rev. Francis Brown, pastor of the Laurel Street (colored) Methodist Protestant Church, deceased February 12, 1893, in Charleston, S. C., aged seventy-two years. From his early manhood he was religious, and connected with the Charleston church from its organization in 1835, honored and respected by the white and colored membership alike. Class leader and preacher, he was faithful until the destruction of the edifice by the bombardment of the city in 1861. After the Civil War and the disintegration of the white congregation, he did not forsake his Reform principles, but organized the colored brethren into a church, and as its messenger he made frequent visits to the Maryland Conference, by which he was ordained. He departed peacefully and merits this mention. Rev. George Harlen, M.D., a local minister of the Church in Georgia, converted in his eighteenth year, and soon thereafter united with the first Reformers of that State, and departed this life May 21, 1893, in his seventy-

ninth year. Rev. George Nestor, D.D., was born March 19, 1818, in Virginia, now West Virginia, was converted in 1837, and in 1840, with his parents and others, withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church and formed a Reform Methodist society. He was licensed to preach in 1843, and in 1844 united with the Pittsburgh Conference and rendered efficient service until its division in 1854, when he cast his lot with the newly organized West Virginia Conference. He was closely identified with its history, and no name is more honored among them. As President of the Annual Conference and representative to General Conferences and Conventions, he was well known by the general Church. A self-made man, his literary efforts, both in prose and poetry, commanded the attention of his friends. He departed this life July 25, 1893.

The year 1893 was characterized by the itinerant ministry in faithful labor, and the Annual Conferences as they assembled made reports of increased membership, church building, and a steady purpose to achieve denominational success in the Master's name. Maryland, always a leading Conference, reported twenty-five hundred conversions and over \$50,000 accretion of church property value. Other Conferences vied with it in good work. The theological schools at Westminster, Md., and at Adrian, Mich., were sending out educated young men to recruit the ranks. The Church papers and the Sunday-school literature preserved a high standard, and the General Agents were in the field pushing with energy their respective departments. The Christian Endeavor movement carried into it the young people, and a denominational Convention was held at Tiffin, O., June 23, 1893, with representatives from all sections as delegated by over five hundred societies. Rev. Dr. F. T. Tagg presided, in the absence of Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates, the first President, and the programme of addresses and meetings was successfully carried out. Rev. H. L. Elderdice was elected President for the ensuing year, and the work received a strong impetus. These societies were creditably represented in the General Convention of the Christian Endeavor Society, at Montreal, Can., in July, 1893, and the showing was impressive, while individual members on the programme made themselves felt in the grand demonstration, notably Rev. Dr. T. H. Lewis, President of Western Maryland College, Rev. A. H. Reynolds of Ohio, Revs. F. T. Little, H. L. Elderdice, W. C. Perkins, and Paul M. Strayer of Maryland, and Editor J. F. Cowan of *Our Young People*, their organ. The denomina-

tion reported 765 societies, and it was rapidly taking rank as a leading church in the general organization.

The year 1894 had no specially eventful occurrences. The outline of church work was carried on by the quiet itinerant toilers, tilling the fields and content with a record at Conference. The *Missionary Bulletin* was discontinued by the Secretary, as involving too much extra labor in its monthly issue, and in the belief that the official papers could be made the vehicle of such intelligence on a wider scale. The Cleveland, O., General Convention of the Christian Endeavor Society, in July, 1894, reported the denominational societies as reaching the phenomenal number of 963, soon to cover the round one thousand. Paul M. Strayer was elected President of the denominational Union. *Our Church Record*, an eight-page small quarto was issued from Greensboro', N. C., as the local paper of that Conference, by Rev. J. F. McCulloch. It has been well maintained and a successful effort made to build a publishing house in that place for its accommodation, at a cost of \$5000. E. J. Hill, of the church in Washington, D. C., deceased, bequeathed to the Westminster Seminary, Md., \$2500, and to the Maryland Superannuated Fund Society, \$1000, November, 1894. Rev. John Thurman, a venerable member of the Georgia Conference, and associated with it from a very early period, deceased December, 1894. He was born November 10, 1810, in South Carolina, removed with his parents to Georgia, early connected himself with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was licensed to preach in 1835. In 1841 he united with the Methodist Protestant Church, and had the honor of preaching the first sermon ever delivered in the city of Atlanta, when just laid out, and for fifty-three years continued in active or local relations to serve the Conference to the close of a useful life. Hon. Charles W. Button, born at Harper's Ferry, Va., July 17, 1822, deceased near Lynchburg, Va., December 29, 1894, of pneumonia. His parents were members of the church at its organization at Harper's Ferry, and the son imbibed Reform principles from them and the early preachers who were visitors at his father's house. When quite a youth, by the death of his father the widowed mother and a number of children fell to his care. Manfully realizing the situation, he raised them all, took honorable positions in the community, and married Mary, the eldest daughter of the Rev. Daniel Zollickoffer. A loyal churchman and political leader, writer for the press, he removed to Lynchburg, Va., in 1859, and became editor and pro-

prietor of the *Lynchburg Virginian*; ably and successfully conducted it for more than thirty years, during which period he was a foremost supporter of the local church, often a delegate to the Virginia and the Maryland Annual Conferences, frequently a member of the General Conferences and Conventions of the Church, in all which he was a commanding figure and able debater. No layman was better known throughout the entire connection.

The year 1895 was notable in the commercial world for financial depression and general unrest among working people, a condition of things which, while not always inimical to the Christian Church spiritually, seriously affects its general enterprises, especially among the weaker denominations. As the year closed, it was found that the Church had materially suffered from this cause in most of the Conferences. Numerically the reports indicated a considerable increment for the quadrennium, swelling the membership to probably 180,000 as against 165,000 in 1892. The ministry was well reënforced, but most of the general collections showed a decline. Samuel F. Mather, M.D., a venerable Congregational Christian of Kansas City, Kan., deceased early this year, and bequeathed to the Methodist Protestant Church through a board of incorporated trustees realty in that city and its vicinage, with all his personalty, minus \$8250 in legacies, the whole being appraised in round numbers at about \$150,000, on condition that the Church erect a building, to cost not less than \$25,000, and open a college by October, 1896. The project had been anticipated, and about \$35,000 subscribed for this purpose. The foundations have been laid, and hope entertained that the enterprise will receive such an impetus by the assembling of the General Conference in that city as to insure its success. Also early in the year the Texas College at Westminster, Collins County, Tex., was inaugurated by the purchase from the Missionary Baptists of a building and grounds at an aggregate cost of \$3500. It will be under the Presidency of Rev. J. L. Lawlis, A.M., an alumnus of Westminster Theological Seminary, and the auspices of the five Texas Conferences. An Old People's Home had been projected at the suggestion of J. D. Cathell of Georgetown, D. C., for Maryland, and the project ripened into the purchase of a suitable house and grounds at Westminster, Md., and funds subscribed for payment and the opening of the Home at an early date. It will be under the patronage and control of the Maryland Conference. The denominational Young People's

Society of Christian Endeavor held its annual meeting at Pittsburgh, Va., June 28, 1895, Paul M. Strayer, President, and had an excellent programme, which was successfully carried out. It was a stimulating meeting to all who attended it, and they brought home with them a diffusive zeal in the cause of the Master. Paul M. Strayer was reelected President.

The Wesleyan Methodists of England were confronted at their last Annual Conference with a woman delegate from one of the circuits, bearing credentials for the position. She was allowed to retain her seat, but the Conference found themselves in a quandary, so that final action is yet to be taken on a question which is challenging consideration, not among Methodists only, but the Christian world. In the Methodist Episcopal Church the usual quadrennial agitation among the laity for recognition took place. In Philadelphia a vast meeting was held in the Broad and Arch Street church, presided over by Ex-Governor Pattison, and attended by all the leading laymen of their many churches, and a series of resolutions passed which had a ring of solid and solemn purpose in them, not to be misunderstood, for full representation in the General and Annual Conferences. A like meeting was held in Cincinnati, while in Baltimore, the cradle of the "Radical" controversy of 1827-30, a meeting was held in the old Eutaw Street church, June, 1895, at which over three hundred delegates assembled, from sixty-one of their city stations, almost the entire number. Their deliberations were characterized with careful consideration of the resolutions, passed by a unanimous vote, demanding representation in the Annual Conferences, etc. Simultaneously in the Baltimore Conference a paper was introduced and referred to a committee to report in 1896, calling for lay-delegation in the Annual Conferences, the election of Presiding Elders by the Conference, and the limitation of the Episcopal prerogative of appointments by the cabinet of elders. After a hundred years of consolidation on an erroneous foundation of ministerial exclusive rule, this vast organization now finds itself confronted on every side with a growing and irresistible protest against that original error made in 1784, and confirmed in 1808, when the delegated General Conference was instituted without the slightest recognition of the membership as competent to participate in the law-making department or the administration of the Church. Practical difficulties of the most stupendous nature have grown with this system, so that it is a herculean task to meet and properly settle these demands.

The fundamental contention of this "History of Methodist Reform" is, that grave errors were committed by Wesley and Coke in the Poll-Deed of the British Conference, by which exclusive power was entailed forever in one hundred designated ministers as a close and self-perpetuating corporation, whatever may be thought of the wisdom of Wesley's personal government prior to that time as best in the circumstances; and also by Asbury and Coke when the same entailment of power occurred at the organization of the Christmas Conference of 1784, and reaffirmed at the creation of the delegated General Conference in 1808,—a lost opportunity for correction,—whatever may be thought of the wisdom of Asbury's personal government prior to 1784, as best for the American societies in the circumstances. Now an equal representation in either the General or the Annual Conferences doubles the personnel of bodies already overgrown and unwieldy in most cases, and is a most serious problem for solution, as well as a deterrent to conservative men who otherwise need no argument as to the equity of such a proceeding. It must, however, be met, while the responsibility of friction and redivision rests with the "fathers," who were obstinately blind to the warnings given them in 1824–30. So grave, indeed, are the difficulties, and so utterly antipodal the systems in their very genius, that even these concessions made and the readjustments effected would not be satisfactory to the Methodist Protestant Church after nearly seventy years of Presbyterianial method and a demonstration of its ecclesiastical right to a separate continued existence, wishing nothing but federation with its sister Methodisms and dismissing as a finality organic union. In England the difficulties were not so grave. After a hundred years of protest by an enthralled laity, and numerous excisions and secessions and multiplied branches in consequence, the parent body developed wisdom enough less than a score of years ago to admit the laity to an equality as to numbers, and are seeking by parliamentary amendment to the Poll-Deed to correct its original defects.

Rev. N. Urquhart of the Alabama Conference deceased February 12, 1895, at Ramer, Ala. He came from Georgia in 1828, entered the ministry in 1833, and was a devoted itinerant for forty-eight years. Martin Post of West Virginia deceased August 20, 1895, in his eighty-fifth year, after a connection with the Church of over sixty years, an original Reformer of that section. Rev. E. A. Wheat, D.D., born October 20, 1818, in New York, entered the ministry of the Church in his teens, elected to

General Conferences and often to the Presidency of the Genesee Annual Conference; in which he was a father for half a century; a frequent contributor to the official papers; a man of sound judgment, thrifty, prudent, and generous for his day; a loyal churchman and devoted Christian minister—he passed to the better life April 14, 1895. Rev. James G. Seaman born July 29, 1802, and departed this life June 11, 1895. Converted at fifteen years of age, he united with a class of the "Reformed Methodists" in Jersey City in 1824. He was a delegate elect to the Baltimore Convention of 1828. On the union of the Reformed Methodists with the Methodist Protestant Church in 1832, he was relicensed to preach, afterward ordained, and for thirty-two years was an itinerant within the bounds of the Onondaga Conference. Removing to Michigan in 1867, he united with the Conference and was in the active ministry until his superannuation about 1883. He survived to his ninety-third year, when he passed away in peace, and merits this record as a consistent Christian and intrepid Reformer. Rev. James K. Nichols, D.D., born July 18, 1817, was converted and united with the Church at sixteen years of age, was received into the Maryland Annual Conference in 1836, and faithfully itinerated for twenty-seven years, when he was elected its President in 1863. In 1871 he was called to the Vice-Presidency of Western Maryland College, and was often elected to the General Conference. A self-made man of fine literary taste, and a fluent writer of both prose and verse, a true friend and wise counsellor, he commanded the love and admiration of all who knew him, and after some years of superannuation departed this life, May 5, 1895. Rev. Daniel W. Bates, D.D., was born in New Jersey, June 10, 1815. His parents were original Reformers; and his grand-uncle was Daniel Bates often mentioned by Asbury in his Journal as furnishing hospitality to him. After a local relation of some time he united with the Maryland Conference in 1843, and continued to itinerate and render active and fruitful service until late in life. He was elected President of the Maryland Conference, and also to the General Conference. A practical preacher and a fertile writer, he became well known throughout the Church. He closed his earthly career of usefulness, continuing to preach occasionally until near his eighty-first year, November 9, 1895. His last illness found him prepared in the testimony: "I am simply waiting the Lord's call, and it makes but little difference to me how soon it comes. I am ready." After suitable obsequies his

remains were deposited in Wesley chapel cemetery, near his late home. Rev. A. H. Trumbo, D.D., departed this life at Springfield, O., February 21, 1896. He was born January 2, 1814, and, though not an original Reformer, he was early identified with the Ohio Conference, and soon gave evidence of his superior mental gifts and consecration to Reform principles and the cause of Christ. He was a frequent contributor to the periodical press of the Church, logical force and perspicuity of statement characterizing his productions. For a number of years he was out of the active itinerancy, but always alive to every interest of the Church. His end was peace, and he left out of a limited property bequests to the colleges and other institutions. Rev. Thomas E. Coulbourn departed this life March 11, 1896, at Pittston, Pa., in the forty-third year of his age. The announcement was a great shock to the general Church. At the General Conference of 1892, he was elected Corresponding Secretary to the Board of Foreign Missions. After prayerful consideration he entered upon its duties, and for nearly the quadrennial term exhibited a mastery of the situation which gave universal satisfaction. An intelligent consecration marked every step of his labors. He was suddenly stricken down in pursuit of his mission, at the home of Rev. R. S. Hulshart, with acute peritonitis, and in less than four days he expired. Informed of his perilous condition, he met the last enemy with calmness and resignation — a legacy of triumph to his family and friends. His remains were removed to Lynchburg, Va., near which place he resided, and after impressive services were laid to rest in the family lot of his father-in-law, the late Hon. C. W. Button. In due season the Board of Missions elected Rev. A. D. Melvin of the Maryland Conference to fill out his unexpired term, and he at once entered upon his duties.

A fitting close to this chapter calls for the mention of the work of Rev. S. Heininger of Elkhart, Ind. Dissatisfied with the polity of the Evangelical Association, which had just divided through causes excited by the power of their bishopric, he came to the Methodist Protestant Church, bringing with him the German congregation he had been serving. He was soon made superintendent of the German work by the Board of Home Extension, and he continues to fill the position with zeal and satisfaction.

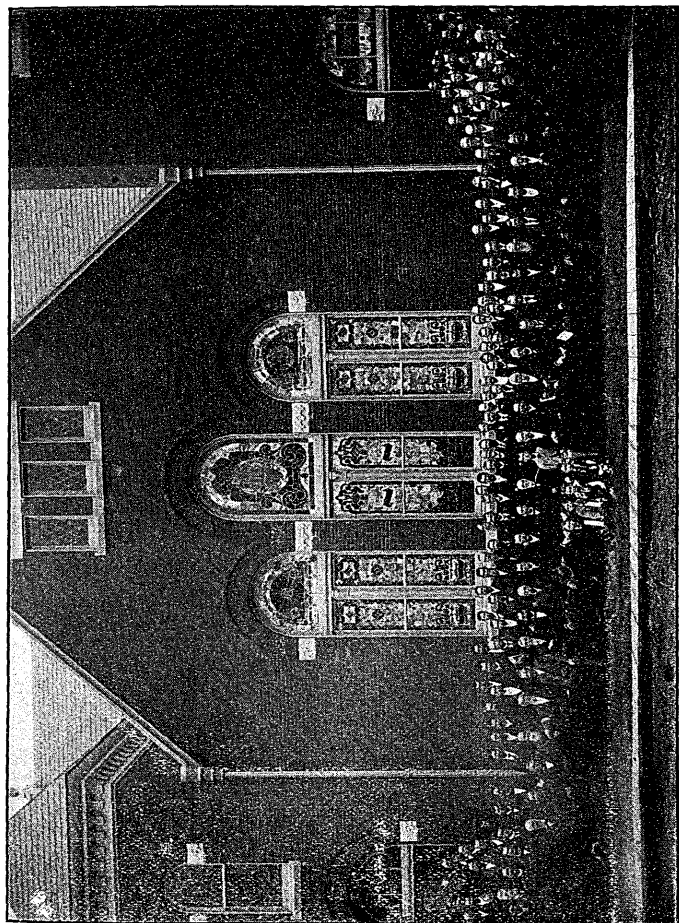
CHAPTER XXXIX

Seventeenth General Conference at Kansas City, Kan., May 15, 1896—Roster of members; reflection of Dr. Hering as President without precedent; personal indorsement—Banquet to the Conference by H. J. Heinz, Esq.—Corner-stone laying of Kansas City University—Large percentage of absentees from the Conference owing to extreme Western location—Election of General Conference officers of Church papers and official boards—Fraternal messengers and letters—Articles of Religion left unchanged, and committee discharged—Great increase in Y. P. C. E. Societies—Incorporation of the General Conference—Financial exhibit of the several boards and publishing houses—Overtures to the Annual Conferences—Statistics of the Church show a gain of nearly twenty-seven per cent for members and nearly twenty-five for Church property; a remarkable showing—Opening of Kansas University under Chancellor Stephens; a ten-thousand dollar donation to it by H. J. Heinz—Dr. Mather's bequest to the University; present valuation \$150,000; prospective not less than \$500,000—Obituaries for 1896—Result of overtures to the Conferences.

THE seventeenth General Conference assembled at Kansas City, Kan., May 15, 1896, in the People's Methodist Protestant church. The President, Dr. J. W. Hering, after preliminary religious services, read a report and made sundry recommendations. It was a departure from the methods of the Conference, and universally approved as dignifying the office and imparting important information to the body at the outset. The roll of certificates of election was read by the Secretary, and the following, subsequently amended, made up the roster:—

ALABAMA	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. T. Howell	Ira Champion ¹
C. B. McDaniel	O. F. Warner
J. P. Morgan ¹	Joseph Bell
ARKANSAS	
J. E. Loudermilk	A. G. Gray
J. F. Nisbit	J. C. Milner
M. C. Jackson	E. M. Allen
CENTRAL TEXAS	
A. S. Biddison	C. Byrd

¹ Alternates.



The Seventeenth Quadrennial General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, assembled
in front of the People's Church, Kansas City, Kansas, in 1896.

COLORADO (Texas)	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. S. Perry	T. J. Hammack
COLORADO (Texas Colored)	
J. L. Jackson	J. W. Larrimore
FORT SMITH MISSION	
W. S. Bartholomew	W. C. Philips
GENESEE	
O. P. Wildey	Ira McMichael
GEORGIA	
F. H. M. Henderson	J. J. Barge
R. S. McGarity	C. O. Stubbs
IOWA	
James Kirkwood	John F. Burdine
W. A. McCorkle	Miles Pearson
INDIAN MISSION	
W. V. Tunstall	King Cacey
INDIANA	
H. Stackhouse	L. Boring
S. Heininger	John Lowden
J. P. Ledbetter	Mrs. M. A. Omo ¹
S. S. Stanton	W. W. Lineberry
KANSAS	
Eugenia F. St. John	J. E. Devilbiss
T. J. Sheppard	Mrs. J. E. Rouse
MARYLAND	
J. D. Kinzer	J. W. Hering
F. T. Tagg	Daniel Baker
T. H. Lewis	J. R. Caton
J. T. Murray ¹	T. H. Bartlett
F. T. Little	S. Vannort
W. M. Strayer	J. A. Smith
A. D. Melvin	J. G. Coleman
S. B. Tredway	T. A. Murray
L. W. Bates	W. J. C. Dulany
J. L. Mills	C. W. Hobbs
W. M. Poisal ¹	C. A. Benjamin
MICHIGAN	
A. C. Fuller	A. A. Rust
R. Rutledge ¹	O. L. Palmer

¹ Alternates

<i>Ministers</i>	MISSOURI	<i>Laymen</i>
J. A. Sartin		J. F. Howe
C. F. Barnes		F. A. Jones
	MISSISSIPPI	
J. L. Scarborough		J. B. Allen
	MUSKINGUM	
J. A. Thrapp		Boyd McCormick ¹
S. A. Fisher		M. Yingling
W. L. Wells		Theo. Purvis ¹
M. L. Jennings		W. L. Trenner
G. E. McManiman		V. Ferguson
D. C. Coburn		A. M. Lyons
W. S. Cairns		C. Y. Yingling
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
R. E. Fox		W. S. Wilson
J. A. Reichard		R. M. Pollock ¹
	NORTH MISSOURI	
W. S. Miller		J. W. Root
	NORTH MISSISSIPPI	
A. J. Richardson		W. C. Carter
R. C. Jeter		
	NEBRASKA	
T. J. Strickler		J. S. Francis
	NEW JERSEY	
W. D. Stultz		E. S. Vanleer
John H. Algor ¹		Z. Patterson
	NEW YORK	
J. H. Robinson		Fred H. Varney
	NORTH CAROLINA	
W. A. Bunch		O. R. Cox
T. J. Ogburn		R. T. Pickens
J. F. McCulloch		F. R. Harris
C. A. Cecil		A. M. Rankin
L. L. Albright		J. M. Hadley
W. E. Swain		W. P. Pickett
T. M. Johnson		J. C. Roberts
A. W. Lineberry		J. N. Wills
J. F. Dozier ¹		J. L. Ogburn

¹ Alternates.

<i>Ministers</i>	OREGON MISSION	<i>Laymen</i>
B. B. Paul		
	OHIO	
D. S. Stephens		C. E. Custis
T. B. Graham		W. L. Bailey
W. J. Elliot		J. R. Vannorsdall
J. F. Henkle		A. J. Vanpelt
	ONONDAGA	
M. L. Baker		C. W. Waterman
	PITTSBURGH	
G. C. Sheppard		J. F. Cooper
A. W. Robertson		H. M. Myers
Geo. Shaffer		G. B. Brown
T. H. Colhouer		T. B. Evans
W. H. Gladden		J. W. Morris
	PENNSYLVANIA	
J. R. Botts		J. R. Hay
	SOUTH CAROLINA	
C. McSmith		D. Yarborough
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
J. G. Reed ¹		M. S. Strike
	SOUTH GEORGIA (Colored)	
J. S. Tisdale		
	ST. LOUIS MISSION	
A. J. Steward		H. S. Morris
	SOUTHWEST TEXAS MISSION	
M. C. Wilson		J. M. Low
	TENNESSEE	
S. O. Hooper		W. R. Sims
	TEXAS	
J. D. Christian		J. K. Pierce
T. L. Garrison ¹		T. P. Stillwell
	VIRGINIA	
H. M. Peebles		I. P. Robinet
	WEST MICHIGAN	
W. D. Tompkinson		J. W. Burlington

¹ Alternates.

Ministers

M. D. Helmick
 E. J. Wilson
 J. A. Selby
 B. Stout
 M. L. Smith
 M. M. Everly
 J. J. Mason
 J. F. Cowan

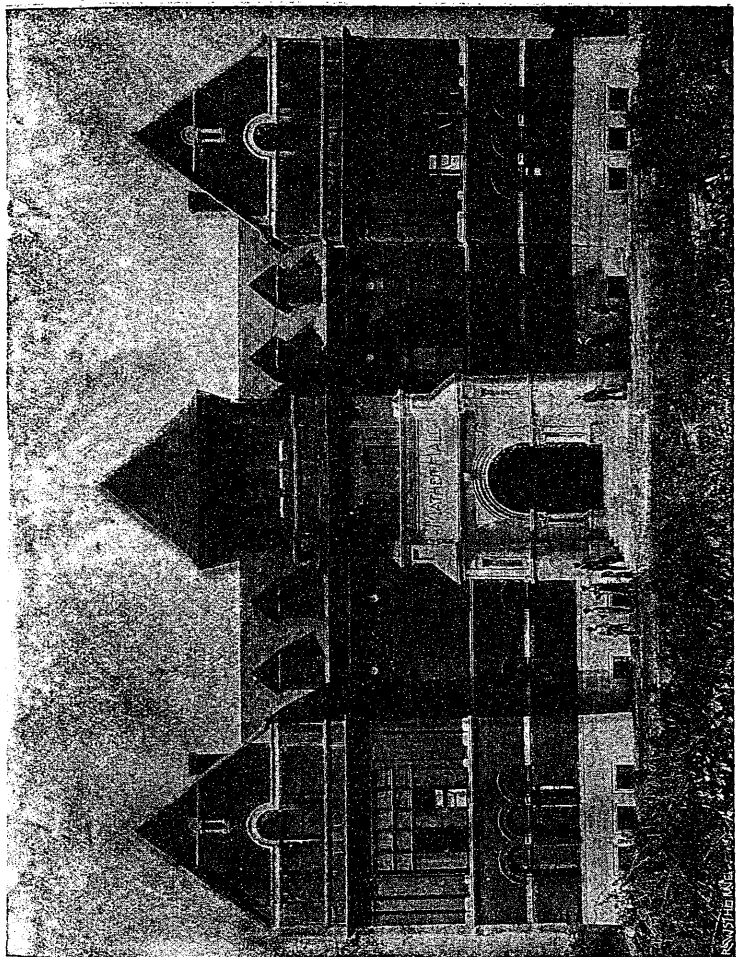
WEST VIRGINIA

Laymen

Porter Maxwell
 A. G. Hall
 U. S. Fleming
 John Lynn
 C. H. Smoot
 G. W. Holswade
 J. W. Hull

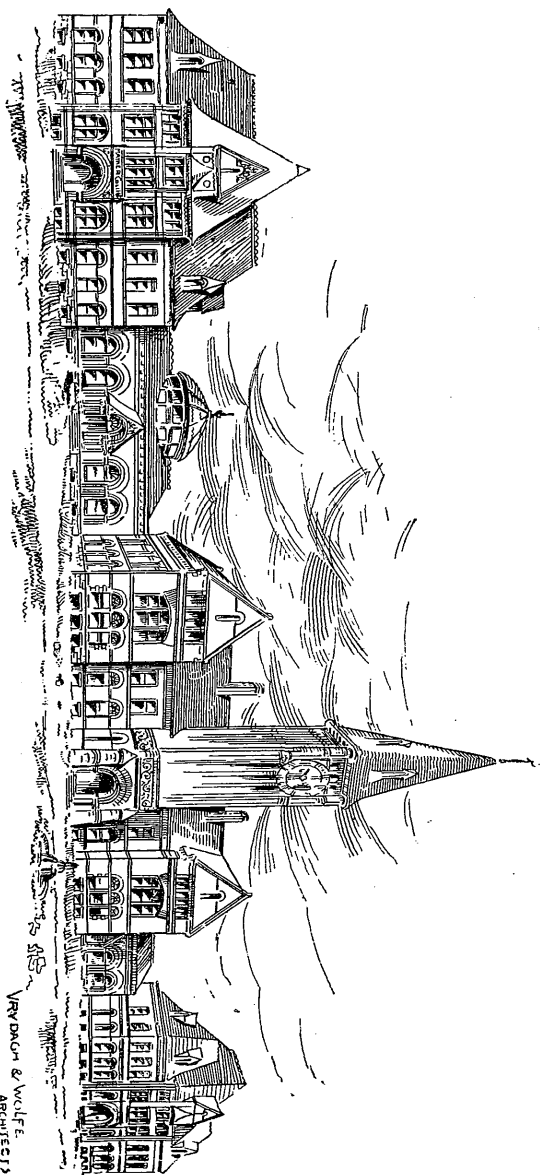
The Secretary notes in the printed Minutes that those designated were alternates, but gives no indication of the absentees; but, as the roster of those elected shows 188, and on the ballot for permanent officers, on the second day, Dr. J. W. Hering was reelected by a vote of 75 out of 112 cast, the highest ballot at any time being 132, the presumption is that those absent made a heavy percentage, accounted for by the fact of the extreme Western location of the Conference. The personnel of the body, however, was impressive. The reelection of Dr. Hering was the first in the history of the Church, and a high compliment to his administration. Rev. T. M. Johnson of North Carolina was elected Secretary. Twenty Standing Committees were appointed by the chair, thoroughly distributing the Conference work.

Early in the session a banquet was tendered the Conference by H. J. Heinz, Esq., of Pittsburgh, which was accepted for the following Monday evening at the principal hotel of Kansas City, Mo., and proved a most enjoyable entertainment. The Conference also accepted an invitation to the corner-stone laying of Kansas City University, under the auspices of the Church and the generous bequest of Dr. Mather of Kansas City, Kan.; also an invitation from the rapid-transit street car company to the public park of Kansas City, Mo. On the election of General Conference officers, Dr. Stephens announced that he had accepted the Chancellorship of Kansas City University, and was not a candidate for reelection to the editorship of the *Methodist Recorder*; Dr. M. L. Jennings received on the third ballot 73 out of 129 votes. For editor of the *Methodist Protestant* Dr. F. T. Tagg received on the first ballot 109 out of 124 votes. The Secretary was ordered to cast the ballot of the Conference for J. F. Cowan as editor of the Sunday-school literature. For Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions Rev. T. J. Ogburn of North Carolina received 93 out of 130 votes. The



METHODIST PROTESTANT UNIVERSITY, KANSAS CITY, KANSAS.

Completed Building, cost \$30 000.



Scheme of completed pile of buildings for Methodist Protestant University, Kansas City, Kansas. Estimated present value of Dr. Mather's bequest in realty and personally to the University, \$150,000.00.

Secretary of the Conference was ordered to cast the ballot for J. C. Berrien as Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Education. Benjamin Stout for Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Home Missions received 72 out of 123 votes. For Publishing Agent at Baltimore W. J. C. Dulany received 81 out of 98 votes. For Publishing Agent at Pittsburgh, U. S. Fleming received 97 out of 114 votes. Fraternal interchanges took place between the Conference and the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Church, then holding its annual session in the city. The office of Treasurer of the several General Boards was merged into that of the Corresponding Secretary, and each to be bonded in the sum of \$5000. The place for the ensuing General Conference was referred as by Discipline to the President and the Board of Publication. Greetings were ordered to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, then in session at Cleveland, O.; their return response to those of 1892 it having been discovered had failed of transmission. The Hymn Book question was disposed of by ordering certain improvements in the present book. The *Woman's Foreign Missionary Record* was recognized as the official paper of that society. Fraternal greetings from the Reformed Episcopal Church were reciprocated. A paper against the use of tobacco, with certain recommendations as to the youth of the Church, was passed. Greetings from the National Council of the Congregational churches were reciprocated. After remarks by the President, the Conference adjourned, May 23, to meet on the third Friday in May, at 10 A.M., 1900.

The proceedings of this Conference make a pamphlet of 131 octavo pages, and a summation in addition to the foregoing, made from the reports, is as follows. The subject of changes in the Articles of Religion was indefinitely postponed. The Shorter Catechism of the Church was ordered revised and published with the issues of the Sunday-school literature, as also the revised text of the Scriptures in parallel. A committee of seven was appointed to act on Revision of the Discipline in the interval of the quadrennial session, to whom a large number of amendments were referred, all of which as adopted must be approved by the ensuing General Conference. The report of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor showed an increase from 10,965 members in 1892 to about 35,000 in 1896, or over three hundred per cent. An Act of Incorporation of the General Conference was secured from the Maryland legislature, conferring certain

rights and privileges, with the following as the trustees: J. W. Hering, J. D. Kinzer, F. T. Little, W. M. Strayer, J. T. Lassell, J. W. Miles, T. A. Murray, and J. G. Clarke of Maryland, D. S. Stephens of Ohio, H. W. Reeves of Pennsylvania, W. L. Wilson of Illinois, S. S. Stanton of Indiana, T. H. Cocheu of New York, and W. A. Bunch of North Carolina. This important action gives a legal status to the General Conference. The reports on publishing houses showed for the Sunday-school literature a circulation of 139,840, a gain of over 11,000 for the quadrennium. The Pittsburgh Directory shows present assets over liabilities to be \$53,437.08, a net gain of \$154.25, and at Baltimore of \$8271.18, a net gain of \$596.87 for the quadrennium. *Our Young People*, organ of the Christian Endeavor Society, was discontinued, the support being inadequate. The circulation of the official papers showed no material gain or loss for the quadrennium. The Woman's Home Mission Board was recognized, a constitution adopted, and officers elected. The report on Foreign Missions showed total receipts for the quadrennium \$52,260.79. The Home Mission Board, total receipts for the quadrennium, \$26,242.25. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society reported total receipts for the quadrennium, \$17,822.34. The report of the Board of Ministerial Education showed total receipts for the quadrennium, \$19,135.72. Western Maryland and Adrian colleges made favorable reports, and Kansas City University was recognized among the official institutions of the Church. Overtures were submitted to the Annual Conferences to seat women representatives in the General Conference and their eligibility to the order of elder; to seat Presidents of Christian Endeavor Societies in the Quarterly Conferences; to elect stewards by given methods; to change the General Conference from every four to every six years. The Committee on Statistics, report for Sunday-schools and Christian Endeavor Societies; that for membership and church property, etc., is shown on opposite page.

SUMMARY OF COMPARISON WITH JOURNAL OF LAST CONFERENCE

	1896	1892	INCREASE
Ministers and Preachers	1,550	1,485	65
Unstationed Ministers and Preachers	1,116	1,125	Dec. 9
Members	179,092	141,272	37,821
Probationers	4,624	4,120	504
Churches	2,267	2,181	86
Parsonages	484	405	79
Value of Church Property	\$4,519,357	\$3,551,359	\$967,998

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATISTICS

ANNUAL CONFERENCES	Ministers and Preachers	Unstationed Ministers and Preachers	Members	Probationers	Churches	Parsonages	Value of Church Property
Alabama	31	11	5,079	190	86	6	\$65,893
Alabama, Colored	7	4	500	7	7	..	1,000
Arkansas	32	35	5,733	..	71½	16	26,431
Arkansas, Colored	17	..	488	11	9	..	500
Baltimore, Colored	16	..	238	..	10	7	....
Central Texas	39	32	2,181	13	38	4	14,938
Colorado, Texas	30	30	1,744	96	5	4	4,475
Colorado, Texas, Col.	20	11	700	10	11	2	4,324
Charleston Mission, Col.	17	19	996	..	15	2	11,450
Florida	7	3	350	64	11	..	2,500
Fort Smith	30	6	1,514	75	8	..	4,500
Genesee	18	6	785	64	16½	8	42,500
Georgia	24	6	3,012	50	48	..	23,500
Georgia, Colored ¹	28	35	1,078	42	27	..	11,990
Indiana	48	64	8,419	170	120½	24	182,150
Iowa	47	32	3,989	..	67½	22	100,100
Indian Mission	20	3	710	..	5	..	1,200
Kansas	47	37	3,121	..	31	10	58,300
Kentucky	36	39	1,917	226	..	..	8,500
Louisiana ¹	10	6	1,800	..	30	..	5,000
Maryland	146	84	21,612	1,935	276½	84	1,194,400
Michigan	70	33	3,651	73	73	33	139,775
Missouri	49	46	3,031	..	37½	10	34,325
Mississippi	22	21	2,225	53	53	1	11,550
Muskingum	73	43	14,586	98	153	18	288,150
Nebraska	17	7	750	..	8	4	7,300
New Jersey	35	28	3,625	130	44	15	197,625
New York	27	19	2,209	116	26	12	198,900
North Carolina	54	39	16,416	174	208	12	145,487
North Illinois	36	17	3,218	11	49	21	123,400
North Mississippi	17	5	1,239	..	29	..	3,875
North Missouri	21	21	2,191	9	29	6	24,075
Ohio	52	39	6,099	199	99	29	309,550
Onondaga	54	27	2,167	231	39	27	92,500
Washington and Oregon . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	....
Pennsylvania	16	10	1,146	3	20½	6	32,070
Pittsburgh	67	46	8,981	95	80½	23	551,510
South Carolina	9	11	1,865	26	30	2	17,300
South Illinois	34	10	2,449	149	50	8	43,328
Tennessee	11	13	1,929	..	26	2	17,000
Texas	20	22	3,443	24	26½	7	13,795
Virginia	17	6	2,623	38	28	..	17,500
West Michigan	45	26	1,718	..	31	17	48,000
West Virginia	76	121	16,076	218	319½	38	323,190
Northwest Texas	35	30	2,424	..	6½	3	5,500
Japan Mission	12	3	254	44	3	1	5,500
St. Louis Mission	10	10	620	..	6	1	....
Chickasaw Mission ¹	11	..	300	..	..	..	....
	1,550	1,116	179,092	4,624	2,267½	484	\$4,524,857

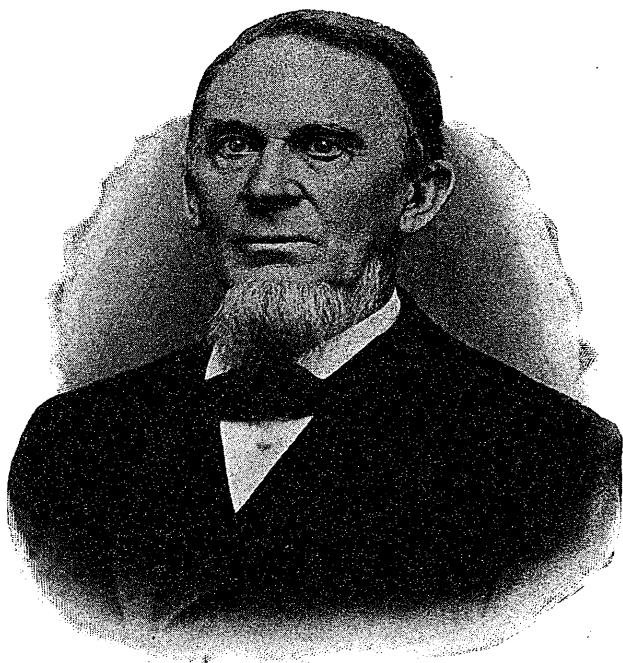
Ministers and Preachers	1,550
Unstationed Ministers and Preachers	1,116
Total Full Members	181,758

¹ Last quadrennium, 1892.

These figures show for membership a net increase of a fraction under twenty-seven per cent, and for church property valuation a fraction under twenty-five per cent in the quadrennium. It is a remarkable exhibit, and compares favorably, not only with the other Methodisms of America, but with any of the evangelical Christian bodies without exception. The question may be recurred to and more fully elaborated in the recapitulation of this entire work in the concluding chapter. It is about double the net material and numerical increase of the Church over any quadrennium in its history except those of 1834-38. It points hopefully to a membership of 200,000 and a church property valuation of \$5,000,000 in 1900.

The Conference, as a special mark of respect to the late Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, Rev. T. E. Coulbourn, ordered his missionary sermon, delivered by proxy before the Maryland Conference, to be published in full in its minutes.

The financial depression throughout the business world continued, seriously affecting the receipts for Church purposes. The ministry and membership of the Church returned to labor under the encouraging exhibit of prosperity indicated by the statistics of the last General Conference. The Kansas University project was pushed to a successful issue by President Heinz of the Board of Trustees by a contribution of \$10,000, and by the unflagging efforts of Chancellor Stephens. Mather Hall of the main building was completed and opened in October under promising auspices, thus securing the extensive landed property bequeathed by Dr. Mather. The various officials of the Church entered vigorously upon their duties, and the returns made to the autumn Conferences indicated growth and extension. The *Texas Methodist Protestant*, under the care of Rev. Thomas Aaron, entered upon its second year as the local paper of the Texas Conferences. The *Methodist Protestant Telephone* was issued in November, 1896, in Alabama, by Rev. J. T. Howell, as the organ of that Conference. It makes a neat appearance. Among those of the veterans who departed this life during the current year it seems fitting to name Rev. C. H. Harris, D.D., of North Carolina, who deceased January 6, 1896, over eighty years of age. He was the last of the Harris brothers who were so conspicuous in the Reform movement in that Conference. His labors richly merit this historic embalmment. Lewis D. Swisher of West Virginia, born May 12, 1819, deceased April 29, 1896. He had a continuous



J. T. WARD.

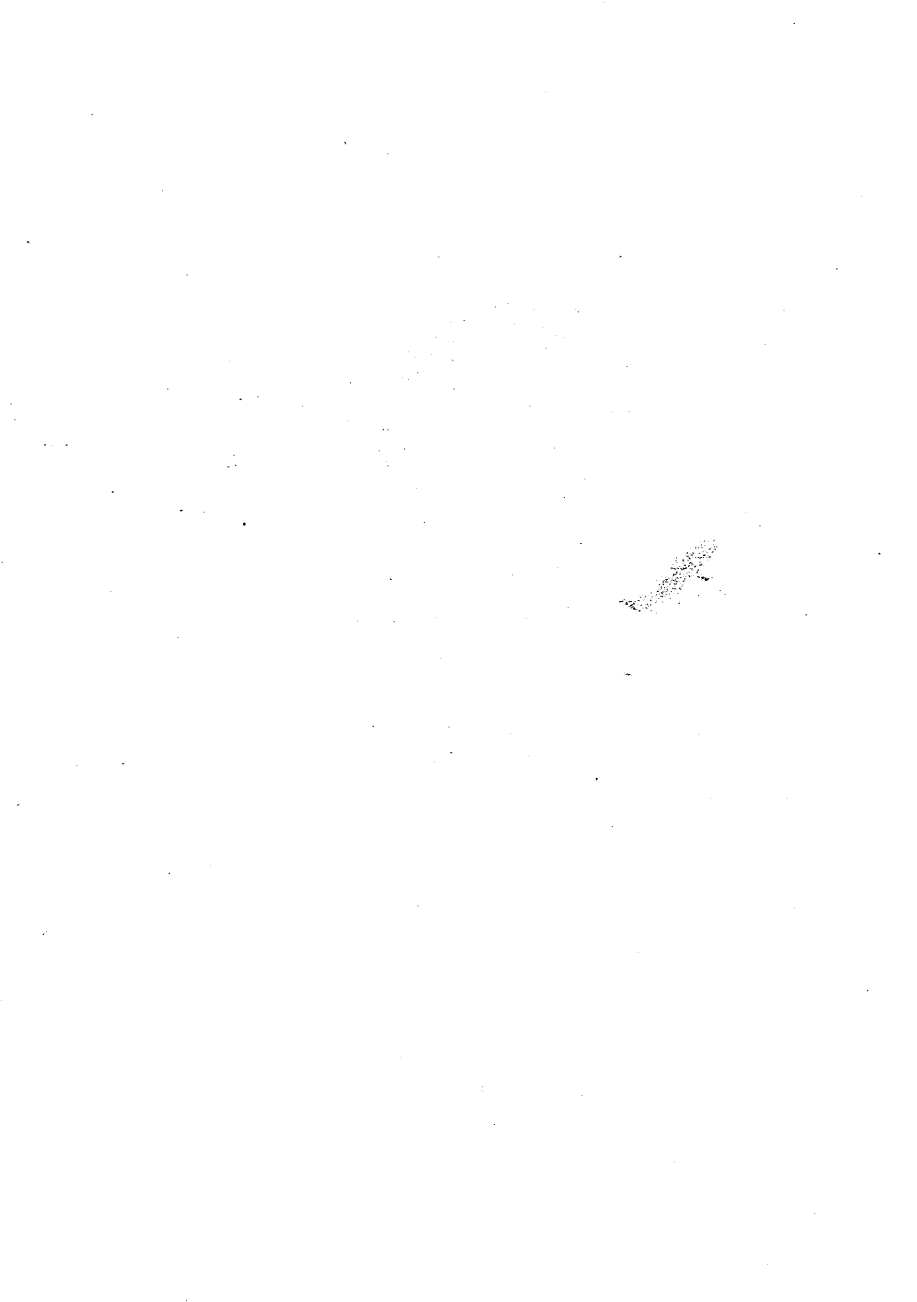
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connection with the Church from 1833 and was one of its noblest laity. Charles W. Ridgely, Esq., born June 2, 1815, departed this life May 31, 1896. He was connected with the Church from 1837, in Baltimore, and was noted for every good word and work. Rev. John R. Nichols of the Maryland Conference, born June 4, 1815, deceased July 22, 1896. He united with the Church October, 1832, and with the Conference in 1838, and for nearly sixty years as a church builder and revivalist had few equals. It seems fitting to couple the names of two worthy women of Maryland: Mrs. Annie Cronice, deceased July 27, 1896, aged ninety-seven years six months and four days, and Mrs. Caroline A. Watkins, who departed this life in the winter of 1896, over ninety years of age, and whose connection with the Church dated from its origin. Rev. J. T. Ward, D.D., born August 21, 1820, deceased March 11, 1897. He was the son of Rev. Ulysses Ward, an old Reformer; early converted in the Church of his father, and well educated, he entered the ministry of the Maryland Conference, and after some years of faithful service located at Westminster in 1866, and associated himself with an educational project, which in 1866-67 came under the patronage of the Maryland Annual Conference, and of which he was elected President in 1870, as a general Church institution, known as Western Maryland College. He held this presidency ably and with personal liberality until 1886, when he became President of Westminster Theological Seminary, which he held until his decease in his seventy-seventh year. His end was peace and his memory blessed.

The writer specially deplores the fact that, despite persistent efforts, no data could be obtained of the labors of Rev. William Remsburg, who was for many years prominent in the West and deceased a member of the Iowa Conference. There must also be added to the death-roll for this year the name of Rev. P. J. Strong of the North Illinois Conference, associated with the Church for sixty years, and filling a large place in its activities. Rev. Joel S. Thrap of the Muskingum Conference, often named in the previous chapters as an active member of General Conferences and Conventions, and whose record is unsurpassed for churchly devotion, specially in connection with Adrian College. Henry Swope of Maryland, a pious and liberal layman, was loved and honored by all. Rev. Rhesa S. Norris of the Maryland Conference deceased December 7, 1897, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He united with the Conference in 1843, and was honored by his brethren. Rev. Thomas Aaron of Texas, a consecrated man and

was an active itinerant for nearly half a century. A life-long invalid, he was nevertheless in abundant labors to the end. Rev. B. F. Duggan, M.D., D.D., born in North Carolina January 22, 1821, departed this life March 1, 1898. He removed to Tennessee in 1838, embraced religion, and united with the Methodist Protestant Church September, 1838. Licensed to exhort in November, 1842, he began his life-long ministerial work August 27, 1843; preached his first sermon at a camp-meeting in Unionville, Tenn., and delivered it again at the same place fifty years from that date. He was graduated in medicine and pursued the double calling through life with great acceptance and success. He was many times elected President of the Conference, as well as to General Conferences and Conventions. His devotion to the cause of Reform knew no bounds, and for it he made many sacrifices, while his personal character was above reproach. His death-illness found him fully prepared; it was a conspicuous triumph over the fear of the last enemy. Rev. John Cowl, D.D., was born in Cornwall, Eng., May 26, 1816, and came to this country with his parents while an infant. Converted in 1833, he at once became active in Church work. In 1837 he united with the Pittsburgh Conference, steadily grew as a preacher, and maintained through life a high position in the ministry and in the councils of the Church. He never swerved from his allegiance to the cause of Reform and the Master he served. He was justly considered a great preacher, while his modesty equalled his abilities. After forty years' service he was compelled by failing health to retire, surviving for twenty years to adorn his home near Moscow, W. Va., on the beautiful Ohio. After a lingering illness he peacefully departed, March 16, 1898.

The *Southern Methodist Protestant*, a small four-page paper, was issued in Arkansas, March 1, 1898, Rev. W. C. Jackson, editor, and Rev. William Cox, manager. Wesley's house in City Road was dedicated as a Methodist museum, 1898, and in recognition of its objects the following cablegram was sent to the managers, and duly acknowledged.

BALTIMORE, MD., March 1, 1898.

REV. T. E. WESTERDALE, 49 City Road, London, E. C.

The Methodist Protestant Church of America sends greetings. (Phil. iv. 20, 21.) "Now unto God and our Father be glory forever and ever. Amen. Salute every saint in Christ Jesus. The brethren which are with me greet you."

J. W. HERING,

President of the General Conference.

At a meeting of the Board of Ministerial Education, March 29, 1898, it was announced that a bequest of \$8000 had been paid to Adrian College under the will of Mrs. Kezerta, widow of Rev. Mr. Kezerta, and with his approval, as an *ante-mortem* intention, to be known as the "S. P. Kezerta Fund," the interest to be used for ministerial education. They had given liberally to this work for many years.

The Maryland Conference of April, 1898, appointed a committee to prepare a suitable programme for the commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church — 1828–98. It was carried out on November 13. A thirty-two page pamphlet was issued, written by Rev. Dr. T. H. Lewis, and ten thousand copies distributed, giving valuable historical matter defensive of the Church. (See extract, Appendix J, in first volume.) The *Methodist Protestant* also issued a special double number, profusely illustrated and furnishing a compendium of general and local Church history, which was largely circulated. The anniversary was fully noticed by the secular press, and the Church greatly benefited denominationally by this revived attention to its character and claims. The preliminary committees of each Methodism to arrange for the third Ecumenical Conference convened, and the President of the General Conference named a committee for this Church. The third Pan-Conference of Methodism will be held in London in 1901, and it is hoped that some of the suggestions for federation will be considered and made operative for all the Methodisms of the world, while still preserving their autonomy as denominations; more than this will only end, as heretofore, in distraction and default.

Rev. J. L. Michaux, D.D., of North Carolina, deceased July 6, 1898, aged seventy-one years. He was one of the oldest members of the Annual Conference and was honored by his brethren. Mention is elsewhere made of his many years' association with the *Central Protestant* as editor and proprietor. Rev. W. D. Tompkinson of the Michigan Conference was born in England in 1816, and deceased July, 1898. He united with the Conference in 1853, and was honored through a long life for zeal and devotion. Rev. J. M. Mason, whose name stood third on the Pittsburgh Conference roll, attended the session of September, 1898, but fractured his thigh-bone on his return home and did not long survive. He was over eighty years of age and served the Church for half a century, receiving honor from his brethren. Rev.

John W. Everest of the Maryland Conference was born October 22, 1810, united with the Conference in 1832, served actively for thirty-five years, and passed to his heavenly reward, August 2, 1898, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. True and tried, his end was peace. J. G. Johnson, M.D., D.D., was born January 22, 1834, and deceased August 12, 1898, at Abingdon, Va. He held a conspicuous place in the ministry from 1868, principally in the Virginia Conference, zealous and self-sacrificing, often President, and representative to General Conference, he was honored and loved by his brethren. Ralph Collier was born October 7, 1819, at Pittsburgh, Pa., but spent his youth, manhood, and old age on Tanner's Creek in Dearborn County, Ind. The Methodist Episcopal church of the neighborhood seceded in 1828, and Ralph was thus associated with Reform from its initiation, and ever remained true to his convictions. He was a many-sided man, self-cultured, courageous, and God-fearing. Prominent in the Washingtonian movement of more than half a century ago, a Sunday-school worker and leader in society, he was never found lacking in all that makes Christian manhood. He departed peacefully, August 20, 1898. Closing the necrology of this History, November, 1898, with these worthy names, the writer deplors the fact that so large a number of the early Reformers are unmentioned, despite every effort to discover some record of them. That so large a number have been rescued from oblivion is a source of congratulation, for a worthier class of men and women never adorned any Church.

The overtures submitted by the General Conference to the Annual Conferences were disposed of as follows. Up to December, 1898, the President of the General Conference furnishes the information that of the forty-eight Annual Conferences but twenty-four have voted, with a result which can be accepted only at this time as indicating the trend of opinion on the several overtures submitted. The non-acting Conferences may yet change this trend before the ensuing General Conference, but it is not probable. First, overture on the eligibility of women to elder's orders and to seats in the General Conference, nineteen Conferences for and four against. There being two propositions in this overture, the Maryland Conference divided it, and voted negatively on the first and affirmatively on the second. Second, to seat Presidents of Christian Endeavor Societies in the Quarterly Conferences, twenty-four for and none against. Third, to change the mode of electing stewards, twenty-three for and one against.

Fourth, to change the assembling of the General Conference from four to six years, two in favor and twenty-one against. In the Methodist Episcopal Church the result of two overtures was as follows. First, on the admission of women in the General Conference, on the general subject the vote stood 7455 for and 3636 against. On an equal delegation of laymen in the General Conference, the vote stood 4412 for and 10,776 against. As it requires by the Discipline three-fourths of all the ministers in the Annual Conferences to carry a measure, both the overtures are lost, though there is a large majority vote in favor of the first overture and a large majority against the second. It indicates how remote is the prospect of even equal lay-delegation in the General Conference of that Church, while for an equal lay-representation it is not in sight, to say nothing of Annual Conference representation, or even delegation.¹ It accords with the prognostications ventured elsewhere in this chapter, and is in line with all the examples of history. Entailed and entrenched power rarely, if ever, voluntarily surrenders its prerogatives, so that, both in State and Church, it will rather blindly invite Revolution,—it is a fact written on all the pages of the past.

On the announcement of the result as to lay-delegation, the long-suffering and patient laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church were greatly disappointed, and having but slight knowl-

¹ In the *Western Recorder* for March 7, 1850, the venerable W. S. Stockton, in a series of articles verifying the writers for the *Wesleyan Repository* with a sketch of its history, speaking of the so-called "gag-law" of the General Conference of 1796, and which has been perpetuated substantially to this day, and which provided for expulsion from the Church for causes other than immorality, "inveighing against the discipline," etc., ventures this prognostication: "They will certainly hold to their law. The occasion for its use will never cease until they are forced to grant church representation. When will that be? Probably when the Methodist Protestant Church can count numbers with *their* church. When ministers will be as well provided for in the M. P. C. as in the M. E. C. Then theoretical reformers can afford to minister in free churches. Self-preservation appears to be the first law of individuals, as of society, and of nature. This was true thirty years ago." Yes, from 1820. Witness the renegades and apostates and effeminate of the period,—theoretical reformers who lacked the courage of their convictions. Yes, witness that not until 1872, more than twenty years after Stockton wrote these vaticinations, was a fractional lay-delegation admitted to their General Conference. And it is coincident that in the ratio the Methodist Protestant Church has grown in numbers and Church property has the agitation for lay-delegation grown in the Methodist Episcopal Church; and it will probably prove literally true that before it is granted the Reform Church, at least in localities, shall have "counted numbers," and possessed a ministry "as well provided for" as in the mother Church. Yet a lay-delegation worthy of the name seems but little nearer a consummation in the M. E. Church than when Stockton ventured this forecast, now nearly a half century ago.

edge of the struggle which has been waged for a hundred years, the discouragements of such precedents as this History depicts did not come into their hopeful councils. The agitation exhibited itself in calls for lay-conventions to consider the matter, and in Baltimore, Indianapolis, and Chicago large meetings were held, with a proposition from the Indianapolis meeting to invite general coöperation throughout the Church and hold a General Convention in the autumn of 1898, with a more serious purpose than ever of demanding recognition from their ministerial brethren. That the leaven is working there can be no doubt. Several of the bishops have openly pronounced in favor of equal lay-delegation, and some of the *Advocates* are indorsing it. The organization of Laymen's Associations within the Conferences goes on, with objectives precisely identical with those of the Union Societies of 1824-30, but no whisper is now heard of their disloyal character; much less does any one suggest that these overt acts are grounds for expulsion as "inveighing against the discipline" and "speaking evil of ministers." The old prejudices, however, against the "radicals" survive. This, added to policy, accounts for the fact that these conventions and associations rarely, if ever, make mention of the Methodist Protestant Church as a living exemplification of the successful working of the theory they are contending for, while such *Advocates* as favor the movement are zealously careful to disclaim any likeness with the Reform of 1828-30. It does not, however, make it any less the duty of the Methodist Protestant Church through all its agencies to enlighten the Methodist mind upon the subject. It is one of the purposes for which this History was written.¹

¹ Since this paragraph was written, in March, 1898, the question having been resubmitted with the revolutionary result in the ballots of 8787 in favor of equal delegation in the General Conference, and but 1496 against, up to the last report in the *New York Christian Advocate* of November 3, 1898, making it certain that the Conferences yet to hear from cannot change this result. The query will not down: what has wrought this marvellous change in the ministers of that Church within two years? No arguments were presented or facts evolved, thus to change men's minds. What was it? The answer is, that when the result of the first balloting became known to the laity of that Church, denying them this right to equal delegation, the sensation was so profound and the determination so marked in the laity that, if peaceful petition could be thus cavalierly treated, they would organize and demand to the point of revolution. Immense meetings of the laity were held in various places, culminating in an advertised purpose to hold a General Convention of laymen in October, 1898, at Indianapolis, Ind. There could be no mistaking the menace of these long-suffering laymen. Roused at last to the extremity of overt resistance, if need be, officialism, that potent factor in hierarchies, took alarm, and the word was sent along the line of the army of presiding

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, assembled in Baltimore in May, 1898. It was an imposing body of representative men, and, true to its conservative policy, legislated carefully. It indorsed the action of its commissioners inaugurating Federation with the Methodist Episcopal Church. (See a foot-note in the closing chapter of this History.) The Church had been awarded by the Federal government during the session of Congress of 1898 the sum of \$285,000 to reimburse their publishing house at Nashville, Tenn., for damage and occupation to the buildings during the Civil War.¹ Fifty thousand dollars of this sum was appropriated by the General Conference to establish a publishing house at Shanghai, China. It is a forward missionary movement, and one of the objectives of the proposed Methodist Federation as to the foreign work. The numerical growth of the Church during the quadrennium was not satisfactory to the General Conference. An estimate shows it to have been but 8 $\frac{6}{10}$ per cent, a large decline over past years. But the same decline menaces in the Methodist Episcopal Church, the year 1897-98 showing but a fraction of gain. There are also some indications that the Methodist Protestant Church in 1900 will fall short of the expectation raised by the spurt forward of 1892-96. It is difficult to account for these fluctuations, which occur at intervals in the history of all denominations. The Conference also appointed a commission to find the "Constitution" of the Church, thus following the fruitless quest of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and destined to be as nugatory.

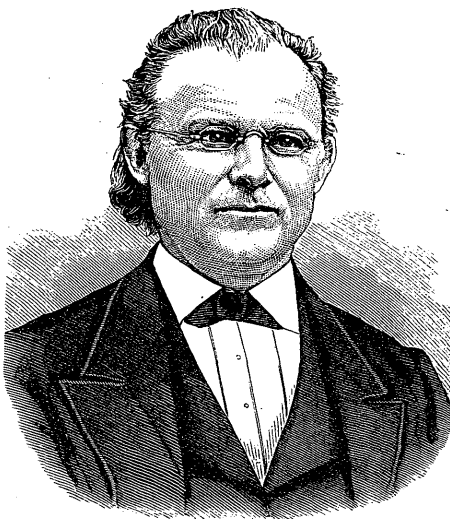
elders: Yield, or worse things may happen to exclusive powers. What a comment it is also upon independent thinking and voting by the ministers of that Church! A three-to-one majority against is changed to a ten-to-one majority in favor within two years, nothing occurring in the meantime but the public menace of these outraged laymen. And be it observed that the laity in this victory have a lay-delegation in equal numbers only. It is in no sense a lay-representation, as is demonstrated in Appendix J to the first volume of this History, to which the intelligent reader is referred.

¹ After this award had been made, it was discovered that about one-third of the whole sum had been pledged to a lobbyist for his active agency in securing it. An investigation seriously involved the publishing agent, Barbee, and led the officials of the Church to repudiate the bargain, and to decline the whole award, if need be, for the vindication of the Church honor. It remains to be seen what action Congress may take, if any, and what the final disposition the Church shall make of the compromising involvement.

CHAPTER XL

Conclusion ; argumentative summation — Have the postulates of the introductory chapter been proven? — Ideals in politics; Paternalism *vs.* Individualism — The Methodist Protestant Church as an ideal system demonstrated; defects not yet fully remedied; subjectively, lack of educational method as to its polity; objectively, even more serious; failure to make the Church known through the press and otherwise; reasons for it; the remedy not too late and should be applied — The world's Methodism a unit as to doctrine and means of grace, but the original politics always a source of unrest and dissent — Has the Methodist Protestant Church succeeded as a voting lay-representative Church as well, other things being equal, as a non-voting clerically governed Church? Analysis and proofs of the affirmative — Liberal Methodism in England a success; statistics; likewise in America — Success of Liberal principles not to be gauged by numbers, but their permeating and modifying power over the parent bodies; facts — Lay-delegation conceded grudgingly; if right now, always right — Upshot of the whole matter; prognostications.

IN concluding this "History of Methodist Reform" the writer has imposed upon him the task, as a logical necessity, of answering the question made a challenge in the opening chapter: Have the fundamental postulates been sustained by the facts presented and the arguments adduced? These postulates are principally three in number, and so germane to each other, that the separate classes of facts by which they are demonstrated mass themselves in a logical culmination. Indeed, two of them are very closely allied, namely: Ecclesiastical Paternalism is responsible for all the schism in the Parent body subsequent to the Deed of Declaration as epochal of an organized departure from New Testament precedents, . . . and it was the ill-advised perpetuation of Paternalism in the Deed of Declaration for the former, and the purposeful perpetuation of it in the hasty organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the latter, that made a Church for the Ministry, and not a Ministry for the Church; the scriptural, rational, and natural order, . . . so that the Deed of Declaration was the cardinal error of English Methodism in giving corporate form to an oligarchic entail of governmental power; and the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the hierarchic plan was the cardinal error of American Methodism, with a like result greatly exaggerated.



J. J. SMITH.

No one can be more fully aware than the writer that these contentions will be stoutly, if not scornfully, denied by the advocates of the Paternal system of Church government.¹ In fact, it has been so wrought into the very warp and woof of Methodist history, both in England and America, that to deny the highest wisdom to these entails corporately secured is simply reckless and presumptuous. This much the writer has heretofore conceded; it is a question of ideals — Paternalism *vs.* Individualism. Both State and Church furnish examples of each, with the advantage to Paternalism, that they are century old and well-organized potentialities. Ranged on the side of Paternalism are the hierarchies of State and Church; ranged on the side of Individualism are the republics of State and Church. It has been affirmed that all ideals are impracticable. There is the substance of truth in the allegation, but with exceptions and qualifications. The hierarchy is an ideal, but surely it will not be claimed that its practical embodiment is not found in the Popedom. This system has crystallized through a millennium, and as an ideal has its imitations in the Episcopal systems of Protestantism. Republicanism is an ideal, but it would be venturesome to declare that an eminently practical form of it is not exhibited in the United States of America. And it is in this sense as an exception that it is claimed for the Methodist Protestant Church that it does make its ideal practical. This does not set it up as perfect or

¹ "History of Methodism in the United States," by James M. Buckley. In two volumes; small quarto; profusely illustrated and embellished. The Christian Literature Company, New York.

Altogether this is the fairest presentation of American Methodism as to the dissenting branches ever issued by an author of the dominant body. It is very succinct and scrappy under limitation of space, but quite an encyclopedia of facts. As a representative of Episcopal Methodism his views on the "Divisions of Methodism" shall be cited as in proof of the declaration to which this note is appended. He says: "The divisions of Methodism arose from causes which in all ages have produced ecclesiastical controversy, and which, with the decline of genuine unity and individual devotion, led to rupture when not suppressed by force, or to external decay unless the church is sustained by the state, and to infidelity and immorality in large degree where the outward forms of religion are maintained by endowment or taxation; namely, differences of judgment concerning discipline, ceremony, and doctrine, and more potent than all, the personal ambitions of men who, when disappointed, become embittered; or when successful, grow insupportable by reason of the spirit of tyranny engendered. All these causes, except radical divergencies of doctrine, can be traced in the development of American Methodism." Vol. II. p. 439. Lacking as it is in perspicuity, this paragraph, every reader will see, evades the true issue made in this "History of Methodist Reform." He could not be expected, as a champion of the Episcopal hierarchy, to see this issue, and the paragraph is cited in full as the best apology a hierarchic mind could frame, but unsatisfactory even as an apology.

its practice as finished. It is admitted that in the light of seventy years' experience as a working hypothesis what it still needs is to bring "the regiment up to the flag." What that flag symbolizes is ideally true and practically possible, but the regiment needs a higher education to the point of full appreciation of loyal service and bountiful support.

The polity of the Methodist Protestant Church as an ideal has been worked out and demonstrated practicable wherever it has had an environment commensurate with its character; for every system is to be judged by its best and not its worst examples. As exhibited in the Maryland Annual Conference, the Muskingum, the Pittsburgh, the Ohio, the North Carolina, the West Virginia, and others that might be named, no spectator or investigator can discover in its working more of friction than is unavoidable through the fallibility of human invention as a system, however closely it may be modelled after the New Testament precedents and the practice of the apostolic Church. If its ideal fails of its fullest expression in any of the Annual Conferences, it is to be attributed to the lack of a persevering and thorough educational method by its official teachers. This defect has operated detrimentally both in the subject and the object. There is a damaging deficiency in the knowledge of its Constitution and Discipline, even among those who are administrators; much more by consequence among its membership. Within a decade the General Conference, alive to this subjective defect, ordered that Quarterly Conferences should furnish the pastors with Disciplines, to be presented to all new members as an educational crusade. How great was the need of such legislation developed in the indifference, if not positive opposition, of not a few of these official bodies and pastors on the sordid ground of expense to the local churches. A farther effort was made to remedy this defect when there was added to the larger catechism of the Church a brief essay on church government, as an education to its youth. It is also discovered in the inadequate support given the official papers, the authorized exponents of its ideal. It will not do to attribute this educational defect to want of greater authority. The *New York Christian Advocate*, representative of the strongest ecclesiastical polity outside of Rome, in its issue of May 17, 1894, estimated the membership of the Church at that time at 2,500,000, and the number of *Advocates* — official papers taken — as less than 150,000, or one in seventeen of the membership, and that not more than one-half of the officiality were subscribers to the

Church papers. Many comparisons are invidious, but it is often the only method for reaching a conclusion. The writer's editorial connection with the *Methodist Protestant* for nearly a score of years qualifies him to estimate for it at the same period a membership of 180,000, and the number of Church papers taken as approximately 10,000, or one in eighteen of the membership, and for the officiality of the Church about one-half. So that under either polity there is a deficiency such as should lead the respective organizations to a concerted movement all along the line, until this per cent is raised from one in seventeen to about one in six,—a standard maintained in several of the smaller denominations,—and until not an official member shall fail to be a subscriber to a Church paper and be the owner of a Discipline.

This defect in the educational method, objectively considered, is even more serious in the Methodist Protestant Church. In its earlier history the press was more fully subsidized for this purpose. The Reformers of former days, imbued with the truth that they had organized a Methodism in doctrine and means of grace which was to stand for and exemplify the grand idea of the personal sovereignty of the Christian believer under the Christocentric truth: "One is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren," were diligent in its promulgation by tongue and pen and press.¹ But the opposition it provoked in those of counter

¹ "A military attaché of the French embassy at Washington said of the American soldier at Santiago: 'Another marked characteristic is the self-reliance of each man, what we call the character of "initiative"—meeting emergencies as they arise, overcoming obstacles by their own initiation.' This criticism may be applied to our denomination as well. The time was when it exactly described the morale of the rank and file of the Church of mutual rights. . . . The very spirit and genius of the Church demanded it and cultivated it. Every man then as now was a sovereign. Its leadership is vested, not in individuals, but in the whole body ecclesiastic. That we have departed from the ancient landmarks, and that we have lost something of our aggressive and eager disposition, is voiced in the complaint that we are without competent leadership. What is the leadership that is wanted? Is it bishops, or general superintendents, or what is it? The days of our greatest glory and the days of our greatest influence and enlargement were the days when the rank and file of our membership fought and contended for every gain of their cherished principles. . . . Whether or not we have lost what we once possessed as a denomination, we will not come into our birthright as a Church until every man in it, in the position to which he is called, and in which he works, feels that in the keeping of himself is the honor and prosperity and the success of the Church, that he is to meet every emergency which will reflect glory upon her and honor the cause of Christ. Whenever the membership of the Church shall turn aggressor, be ready to begin action, and carry it through on the lines of wisdom and independence, within the limits of order and of law, then will our Church have come to her rightful prerogative and place." Dr. Jennings in *Methodist Recorder*, July 23, 1898.

opinions intimidated a peace-loving people, and as the years went by they came to prefer doing their Church work in a corner. During the earlier decades of its history, the prophets of the Episcopal Methodisms having pragmatically announced that the new Church, "the Radicals," was dying or dead, their officialism studiously avoided reference to it as advertising its continued existence. It is only within a comparatively short period that the press of the older Methodism has accorded fraternal and newsy mention. What marvel then that on sundry occasions of inquiry Methodist Protestants are put upon the defensive, and explanations made necessary of its differential features from the other Methodisms, things which ought to be open "before all Israel and the sun." And yet it is undeniable that whenever and wherever these distinguishing features are intelligently expounded to the uninformed, general approbation follows as a verdict in favor of Christian selfhood.

The Methodist Protestant Church has been singularly free from proselytism. And this is not a case of self-praise with recommendation. A fuller propagandism of its principles, such as they merit, would probably have this tendency, but the writer, speaking from a large experience and wide knowledge, does not know pastor or people who by direction or indirection cultivates the proselyte. Nothing is more evident, however, than that pastors and people should feel themselves set for the defence of the fathers and founders of the Methodist Protestant Church; a diligent instillation of its fundamentals in the organization, and an opportune spread of the ideas and principles for which it stands out of it. These principles in their last analysis are essentially those of Protestantism, not so much in that phase of the great Reformation as antagonizes false Romish dogma though inclusive of it, but as Protestantism sets itself against the Pope-dom, lords over the Christian heritage, big or little.

Has the affirmation been sustained that the cardinal error of organization was in England an entailed oligarchy, and in America an entailed hierarchy, in the parent Methodisms, and that these errors are responsible for the schisms which have occurred on either side of the ocean? The writer for answer can only fall back upon the cumulation of evidence these volumes present. The careful reader can recall the several instances. The history of Methodism as a whole presents the spectacle of numerous branches, seventeen in the United States and Canada alone, but over them all there has reigned from the beginning a calm

acquiescence in Wesley's doctrines and the means of grace he introduced in his societies. Scarcely a zephyr has ruffled that calm.¹ But as to its governmental system, the entail of Wesley for England, and the entail of Asbury for America, there has not ceased to be from the same beginning a deep swell of agitation, which has kept the parent bodies in perpetual unrest. It mocks all logic and defies all knowledge of human nature not to confess that there must have been something radically wrong in those entails. It is the primary object of all these pages to exhibit that radical wrong. The maintenance of it by the entailed ecclesiastical power provoked the conflicts which eventuated in expulsions and secessions. It is the genius of the autocratic *régime* to hold fast tenaciously all authority and to make constant encroachments upon the domain of liberty. If concessions are ever made, they are wrested from it by the aggregation of that individual force which has ever been, as the whole history of the world proves, mining and sapping at autocratic power, howsoever obtained and by whomsoever held. The writer expects that the verdict as to this phase of the postulate, that such paternal power organized into a system has been responsible for the divisions of Methodism on both sides of the ocean, will fail of unanimity. He is not vain enough to suppose that those who have been educated in the old Methodisms, who are enamoured of it, making success in numbers and wealth the criterion of right, will do aught else than lay down these volumes claiming the Scotch verdict, "not proven." He will be content if he shall succeed in illuminating that growing class of young men, both of the ministry and the laity, of the Episcopal Methodisms who are untrammelled by the prejudices and traditions of the past as to governmental reform, and render a like service for the youth of the Methodist Protestant Church, as well as vindicate the truth of history as to the old issues made ever young by the inherent vitality of the principles involved. He again embodies and embalms the conviction based upon this truth of history, that Methodism to-day, the world over, would have been as much of a unit ecclesiastically as it is a unit of doctrine and means of grace but for the oligarchic entail of the Deed of Declaration by Wesley and the hierarchic entail of the exclusively clerical organization

¹ Whitefield's work in England under the auspices of Lady Huntingdon for its organized position and of the Welsh Methodists an offshoot, both of them Calvinistic Methodist, can scarcely be claimed as an exception, inasmuch as Whitefield made no concealment of his doctrinal views from the beginning. It prevented coalition with Wesley, but cannot be called a schism.

of the Methodist Episcopal Church by Asbury, these events synchronizing with 1784.

Another postulate of this History, and the last that need be elaborated in review, is that a voting, lay-representative Methodist Church has succeeded by the criterion of numbers and wealth, other things being equal, fully as well as a non-voting, exclusively clerically governed one. It is a vital issue, and thoughtful advocates of either of the ideal polities considered have been and are awake to its decisive nature. If true, then it cuts away the very foundation of a hierarchic Methodism; if not true, it does much to invalidate the reasons for Methodist Reform, though not conclusive as to the abstract right or wrong of the systems. It is in this aspect, the wish, it is to be feared, being father to the thought, that iteration and reiteration have been constant in the official press and the officialism of the Episcopal Methodisms that the Methodist Protestant Church is a failure. It has not succeeded, say its historians; as a working hypothesis, it lacks momentum; even Christian human nature needs a strong government to control it; and so through the round, always ending with the refrain, it has not succeeded. It is going down, chuckled the doughty Dr. Bond, sixty years ago, and his echoes have given it back, until after more than half a century of lively existence, they still continue in remote corners, though fallen to a whisper, in even the latest of Episcopal chroniclers,—it has not succeeded.

Many come to believe what is so confidently affirmed. No one questions the fact that the hierarchic Methodism has succeeded. What has succeeded? Vociferated on every side is the answer—the system, the system, the system! The sober, wiser brethren of the Episcopal Methodisms enter demurrer—they know better; they know that the grand source of success has been its doctrines and its methods, distinguished from its governmental system. They know that this clamor is little more than: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" But it is precisely this; the system as credited with the success of the Episcopal Methodisms, and the want of it in the Reformed Methodisms as credited with its non-success, that issue is joined. Take some facts. There never has been a quadrennium of the Methodist Protestant Church which has not shown a net increase of membership and value of Church property. A comparison of statistical tables for any given period, for a decade, or a score or more of years, for either system, is not in disparagement of the liberal polity of the Methodist Protestant Church. The success of the one has been

commensurate with the success of the other, even without the qualification attached to it for safety of estimate, "other things being equal," though there never has been a period when these other things have been equal: the gravitation that gives attractive power of larger bodies over smaller; the pull of large numbers congregated in all the centres against small numbers segregated and scattered. Who can estimate the Sisyphean toil of a principle against power; of want against plenty; of ostracism against recognition; of the many influences insidiously operating against brethren under ban as "enemies of Methodism." At the present writing the tabulations which figure-prove the equal success of the Reform system with that of the Episcopal are not at command, but shall be supplied in a foot-note for the decades of the past, though it is sufficient if the most recent of these tabulations is found to support the general allegation.¹

The "Year Book" of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1897 furnishes for the Old World Methodisms, p. 129, statistics for the parent or Wesleyan body in the British Islands for 1897 of 494,287 members. For the offshoots, all of them on a Methodist Protestant basis as to polity, the Primitives having two laymen for every minister in their legislative body, and by far the most prosperous of all, the following tables are furnished: Methodist New Connexion, 37,202; Bible Christians, 34,303; Primitive Methodists, 196,628; United Free Methodist Churches, 89,618; United Free Gospel Churches, 8609; and Wesleyan Reform

¹ By the kindness of Rev. J. F. Cowan, D.D., the following Comparative Statement of the Growth of the M. E. and the M. P. Churches by Decades, is presented:

DECADES	MEMBERSHIP	NET GAIN	GAIN PER CENT FOR M. P. CHURCH
1823	5,000		
1838	39,000	34,000	680.00
1848	58,000	19,000	48.73
1858	75,000	17,000	29.31
1868	99,000	24,000	32.00
1878	116,000	17,000	17.17
1888	147,000	31,000	26.72
1896	181,000	34,000	23.12

The membership figure for 1896, and the others likewise, does not include the ministers nor the probationers, but as it stands it shows for the first fifty years a net gain of 111,000, or 2220 per cent.

The showing for the M. E. Church by decades and gain per cent is as follows: The membership and net gain by decades is not given as in the first case for the reason that the per cent is taken from the official Year Book of the M. E. Church for the year 1884, and that table does not give either membership or net gain. The decade for 1850 is omitted, as that was the time of "separation" of the

Union, 7400; or a total of 373,699. Remembering that the parent body had fifty years the start of the first of these offshoots, the New Connexion, and it is demonstrated that the Parental system of Wesley had no advantage on the score of success over the Liberal polities of the other branches. In the Bishops' Address of the Methodist Episcopal Church made to the General Conference of 1896, it is stated that the net gain in membership for the quadrennium, including probationers, a method of recent adoption in the Canada and Methodist Episcopal Church, was 380,000, giving a round total of 2,766,656. This percentage of increase is a fraction less than sixteen. It is a source of congratulation, and the bishops make the most of it. The Methodist Protestant Church for the same quadrennium, 1892-96, shows a net increase of members, including probationers, of 42,445, in a grand total, not including ministers and preachers, on the assumption that the grand total of the Methodist Episcopal Church does not include them, of 183,716. This percentage of increase is twenty-six and a fraction, or about sixty-five per cent of the per cent more than the parent body. But it will be claimed that on the theory of diminishing returns heretofore noticed, and questioned as applicable to Church statistics, how-

Church South with its immense loss, and the gain per cent for the decade of 1890 is estimated.

DECADES	GAIN PER CENT
1790	
1800	12.60
1810	168.96
1820	48.87
1830	83.21
1840	68.38
1850	
1860	44.20
1870	37.44
1880	27.48
1890	34.41

This exhibits for its first fifty years a per cent net gain of 2049. Accuracy is claimed for these figures only so far as they go. The minutes of the General Conferences of 1892 and 1896 of the M. E. Church show an immense gain of membership, while the growth of membership in the M. E. Church, South, since the Civil War is also immense and unprecedented in Methodism. Those who apply the law of diminishing returns to populations and increase will also claim this comparison by per cent alone to be unsatisfactory, and the writer does not demur to any exceptions that can be made to the exhibit. What is simply claimed is that by the only method open to you, that of per cent increase or decrease by decades or quadrenniums, as declared in the running text of this History, no advantage on the score of growth can be proven for the Episcopal system as such over the Liberal system as such.

ever it may be proven to apply to material agencies, it is not to be expected that 2,766,000 as working factors will secure an increment to tally with the increment of 183,716. Admitting it for the sake of the argument, it will be seen that the Methodist Protestant Church can allow a full difference for diminishing returns, and yet show a larger net increase of members than the Methodist Episcopal Church. The same is found true as to valuation of church property. In the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1896, \$109,641,191; for 1895, \$107,960,374, a gain for the year of \$1,680,817. Assuming the same relative increase (the figures not at command) for the previous three years, and a net gain is shown of \$6,720,109, or a fraction over $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, in the quadrennium. In the Methodist Protestant Church in 1892, the value of church property was \$3,551,359, and in 1896, \$4,519,357, or a net gain for the quadrennium of \$967,998, or a fraction less than twenty-five per cent. Thus the disparity is still greater in this feature of net gain as $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is to twenty-five. Applying the law of diminishing returns, and the Methodist Protestant Church still occupies a conspicuous vantage ground. Now in the light of these cold figures, in what sense is it true that the Methodist Protestant Church has not and is not succeeding? But this exhibit will not stay the repetition of the false allegation with the unfriendly, nor will it disabuse the minds of some within the organization who say: The Church has not done as much as it ought; it is still a minor note in the concert of universal Methodism; they cannot cease to put in apposition 200,000 with 2,500,000, not considering by such a criterion how dismal a failure is Protestantism itself compared with Romanism in numbers and wealth, and not considering, in the face of the figures given, that the Methodist Protestant Church is succeeding as fully as it is possible for it to do in its environment. This must be admitted, however, though the admission stands only in proof that this voting, lay-representative Methodism has an inherent power of growth and self-perpetuation, that the net increase for the quadrennium just closed is much larger than the average of previous ones, these running from fifteen to eighteen per cent,—that of 1892–96 has been a spurt forward, the impetus of which it is hoped will tell upon the future of its history.

But the success of the principles for which the Methodist Protestant Church stands is not to be measured by any such invidious comparison as 200,000 *vs.* 2,500,000, confining the con-

trast to the one dominating American Methodism. Its principal success is found, as heretofore noticed, in the power of its principles to permeate and modify the organization and the system from which it sloughed,—the Episcopal Methodism of the United States,—though the same is true of the permeating and modifying power of the Liberal Methodisms of England over the Wesleyan Conference. It has been found how the pressure of these principles under the demonstrated success of its corporate forms has compelled the Legal Hundred of the Wesleyan Conference to acquiesce in the presence of an equal number of lay-delegates, though not lay-representatives, in its annual assembly. And more, how that Legal Hundred of Wesley's ideal for the transmission of power consents to application to Parliament for modifications of the Deed of Declaration, so that the acts of the Wesleyan Conference shall no longer require the formal indorsement of the Legal Hundred for such authority. It is an easy-going sophism that makes answer that the concessions made to the laity are in the regular course of those providential changes which have always marked the history of Methodism. The New Connexion, the Primitives, and the Free Methodist churches and their congeners were simply premature movements; they could not bide the proper time, and so were excised for impatient provocation of that providence, the signs of which were to be discerned by those only who stood in regular succession to Wesley and his advisers. The answer is always ready: Principles are never expedient; they are intrinsically either right or wrong, so that if lay-participation was wrong in Wesley's day, it continues to be wrong; a mere change of time and circumstances cannot make it right. It is an unpalatable truth to the defenders and representatives of Paternalism and exclusive clerical rule, and it is demonstrable that in England, as in America, those who have held the entail of power are surrendering grudgingly; the crust of that concretion of oligarchic power, liberalism in Methodism has pierced and injected its leaven of better things, and the English laity will not let it rest until the wrongs of the Deed of Declaration are righted by a division of authority such as self-respecting Englishmen can accept as a finality. The animus of the business as it is working among them is exhibited in the following bit of narrative from the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* (America) for November, 1896:—

“Dr. Pope presided at a meeting held at Central Hall, Manchester, to congratulate Dr. Randles, chairman of the district, on his election to the

presidency, as well as to welcome new ministers to the district. In replying the president said that the Methodist Church has the finest laity possessed by any church in this age. After reading a report of the laudatory remarks concerning Wesleyan laymen, Mr. Henry Farr, of Wigan, wrote asking the president how it is that 'the finest laity possessed by any church' is neither permitted to vote by ballot in the quarterly meeting nor to nominate church officers. These rights, Mr. Farr pointed out, were denied by the express vote of last conference, as they had been denied on previous occasions. Dr. Randles sent a courteous reply, in which he supported the course taken by the conference. Commenting on it, Mr. Farr writes: 'So it is evident that although he says we are the finest laity in the world, we are the least to be trusted of any laity in Christendom.' "

How many such laymen Henry Farr represents cannot be accurately ascertained, but they must be a very large proportion of the membership of this class, or no such reforms as have been secured from the clerical side would have been possible. Add these to the 373,699 avowed Methodist reformers, and it is discovered that the liberal element of British Methodism has gained the numerical ascendancy after more than a hundred years of struggle.

This permeating and modifying power of the Methodist Protestant Church over the dominating Episcopal Methodisms of America, if not quite so manifest and susceptible of figure-proof, should be stimulating to the zeal of every liberal Methodist. Putting the Methodist Protestant Church at 200,000, for the sake of round numbers in estimates; and the Canada Methodist Church, with its equal representation in the General Conference and its elective Superintendency quadrennially, and its recent refusal to take a step backward and adopt the term "Bishop" for that officer, as urged by the Bourbon element incorporated at the time of the Union, at 275,000; and the smaller liberal branches of American Methodism at 50,000 more; and a very low estimate of 500,000 reform Methodists within the two Episcopal Methodisms with their 4,000,000 membership, and you have a grand total for America of more than 1,000,000 Methodist Protestants virtually, if not nominally. The writer believes that a million, instead of half a million, would be nearer the truth as to Methodist Protestants in sentiment and principle within the pale of the two Episcopal Methodisms. And his reasons for the belief are in part an experience of conversations with the laity of those Churches extending over twenty years of official relation to his own communion and a travel in that time of 25,000 miles among Conferences, mingling with the people of every Methodist

patronymic from Michigan to Texas; the fact of such representative meetings as that at the Eutaw Street church in the late winter of 1896, in Baltimore, when three hundred delegates, from more than sixty of their city churches, resolved for Methodist Protestant principles; and at the great representative meeting about the same time in the Broad and Arch Street church, Philadelphia, presided over by Ex-Governor Pattison, from the entire lay-membership of that great city; and of like meetings in Boston, Cincinnati, and other centres of population where Methodism is rife; and from the advance already made of modifying changes in the Episcopal polity under this pressure from its leading and intelligent laity. It is by such a criterion, buttressed by the facts, that the success of the Methodist Protestant Church is to be estimated.

But those who accept and further these modifying changes seldom, if ever, accord credit to this permeating influence of an existing and prospering liberal Methodism. The fathers and founders of the Methodist Protestant Church, while acknowledged right in the abstract, are censured as men before their time; as impatient of Providence; as factious and restless and ambitious. The answer has been already made: Principles are never expedient; they are intrinsically right or wrong. The writer confesses to complacency when he can enlist such a representative advocate of the old *régime* as Rev. Dr. Buckley, albeit fair and open to convictions which are working changes in his status on kindred questions. Let his argument on the line of right be heard as made in the *Christian Advocate* editorially of August 27, 1896: "If the seating of women by the highest legislative body of the Christian Church is scriptural and wise, women have been robbed of it through the ages. Methodism has deprived them of it, as it deprived the male membership until 1872, and it has robbed them of it since that time. If it is right, it was always right. If, scripturally considered, it is wrong, it must ever be so." Bravo, Dr. Buckley! expediency does not enter into it, either women delegates or lay-delegates. If either is right now, it was always right; if wrong, then always wrong. The world's Methodism is coming to see and acknowledge that lay-delegation, at least, is right, and if so, then the advocates of it in 1820-30 were right, and those who, mole-like, opposed the advocacy to the extent of excommunication for such opinions' sake, were wrong, and it is time that the confession is ingenuously made by their historians.

But a hundred years of struggle has not brought liberal principles in America even to the vantage ground occupied by them in England. The Bourbon element still protests. In the last General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, when the reference as an overture to the Annual Conferences of an equal delegation of laymen in that body was on its passage, a clerical member of the body hailing from New Jersey said, "We will never surrender our supremacy in the General Conference," and the Associated Press despatches of the day tell that the sentiment was received with "applause." The reference, however, was carried by an overwhelming vote, and it remains to be seen whether three-fourths of the ministers will accord or not.¹ The obstructing Bourbonism is no longer a dominating one, but it dies hard. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which came to an equal delegation of laymen in its General Conference after 1866 by a bound, still has a large element of this kind. Bishop M'Tyeire, in his "History of Methodism," had only words of approval for it, but Rev. Dr. Hoss, thirty years after, 1896, finds it necessary as editor of the *Nashville Christian Advocate*, its official organ, to tussle with these Bourbons, and he does not mince his declarations: "Any possibility of a change to the old system is not even to be dreamed of. The man who could muster up the hardihood to propose it would simply be laughed out of countenance, for the Church has come to see that what was at first looked upon simply as a matter of human expediency is also really a matter of divine authority. The New Testament teaches, as clearly as it teaches anything, to coördinate rights of the laity in the government of the Church. The notion, so zealously maintained by some of our fathers, that this was exclusively a clerical function, is quite without foundation. The New Testament doctrine of the priesthood of the people wipes out a good deal of surviving Romanism from the creeds and politics of our Protestant churches."

What, then, is to be the upshot of the whole matter? The Methodist world is moving—moving in the direction of personal Christian rights as Christ exalted them under his own Headship. The grave error of the Deed of Declaration, and the graver one of the Episcopal organization of American Methodism, with the legislative and judicial and executive authority in the hands of

¹ The negative result of the overtures is furnished in the previous chapter, secured after this reference was written. And later an overwhelming affirmative result under the menace of a lay-revolution.

the ministry, shall eventually be corrected, as it may be condoned. All the currents of history are in proof that there is no arrogance and assumption like that of the priestly, as it flourishes in the ecclesiastical domain and so enlists a misinstructed conscience in extenuation. Wesley and Asbury, types of their class, believed that this authority came to them by a providential assignment — it was a sacred trust. So enamoured of it were they, and so schooled had they become in its efficiency, and so satisfied were they of their own prayerful sincerity, that the study of their lives was to entail it in copper-bottomed and steel-riveted systems. They believed in Victor Hugo's dictum in its first half: "All civilization begins in theocracy" (so the Pope is in God's place, and so hierarchs of every degree arrogate); but they did not believe in the latter half of his dictum, "and ends in democracy." To grind this half into the arrogants has cost the bloody crusades of centuries in the civil domain, and in the ecclesiastical the inquisitions and excommunication, both Romish and Protestant; and in none has the struggle been more heroic than in the Methodisms on either side of the ocean,—a struggle to correct the fundamental error of Wesley and Asbury of 1784, both in England and America.

The upshot of the whole matter in the correction of these fundamental errors calls for prognostications as to the steps and methods of its accomplishment. In the Wesleyan English Conference Reform will go forward until equal lay-participation shall be sanctioned by parliamentary changes in the Deed of Declaration. That it will ever come to lay-representation is doubtful; clerical control in the minor official bodies is the last ditch of the oligarchic polity, and will not be surrendered easily. It may be in a generation more our English cousins of the Methodist laity will so upheave the clericals that the selection of lay-delegates shall be the province of the primary assemblies—the societies or congregations—and not the Quarterly Conferences, which are so largely the appointees of the pastors and so amenable to their wishes and authority. Wesley's dictum, "We are no republicans and never intend to be," shall be finally overthrown, and a New Testament polity of personal sovereignty for every Christian believer be the interpretation of republicanism. Then may come Methodistic organic union in the British Islands, the limited territory and the more limited numbers making it feasible, as was the union of Canada Methodisms for the same reasons. Then will the memory of Dr. Whitehead and all the

leaders of liberal opinions in the several branches be vindicated, and English Methodism as a Christianity in earnest go forward to greater spiritual triumphs, while no less revering the fathers and founders. Methodist womanhood will be recognized as born of Susannah Wesley and the long line of matronly worthies, who shall not preach and pray only, but have seats with the judges and lend their pure presence in its legislative halls. Then will it be no longer a matter of moment whether emigrating English Methodists on arriving in America shall be taught to inquire for "Bishop Simpson's Church," or left free to unite with that form of Methodism they may find most convenient or adapted to their preferences.

As to American Methodisms, these forecasts are ventured. In the Methodist Episcopal Church lay-delegation, even though defeated by the present reference to the voting Annual Conferences of the preachers,—there is voting nowhere else,—it will not die, and an equal delegation of laymen shall take their seats in the General Conference, thus putting it abreast with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, since 1870.¹ In the former Church the "general superintendency" shall be modified. The inevitable world-girdling growth of this wonderful organization shall go on, second only to Rome in its ideal of hierarchy, with its equipment for home and foreign extension, and its responsive laity, who still "pray, pay, and obey," as in Asbury's time and his successors, furnishing the sinews, while they yet wait, hat in hand, at the doors of its legislative assembly for something like respectable recognition, as worthy to share in it and help dispense their own bounty. The bench of bishops now numbers sixteen, who follow each other round the earth that the fiction of a "general superintendency" may be preserved under the iron-clad restriction of the General Conference of 1808. This now superfluous and expensive plan must sooner or later result in the districting of the bishops. Official leaders now demand it. Bishop Tho-

¹ There is now, November, 1898, no doubt that the resubmission of the equal lay-delegation question to the Annual Conferences by the General Conference of 1896, will receive a three-fourths vote of the ministers. This sudden reversal of opinion is due largely without question to the menacing attitude of the laity, in a call for a General Convention of laymen in the autumn of 1898, to demand their proper recognition. Rather than provoke revolution the ministry succumbs, and there is now a moral certainty that the ensuing General Conference of 1900 will recognize equal delegation in that body for 1904. Whether the Reform will stop with this remains to be seen. November 17, 1898, official notice was given by the laymen that their General Convention was recalled, the demand having been yielded.

burn, in the September, 1895, number of the *Methodist Review*, declares that "the attempt to maintain the present systemless and outgrown policy must be abandoned." "It seems ridiculous," he says, "to require sixteen men here in the United States to interchange their fields of labor annually; . . . it is a waste of time, strength, and money, and that if it is unwise for this country, it is much more so applied to mission fields." The *Western Christian Advocate* approves, and declares that it would be easier to employ to great advantage sixty bishops than it is now to provide for sixteen. And this is the inevitable trend. The residential location of the present bench is a step in the same direction. It may take a generation yet to accomplish it, and with it will come a peaceful solution of the presiding eldership; they will be superseded by resident bishops sufficient in number to know the work and the men, and with it will come an immense saving pecuniarily to the churches in the cost of administration. The reform will go onward to face the most difficult feature of change the laity will demand: delegation in the Annual Conferences equal to the ministry. The gigantic obstacle to this change has already been suggested in these pages: the old system has grown vast aggregations of preachers in Annual Conferences. To double the number would make them utterly unwieldy; to divide them, fertile of trouble; so that equal lay-delegation in the Annual Conferences will probably not be within the years of this generation.

These changes, when secured, will not greatly modify the system practically; its essential genius will be differenced widely from that of the Methodist Protestant Church, and however possible it would have been for the Reformers of sixty or seventy years ago to have accepted these changes, recalling the fact that two generations have been born since the initial movement, and the existing membership of the new Church in quite a fair proportion have had not fathers only, but grandfathers and mothers, from whom they have derived their Methodist Reform principles; and just as such an education, by a species of heredity, keeps thousands who are like-minded within the fold of the parent Church, a kindred education makes it impossible for these descendants of worthy sires to surrender the Church of their progenitors. The Church has demonstrated its right to exist; it has, step by step, won for itself all the appointments of a well-organized ecclesiasticism: church property commensurate with its numbers and ability, colleges and seminaries for its young

people and theologues, a well-planted foreign missionary work — one of the essentials of a Church claiming continued existence under the Christly standard; a home missionary and Church Extension work; and, to cap all, a growth in numbers and ability such as would make its absorption into any other Methodism a flat contradiction of a manifest destiny and a providential mission as a Church. It is of age, and long past the tutelage of its parent. It cannot listen longer to proposals of absorption, — and it is confessed that the dominant Methodism cannot well offer anything else, — so that any within its ministry who hanker after such absorption should in loyalty to their changed opinions, and in deference to the great body of the organization, forbear such agitation within its portals. If they have outgrown the limitations of a 200,000 Church (and this conceit is at the bottom of most individual defections from which this Church suffers), let them quietly withdraw and find the boosting of better pay and “a wider field of usefulness” (another of the conceits that lure preachers from its ranks) in a 2,500,000 Church; for to this type of mind there is nothing so attractive as a 2,500,000 Church, except one of 4,000,000 or 5,000,000. Even if such a scheme of so-called union, *i.e.* absorption, should be made so plausible that a General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church should favorably entertain it, the overt attempt would meet the autonomous nature of the churches, and no other result, the writer predicts, would ensue but segregation and disintegration in independencies — the corporate dissolution of the once fair heritage.

But no such untoward combination shall mar the future history of this Church; it is reduced to a moral certainty. There is a stronger probability that, tired out with fruitless appeal, the laity, and, weary of snubbing and rebuke, that growing class of its younger ministry who are fretting under the unamenable authority of the Eldership and Bishopric, will withdraw, some of both classes, and thus accretions occur to the Methodist Protestant Church as it continues to gain a wider and more respecting recognition from the sisterhood of Protestantism. The writer is not praying for such a result, nor are his coadjutors, and he would even apologize for the mention of it, if that mention could have any such trend. Under its present loyal leadership, and a young ministry in large part born within the fold, the Reform Church will go forward and do its appointed work; it will live and prosper; it will take its proper rank. But to this end the educational process within, already intimated, must not be neglected.

Its ministry must study fully its genius, be quite amenable to its elective authority, and develop an individual character which will make every pastor a forceful exponent of a liberal Methodist Christianity; and its laity must learn that parity of rights does not mean a domineering spirit; the lay bishop can no more be tolerated than the clerical bishop; they, too, must study the genius of its polity, and not forget the self-abnegation of the ministers who bought by their personal suffering these equal rights for them. They must not permit their average liberality to fall below the standard of their brethren in the Episcopal Methodisms; broad sympathy, generous support, and hearty coöperation must characterize their conduct toward a ministry that is still more largely than themselves exhibiting the self-sacrificing spirit. The hope of the future is that into these things they will grow, and thus insure the fulfilment of the favorable prognostications here made for the Methodist Protestant Church.

Is it the purpose, then, of this Church to stand aloof from its sister Methodisms? By no means. No one can be a stronger advocate of coöperation than the writer, but it can be only through the operation of a Federation that shall be mutually respecting and free from denominational arrogance. Said Bishop Galloway in a Boston Methodist preachers' meeting, declarative of the position of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and in line with a recent utterance of his brother Bishop, Fitzgerald's, Federation, Fraternity, and Forgiveness: "One Federation for all the sons of Wesley." It is the only thing possible to the divisions of Methodism, as it is the only thing possible to the divisions of Protestantism. Dr. Buckley indorsed the same proposition in the *New York Christian Advocate* of September 3, 1896, though perhaps unwittingly as to the present application: "The unity of outward ecclesiastical forms has been well described as hollow, unity of inward and spiritual life as real. The only unity attainable in this world is substantial spiritual unity in circumstantial variety of form and letter."

Federation does propose and promise a little more. What the writer means, and he takes it these bishops of a 1,500,000 Church, having an unprecedented growth since the Civil War, also substantially mean, is some such agreement through the respective General Conferences of these two dominating Churches (the Methodist Protestant Church with its 200,000 would ask to be recognized also) as the appointment of Commissioners, an equal

number of clerical and laical members, who shall be invested with power to formulate the terms and conditions of the Federation, which are to be such as these, in part if not in whole. An authoritative proclamation that these Methodisms are no longer in home extension work to build altar against altar, avoiding such conflict in the larger cities by respecting the principle in neighborhoods, and avoiding it in the smaller towns and villages by respecting preëemption and preoccupation, and the superior facilities which the one form of Methodism in this covenant shall possess over the other. What a vast saving there would be in such an arrangement for home extension of the common cause of Wesleyan doctrine and methods. It might even be pressed to the extent of union in not a few places where now two or three Methodist churches are struggling to live and are in each other's way; though this union would have to be brought about by strict local agreement under higher official sanction.

In the foreign field there ought to be even less difficulty in coming to such an agreement. It is the perplexity and distraction of the heathen to-day, specially in Japan and China, where the several Methodisms are operating often side by side, to understand these differences of structural ideal. Where these Methodist missions are established, and in all the unoccupied territory, let Methodism push its evangelization under a common name, either the "Methodist" or the "United Methodist" Church, and let their missionaries, when they touch a foreign shore, drop at once their denominational name and cease to be sectarian. Let the foreign missionary fund be a common one, and each Methodism vie with the other for liberal things under the impulse of this purely Christlike venture for the extension of his kingdom. There need be nothing insuperable in such a method. Let the formulation of a common hymn book be no longer delayed, and let it be titled, "The Methodist Hymn Book," for universal adoption by all its branches and all over the world. It ought to be the easiest of the proposals not later than the ensuing Ecumenical Conference of the world's Methodisms.

This is a scant outline of the salient feature of a Methodist Federation.¹ For this the Methodist Protestant Church is ready

¹ Commissioners on Federation were appointed by the respective General Conferences of the two great Methodisms, North and South, in 1894 and 1896 respectively. These Commissioners met in Washington, D. C., January 7, 8, 1898; and after careful deliberation they reaffirmed the so-called Cape May, N. J., agreement as to the legal status and property rights of the two Churches, and then passed the following resolutions as a basis of Federation between the two. The

to-day, if the brethren of the other communions will condescend to recognize it as a factor in such a compact. The one bar to it, even after revolutionary consent should have been given, is that "ecclesiastical finesse" heretofore traced as the fly in the ointment of every past attempt to bring together brethren of a common faith. That such a movement must be initiated by the dominating Methodism goes for the saying. Will it ever be done by the Methodist Episcopal Church, with the Church South and the Protestant Church thus committed to it? The writer sadly confesses he sees little probability of it, reasonable as it is, and demanded by the highest considerations of Christly love and loyalty. That great and glorious Church has never yet in its history made a single sign of a self-abnegating recognition of its sister Methodisms in the direction named, nor even of cordial approval of

resolutions in the full text may be found in the *New York Christian Advocate* of January 20, 1898, and elsewhere. For the purpose of this foot-note, they are scaled and condensed in verbiage: and it will be discovered by those who take the pains to make careful comparison that all the points for a Federation, as outlined by the writer, are included with others of less vital importance, showing how fully the ingenuous mind of American Methodism is agreed as to what Christian comity demands should be done. The first resolution recommends a common catechism, hymn book, and order of public worship for both Churches. The second, to recognize and regulate by legal provisions the Epworth Leagues of the respective Churches. The third, a joint administration of their publishing interests in China and Japan. The fourth, coöperative administration in Foreign Missionary work for lessening the expenditure of funds in the prosecution of this work, the plan to be left to the two General Conferences. The fifth, that new church work shall not be established where either Church is organized, without the consent of the bishop having jurisdiction. The sixth, that the American University at Washington, D. C., be mutually recognized and supported, with special contributions, during the closing year of the old century and the first of the new. A final recommendation is, that the General Conferences of the two Churches arrange for the mutual recognition of ministers without loss of orders or standing. This plan of Federation now goes to the ensuing General Conferences of these Churches in 1898 and 1900, to be approved probably as it stands by the Church, South, in 1898, but open to doubt and amendment by the Church, North, in 1900. Its final adoption must thus be delayed long enough for the General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church meeting synchronously with that of the Methodist Episcopal Church in May, 1900, to consider the plan, and if favored, at least in its essential features, to seek recognition under it. There is every fraternal and Christian reason that these features should be submitted to the world's Methodism, at the ensuing third Pan-Methodist Conference in London in 1901, should it be called by the committee authorized to do so. One hymn book and one catechism and one order of service the world over would, indeed, be a bond of union and fraternity.

Later, May, 1898, the General Conference of the M. E. Church, South, in Baltimore, indorsed the action of its Commissioners as to the features of Federation. It now goes to the General Conference of the M. E. Church in 1900, to be amended, accepted, or rejected.

any of the interdenominational and unsectarian movements which have from time to time encouraged the Christian world that there may come in any near future a Federation for Protestantism. Like Romanism, it stands ready to absorb any class of organized Christians coming within the attractive range of its multi-millions and its immense property interests, and this alone. The writer begs pardon of his brethren if this indictment is too strongly worded, and he is open to conviction, if its positions can be successfully controverted. "Let prayer be made continually" that some such Federation as the writer has presumed to outline may yet, in the good providence of God, be consummated, at least for the Methodisms of the world, and then "Ephraim shall not vex Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim."

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